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This is a preliminary work to Almon's Political Register & should be made part of it. See last (p 320) page

A

NEW AND IMPARTIAL

COLLECTION

OF

INTERESTING LETTERS,

FROM THE

PUBLIC PAPERS;

MANY OF THEM

Written by Perſons of Eminence,

On a great Variety of IMPORTANT SUBJECTS, which have occaſionally engaged the Public Attention:

From the Acceſſion of his preſent MAJESTY, in *September* 1760, to *May* 1767.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for J. ALMON, oppoſite *Burlington-Houſe, Piccadilly.*

MDCCLXVII.

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IT is well known that the public papers have been honoured with a great number of very excellent letters and eſſays, particularly during the late political diſputes, on ſubjects the moſt important and intereſting to the liberties and welfare of this country. To collect theſe into volumes has been the frequent recommendation of many perſons; who occaſionally admired them in the fugitive order of their firſt appearance, and conſidered them as papers too valuable to ſociety, to be conſigned to oblivion with the common news of the day. A collection of them was therefore publiſhed a few years ago in ſmall volumes; and the favourable reception which that little work met with, although the period which it included was only from May 1762, to May 1765, ſhewed the wiſdom of the advice which had recommended the plan. That collection has for ſome time been entirely out of print; and being frequently aſked for, has induced the editor to offer it again to the public; but with ſuch ADDITIONS, as the *ſubſequent occurrences*, not only made neceſſary, but muſt render the work particularly uſeful and eſtimable.

Theſe

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Theſe are the letters on the ſeveral late changes of adminiſtration, on the taxation of the colonies, the dearneſs of proviſions, and a variety of other intereſting ſubjects. And in order to form ſomething like a ſeries of the whole, this collection begins with the acceſſion of his preſent majeſty; and throughout this firſt volume, ſeveral papers which had been omitted in the former work, are inſerted in their proper places. In a word, juſtice to the argument, and impartiality to the cauſe, have been the guides by which this collection has been made.

It is an obſervation in Kennet's Regiſter, which lord Somers has taken for his motto to his collection of tracts, and may not be unhappily applied here, "That the bent "and genius of the age, is beſt known in "a free country, by the pamphlets and "papers which daily come out, as con-"taining the ſenſe of parties, and ſome-"times the voice of the nation."

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ſuppoſed difficulty to their ſucceſſors in power, or waiting for more favourable conjunctures; intent upon eſtabliſhing themſelves and their children in wealth, grandeur, and power, whilſt the conſtitution of their country, the vigour of government, *that* on which our internal tranquility and external glory depend, *that* which (under God) is the only ſecurity of our privileges civil and ſacred, is daily relaxed and ſinking into weakneſs. *If the foundations are deſtroyed, what will* the mighty *do?*

The truth is, *ſtateſmen* are timid, and would avoid trouble and hazards; and private perſons of property are averſe to paying down in taxes a large ſum, though as great a one is every year ſubſtracted from their eſtates, by the fall in the price of ſtocks and land. They think *they* are ſecure, while any thing remains ſo; and that thouſands muſt be ruined before they can be conſiderably affected.

Let any man of underſtanding compute what he has loſt ſince the beginning of the war, by the fall of the funds, &c. and how, what remains to him of land or ſtocks, is encumbred with additional duties; how dead our trade, how diſpirited our meaſures muſt be, when our merchants, our miniſters, *&c.* crouch under the weight of the public debt. And what joy and vigour would be immediately diffuſed amongſt ourſelves, and diſmay amongſt our enemies, if we could once ſay, the manufacturer, mechanic, and huſbandman are no longer burthened; articles of luxury alone are reſtrained or incumbered; and the government is maintained, and the war proſecuted, out of the *annual produce* of our lands, the *annual* profits of our trade and manufactures, and the ſuperfluities of men, who having acquired eaſy fortunes in the happieſt country on earth, are deſirous of knowing their true

true value, and of tranſmitting them with honour and ſecurity to their deareſt kindred.

P. Sal. Studiosus.

The ſame ſubject continued.

THE ſafety and firmneſs of every government reſts more on the *eſteem of the people*, than on any other baſis whatſoever; and the people will *eſteem a government* in proportion to the eaſe, plenty, and ſecurity, they enjoy; and that government, can never be ſhaken, which conciliates the affections, and good opinion of the people, by avoiding every thing which is inconſiſtent with their true intereſts.

How *glorious an æra* in the Britiſh annals is the *revolution! Liberty* was then eſtabliſhed *on the broadeſt foundation*; in conſequence of which, people knowing their conſciences, their perſons, their poſſeſſions, their poſterity, ſafe from all the encroachments of arbitrary power, ſet themſelves to cultivate the ſciences, to encourage arts, to improve manufactures, to extend commerce, and to eſtabliſh and perpetuate their families, in a country, where they were ſure peaceably to enjoy the fruits of their ingenuity and induſtry.

But even this happy conſtitution has been in danger of being undermined, by a worm imperceptibly preying at the root. I mean the methods, perhaps through neceſſity, or for want of foreſight, *then* adopted, of *borrowing money at intereſt* on Parliamentary ſecurity. Since *Jacobite* or *arbitrary* principles have been exploded, as for above half a century they have been by all ſenſible *Britons*, what has been the ſource of fear and apprehenſion to conſiderate men? What has afforded colour to party clamours and contention? What (I would be glad to know) but *the national debt*, its concomi-

tants, and apprehended conſequences? And by this means ſome of the beſt princes, this or any other country can boaſt, have been rendered uneaſy while they lived, and have had curſes entailed on their memory.

And will no man ariſe, who has wiſdom and reſolution to deliver *the incomparable Prince we now have on the throne*, and the memory of his royal predeceſſors in the houſe of Brunſwick, from *this fatal opprobrium?* Is there no man in this kingdom, who is endowed with talents equal to the cauſing this opulent ſtate to ſubſiſt *on the annual income?* What would be thought of a ſteward in a great family, to which a moſt ample patrimony was annexed, if he could not maintain the houſhold within his maſter's or lord's revenue?

It is not any *Britiſh Prince*, it is not *King William* and his ſucceſſors, who have run this nation in debt, to the amount of *one hundred and twenty millions*. Baſe is that heart which would place it to the ſcore of the *revolution*. It was a *fatal overſight* at firſt, to begin this method of raiſing extraordinary ſupplies, and it has been want of *attention*, *oeconomy*, and *reſolution* ſince, which has cauſed theſe meaſures to be perſiſted in. And the *ſubjects of Britain* have been more to blame than any ſett of miniſters, in that, notwithſtanding all their *groundleſs*, and often *ſenſeleſs* oppoſition, to meaſures they did not underſtand, they have never once loudly called out what the moſt ignorant amongſt them might have had ſenſe enough to dictate, "that they would bear "the *expences of their own times themſelves*, and "not incur *an enormous debt* which they would "leave to be paid *by poſterity*."

Are not our privileges worth the price they coſt us to maintain? And ſhall *we* enjoy them, and leave *the reckoning to be paid by our children?* Will not

not ſuch a conduct be an indelible reproach, not only on the government, *but on this age and country in general?*

And have *the preſent race of Britons* no *honour*, no concern for the reputation of their *memories?* Diſcerning that they are, (as who does not diſcern it?) got into a *wrong political regimen*, which threatens a *palſy* to the head, and a *total debility* to all the members of the ſtate, are we ſo ſtubborn that we will perſiſt in rejecting all *methods of cure?* We have the means of redemption and ſafety yet in our hands; and to allude to the words of the *firſt Miniſter of the Moſt High*, 'Let us know *in this our* 'day the things which belong to our peace, before 'they are hid from our eyes.'

P. SAL. STUDIOSUS.

The importance of Ireland *to* England.

IRELAND contains about fifteen millions of Engliſh acres, one eighth of which may conſiſt of mountains and bogs, a great part capable of improvement, and one half of the remainder either unoccupied, or very little cultivated.

Notwithſtanding this and many errors of her own and her neighbours contriving, that leſſen the inhabitants and throw a damp on induſtry, ſhe maintains about two millions five hundred thouſand ſouls.

In ſpite of every croſs accident, ſhe raiſes not only an annual revenue for her defence, and the ſupport of the ſtate, but likewiſe ſends a large ſum annually to her elder ſiſter of England.—That is to ſay,

For

	Raiſed by taxes in Ireland for 1 year.	Remitted to England annually.
For the civil eſtabliſhment, ſuch as the courts of law, ſtate officers, concordatums, penſions, &c.	109000	45000
For the military eſtabliſhment, ſuch as four regiments of horſe, eight of dragoons, 22 of foot and artillery regiment (making 22,000 men) with general officers, ordnance, barracks, half-pay, &c.	546000	78410
For parliament payments, and commiſſioners of the revenue, excluſive of all other revenue officers	42000	7000
For the linen manufacture and tillage	54000	
To this muſt be added Fees of cuſtom patentee officers		4000
For occaſional journeys to London, Bath, Briſtol, &c. for health, pleaſure, appeals, ſolicitations, &c. computed at 5000 perſons annually (excluſive of the commonalty) at 50l. each		250000
For the coſt and freight of woollen cloth, hard-ware, hops, corn, coals, ſilk, tea, ſugar, tobacco, and all other ſorts of commodities, with horſes to remount the cavalry, bought in England at leaſt		500000
Carried over	751000	884410

Brought

	Raiſed by taxes in Ireland for 1 Year.	Remitted to England annually.
Brought over	751000	884410
For the regular and conſtant abſentees, or perſons reſiding in England, who have eſtates or fortunes in Ireland, including the abſent officers in the army, and ſtudents at the Temple and univerſities		1200000
	£. 751000	2084410

N. B. Payment on King's letters, and the revenue of the poſt-office, make no part in this account.

*** The charge for coſt and freight of goods, is certainly much under-rated, for the articles of corn and coals only amount to above half the ſum.

This is really ſtated as exactly as the nature of ſuch an account can admit. The only trade Ireland has to ſupport ſuch an expence, is linen cloth and yarn, beef, pork, hides, tallow, and butter, with wool and bay yarn, and (lately) live cattle into Great Britain only.

How Ireland can pay ſuch an immenſe annual tribute to England (immenſe conſidering her confined trade) is not eaſily to be accounted for; but it is moſt certain, that *when time* and *experience* open the minds of men; when partiality and vulgar prejudices ſhall ſubſide; when common ſenſe dictates the means of raiſing the commerce and induſtry of Ireland, without infringing on, but rather increaſing the natural manufactures and trade of England, at the expence of the enemies to both kingdoms; when it ſhall be ſeriouſly conſidered, that the ſons, and the poſterity of the ſons of Britons, now enjoying almoſt the whole lands of

of Ireland with honour and unſhaken loyalty, have as natural a right to ſunſhine and privileges as the peaſants of the iſland of Angleſey; then, and not till then, can Ireland be thoroughly cultivated; the number of its inhabitants infinitely increaſed, and maintained with more decency, and her tribute to England riſe in proportion.

What Ireland now pays may be look'd on by ſome as trivial, becauſe no part goes immediately into the public revenue of England, yet ſhould partial and abſurd policy prevail (which can hardly be ſuppoſed) Ireland would indeed be the firſt to ſuffer, but the malady would ſoon reach to the vitals of the trade and manufactures of England.

The neceſſity of a law to regulate the practice of ſtock-brokers; with heads for ſuch a law.

HOW much public ſervice is hurt, private ſafety endangered, and the property of individuals affected, by *Bull* and *Bear* dealings in 'Change-Alley, is needleſs for me to ſet forth, as it is become a topic ſo common, both of writing and converſation.

Men well acquainted with the nature of the funds are convinced of the evil, but hitherto it has appeared difficult to find a remedy that could with ſafety be applied. If, therefore, ſuch an one can be propoſed, I ought not to doubt of its acceptance; and if I can make it appear profitable, as well as moſt ſafe for the nation to adopt, I muſt ſuppoſe it will prove ſtill more acceptable.

Several wiſe laws have been framed for the firſt-mentioned purpoſe*. But hitherto the dexterity of ſome men has enabled them to be the evaders or defeaters of them all.

* The 8th and 9th of William III. cap. 20. 6th. Anne cap. 16. 6th of George I, cap. 18. and 7th of George II, cap. 8.

Suppoſe

Suppoſe then, the laws which have been experienced to be ineffectual ſhould now be repealed, and one ſingle law made for regulating the tranſactions of the funds, and other government ſecurities, in ſuch manner, that, with leſs expence to parties who deal for ready money, a fund of no inconſiderable amount may be created, and applied towards the payment of the intereſt of that part of the national debt, which is ultimately ſecured by the ſinking fund; and which, I conceive, may be done by ſome ſuch plan as follows.

That the prices of all ſtocks transferred for ready money, be inſerted in the books of transfer in words at full length, in order for its being ſeen, at all times, that bargains were equitably made, according to the current prices of the day; and that ſuch transfers be ſigned by the perſons making the ſame, and likewiſe by the broker, if there be one employed. And I preſume to think no honeſt reaſon can be given, why ſuch a regulation ſhould not take place, as the practice at preſent is to ſpecify the prices in the receipts given by the ſeller for ſtocks ſold.

That no perſon whomſoever, employed in the buying or ſelling of ſtocks for others, ſhall, on any pretence, receive more than one ſhilling from the buyer, or one ſhilling from the ſeller, for every hundred pounds of capital ſtock ſo bought and ſold, to be paid at the time of transferring the ſame; or for one hundred pound principal money in navy or victualling bills, or any other kinds of government ſecurities bought and ſold: ſuch brokerage being the price that has always been paid for the buying or ſelling of India bonds and Exchequer bills; and is what may be deemed an ample compenſation for the trouble of brokers in ſuch tranſactions, as they are now become ſo numerous and conſiderable, from the extenſiveneſs of the funds.

That

That one ſhilling for every hundred pounds capital ſtock, bought and ſold in any preſent or future public funds, be paid by the buyer, and the ſame by the ſeller thereof, at the time of the transfer; to be accounted for by each of the Accountants General of the reſpective companies who have offices of transfer, to the treaſury, to be applied to the ſinking fund. A duty, which, I conceive, may be very eaſily executed, as there are books now kept in all the offices, which at one view ſhew the tranſactions of each day. But this payment ought not to extend to ſuch transfers as ſhall be made of ſtock where five ſhillings and no more is the conſideration, as by truſtees to the *ceſtique* truſt, executors of wills, *&c.* the facts in which caſes to be atteſted by oath.

That books be kept at the reſpective offices where transfers are made, for the regiſtering ſuch ſtocks as ſhall be bought and ſold for time, in which the names of ſellers and buyers, the prices and conditions of contracts, and ſpecifications of ſtock, ſhall be actually regiſtered; the regiſter to be ſigned either by the principals, their agents legally empowered, or by the broker employed, and witneſſed by two clerks of the regiſtry.

That ſixpence on every hundred pounds, ſo regiſtered, be paid at the time of regiſtering ſuch contracts; to be accounted for and applied as beforementioned.

That it ſhall be felony, for any perſon to ſell, for time, any ſort of ſtock without regiſtering the ſame upon the day of agreement. The conviction to depend upon the evidence of perſons who are not parties in the contract. And,

That it ſhall be felony likewiſe, for any perſon to regiſter the ſale of any ſtock for time, that does not ſtand in the books of ſuch ſtocks in the name of the ſeller at the time the ſame is ſo regiſtered

to

to be ſold. The conviction to depend upon the evidence of the entry in the regiſter-book, and the account of the ſeller in the books kept in the office of the ſpecified ſtock.

Such is the ſubſtance of the regulations which I offer to conſideration for the ſervice of the public, and which I believe may effectuate a correction of all abuſe, except what ariſes in the ſelling of ſubſcriptions to ſtocks before they are made transferable, and which I fear cannot poſſibly be prevented by any means whatſoever, upon the plan of late years adopted. But, I hope, there will be no more money raiſed by loan; as there are a variety of methods to be taken for raiſing the neceſſary ſupplies within the year.

PHILO-BRITANNICUS.

On the inattention of counſellors to the Briefs of their Clients.

I AM told it happens very frequently, that the moſt eminent council begin to plead the cauſes of their clients almoſt without having read their briefs, certainly without underſtanding them. Suppoſing this to be true, I will venture to ſay, and every reaſonable man will join with me in ſaying, that ſuch behaviour is in the higheſt degree culpable, and that no ſtation in life can protect that perſon from diſhonour, who is guilty of ſuch practice. Suppoſe a client ſhould, in conſequence of ſuch behaviour on the part of his council, ſuffer in his fortune; ought not ſuch council, in honour and conſcience, to repay whatever his client loſes? A poor farrier, who undertakes to ſhoe an horſe, muſt make good any damage he does by ſhoeing him careleſsly or unſkilfully. It ſometimes happens, that a client ſuffers alſo for ſome time in his character by the ſame means; the judge thinks that the party has acted

acted wrong, and blames him becauſe the council do not ſhew that he has acted right. It is indeed lucky for the client, as to his reputation, that no man of ſenſe or candour will lay any ſtreſs upon what may be ſaid on that head by council, farther than ſuch aſſertions are made out by facts; and common ſenſe and experience declare loudly, that there is hardly a man who commences a law-ſuit, 'till he has had the opinion of one or more eminent council in his favour; and if he takes care to have the fact, upon which his cauſe depends, fairly and clearly ſtated to his council, he has done his duty, becauſe the conduct of his ſuit muſt afterwards be left to his lawyers.

If, therefore, when the cauſe comes to be heard, the queſtion ſhall appear ſo plain as to admit of no debate; or if the cauſe ſhall have evidently been conducted improperly, the fault certainly lies among the lawyers, and they only ought to be blamed; and therefore, if it is not preſuming too far to adviſe thoſe who preſide in our different courts of judicature, they ought to be very cautious in praiſing or condemning the parties, without enquiring ſtrictly into their behaviour, leſt it ſhould happen that praiſe is beſtowed upon thoſe who deſerve puniſhment, and diſpraiſe upon thoſe who ought to be rewarded.

On the 5th of October, 1761, Mr. Pitt (*now Earl of* Chatham) reſigned *his office of Secretary of State: The cauſe of that reſignation he explained in the following letter to a friend in the city.*

Dear Sir,

FINDING, to my great ſurprize, that the cauſe and manner of my reſigning the ſeals, is

is groſsly miſrepreſented in the city, as well as that the moſt gracious and *ſpontaneous* marks of his majeſty's approbation of my ſervices, which marks followed my reſignation, have been infamouſly traduced as a bargain for my forſaking the public, I am under a neceſſity of declaring the truth of both theſe facts, in a manner which I am ſure no gentleman will contradict. A difference of opinion, with regard to meaſures to be taken againſt Spain, of the higheſt importance to the honour of the crown, and to the moſt eſſential national intereſts, (and this founded on what Spain had already done, not on what that court may farther intend to do) was the cauſe of my reſigning the ſeals. Lord *Temple* and I ſubmitted in writing, and ſigned by us, our moſt humble ſentiments to his majeſty; which being over-ruled by the united opinion of all the reſt of the king's ſervants, I reſigned the ſeals on Monday the fifth of this month, in order not to remain reſponſible for meaſures, which I was no longer allowed to guide. Moſt gracious public marks of his Majeſty's approbation of my ſervices followed my reſignation: they are unmerited and unſolicited, and I ſhall ever be proud to have received them from the beſt of ſovereigns.

I will now only add, my dear ſir, that I have explained theſe matters only for the honour of truth, not in any view to court return of confidence from any man, who with a credulity as weak as it is injurious, has thought fit haſtily to withdraw his good opinion, from one who has ſerved his country with fidelity and ſucceſs; and who juſtly reveres the upright and candid judgment of it; little ſolicitous about the cenſures of the capricious and ungenerous: accept my ſincereſt acknow-

acknowledgements for all your kind friendſhip, and believe me ever with truth and eſteem,

Oct. 12, 1765.

My dear Sir,
Your faithful friend,
W. PITT.*

Several remarks were made upon the foregoing letter and reſignation: the vein and tendency of theſe, as well offenſive as defenſive, may be eaſily conceived from the following, which are ſelected from the vaſt heap publiſhed on that occaſion.

THOSE who have puſhed moſt for obtaining the declaration we have ſeen printed, have done the honourable maker of it the beſt of ſervices, and the like to the whole public. Thoſe doubts all vaniſhed at its appearance, which might, before it was made, have been very innocently entertained. The honours and rewards, that from general example, had created ſuſpicions, now appear to give great luſtre to their receiver, and greater glory to their beſtower. The patriot king and miniſter, become the inciters of our admiration more than ever. We feel an increaſed love for the ſtrong meriter of high rewards; and we more adore the princely virtues of the ever gracious perſon that conferred them. Such is the preſent ſenſe of a man, who, while in darkneſs, had his doubts.

BRUTUS.

* At the ſame time the following advertiſement appeared in the public papers.

To be ſold, ſeven coach horſes, belonging to the Rt. Hon. William Pitt. Enquire at Ormond Meuſe, the Back of St. James's-Square.

To

To a certain GREAT MAN.

SIR,

IN your extraordinary letter to Mr. —— in the city, inſerted in the common news-papers, you *admit*—that you withdrew yourſelf from his majeſty's councils, becauſe you were *no longer allowed* to *guide them*.... And you *aſſert*.... that you have been rewarded, not corrupted.

In this *aſſertion* you place your defence, and I agree with you in it entirely.

It is for his majeſty's honour to leave no pretence of extraordinary ſervice unrequited: and, having no unconſtitutional purpoſe to ſerve, he has no uſe for corruption.

But, in the name of God, Sir, how could any man in his right mind, ſuffer ſuch an *admiſſion* to eſcape him?

If you are to *guide* always, you *alone* conſtitute the *whole* cabinet council.

If every member had withdrawn himſelf, whoſe opinion had been over-ruled (and no one member is more privileged to do ſo than another) there would have been none left in it but yourſelf, long ago.

Among other extravagancies which your extravagant influence has given riſe to, I have ſeen you called *our dictator* in the news-papers. And here, you have given it under your hand that nothing leſs will ſatisfy you.

But, Sir, you ought to know, that there is no proviſion left in the *Britiſh* conſtitution for any ſuch officer; ſtated or occaſional; formally or virtually: That, on the contrary, ſuch a *monſter* was never ſeen among us but *once*; and *then* his power was built on the ruins of the conſtitution.

Yes, Sir, when we have a *dictator*, we have no longer a *conſtitution*.... And ſuch being the caſe, who will heſitate one moment to ſay, that he who diſcovers an ambition to be, what it was never intended a king ſhould be, deſerves THE SHELL; though reputed juſt as *Ariſtides*, wiſe as *Themiſtocles*, gallant as *Epaminondas*, and eloquent as *Demoſthenes?*

The reſentment of the public, Sir, was firſt excited on your behalf, even by a falſe ſuggeſtion, that you had been *turned out*; and when it became manifeſt beyond contradiction, that what was done, was your *own act* and *deed*, the herd of the *wrong-heads* (as if determined to be wrong every way) became more incenſed at your ſuppoſed corruption, than your *actual deſertion* of the public ſervice.

Now, Sir, I for my part, do adventure to pronounce, that this violent meaſure of your's was equally unneceſſary and inexcuſable.

Unneceſſary, becauſe thoſe *humble ſentiments* of your's, *ſubmitted* in *writing* to the board, (which we hope are forth-coming, to ſhew what you are *reſponſible* for in the preſent caſe) would have done you the ſame good office, if you had modeſtly relinquiſhed, or, at leaſt, ſuſpended your *opinion*, inſtead of reſigning your *employment*.

Inexcuſable; becauſe knowing your own all-ſufficiency (as it is but too apparent you do) you alſo knew what a ferment you were going to raiſe, and the pernicious effects to be expected from it.

And, upon the whole, Sir, what are we to do with our ſuſpicions, thus founded; that, among the ſecret motives which prompted you to this *abrupt* procedure, one was, *miſchief*; ſeeing that, even in this profeſſed palliative of yours, you are ſo wholly taken up with your own ability, your own righteouſneſs, and your own importance; you leave the

the vein you have opened, without the leaſt remorſe, to take what courſe it may.

A. DUNSTABLE

EPIGRAM.

Three thouſand a year's no contemptible thing,
To accept from the hands of a patriot king,
(With thanks to the *bargain*, for ſervice and merit,)
Which he, wife and ſon, all three ſhall inherit;
With limited honours to *her* and *her heirs*—
So farewell, *Old England—adieu to all cares.*

A few of the abſurdities which diſtinguiſh a Right Hon. gentleman's character.

HE has ſpoke in favour of thoſe very meaſures, which he once reviled: and having firſt taught us to hold them in abomination, afterwards reconciled us to his purſuits of them. After the warmeſt declarations againſt *continental connections* —after the ſtrongeſt oppoſition to remitting either men or money to Germany, and a downright refuſal to conſent to give the D—ke of C——d any aſſiſtance there, though in the moſt deplorable circumſtances.—I ſay, after all this, he embraced *continental connections*, and ſent over men by ten thouſands, and money by hundred thouſands, and nobody in the leaſt offended or ſurprized—why may not he alſo, who has railed ſo long at PENSIONS and PENSIONERS, at laſt take a PENSION *himſelf*, and prove to the ſatisfaction of the whole world, that it is not the *thing done*, but the *how*, and the *why*, and the *when*, and by *whom* it is *done*, that conſtitutes the CRIMINALITY and offence!

He has inveighed againſt PENSIONERS, it is true: and he may ſtill continue to do ſo, for he has *no* PENSION.—No! what then?—Why, Sir, he has *an*

ANNUITY.—and a PENSION and an ANNUITY are not the ſame thing:—a *penſion* is but an *annuity* in embrio, but an *annuity* is a *penſion* brought to perfection and maturity.

Vindication of Mr. P.

BEFORE Mr. Pitt's advancement to the office of ſecretary of ſtate, diſcord and irreſolution prevailed in our councils, dejection and deſpair overwhelmed the nation, and our fleets and armies were ſunk into a ſtate of the moſt lazy inactivity, if not of abſolute cowardice and puſillanimity. But no ſooner was that gentleman entruſted with the management of public affairs, than he ſeemed, by a kind of magical influence, as it were, to infuſe his own virtuous, prudent, and heroic ſpirit, into every *Britiſh* ſubject. He reſtored unanimity and vigour to our councils, filled the minds of the people with truſt and confidence, and inſpired our ſoldiers and ſailors with ſuch a ſpirit of courage and intrepidity, as hath raiſed the *Britiſh* name to a degree of military glory, which few nations have equalled, and none have exceeded.

If therefore Mr. P. has accepted a penſion for himſelf and family, has he not deſerved it? Does not his ſovereign ſay he deſerved it? And does not the united voice of the nation applaud this inſtance of the royal favour? Has he, in conſideration of thoſe rewards, betrayed his country, or engaged to betray it for the future? On the contrary, has he not reſigned one of the moſt lucrative and honourable employments in the kingdom, becauſe he could not be allowed to purſue ſuch meaſures as he judged moſt conducive to the glory and intereſt of his country?

One may generally obſerve, that the body of a people has juſter views for public good, and purſues

ſues them with greater uprightneſs than the nobility and gentry, who have ſo many private expectations and particular intereſts, which hang like a falſe bias upon their judgments, and may poſſibly diſpoſe them to ſacrifice the good of their country to the advancement of their own fortunes; whereas the groſs of the people can have no other proſpect in changes and revolutions, than of public bleſſings, that are to diffuſe themſelves through the whole ſtate in general.

Our miniſter has reſigned in full credit with the people, in full eſteem with the King, and what crowns our happineſs, he has left us a free parliament, unpenſioned and uncorrupt. [*At this time the new parliament had not met.*]

But is the old corrupt leaven totally rooted out? Or has it been only ſuppreſſed by the firmneſs and ſucceſs, by the credit and ſuperior abilities of him who has reſigned? Has this reſignation been voluntary, owing to an inability of acting in ſo laborious a ſphere, occaſioned by a decay of ſtrength and bodily infirmities? Or did it proceed from an unnatural oppoſition to national meaſures, by the remnant of that miniſtry, whoſe abilities to joſtle our patriotic aſſeſſors in the cabinet, ſucceeded ſo effectually under the coalition in forty-two? and whoſe diſregard for the glory and intereſt of Great-Britain, is recorded by the bloody and expenſive effects, and by the inglorious conditions of the laſt peace.

Should this be the truth of the caſe before us; ſhould thoſe men ſtill maintain their footing about the throne, and fall down and adore him at St. James's, to whom they paid no regard at Charlton-houſe; ſhould it come out, that nothing but his credit with the people, a diſintereſted and diſembarraſſed conduct, a natural talent for ruling, and ſucceſs in the execution of his plans, could have

kept Mr. P— ſo long above their pique and reſentment? prudence calls upon us to provide againſt the fatal conſequences that may attend ſuch a reſignation, ariſing not from the reſignation itſelf, but from a poſſibility of ſuch men regaining that power, which they formerly abuſed, or were not able to improve for the real intereſt of this country.

Men of corrupt hearts, hypocrites and ſycophants, are moſt buſy on ſuch occaſions. They are deſperate, and ſtick at no means, be they ever ſo baſe, to get into power and to deceive Majeſty. Therefore it is the Sovereign's peculiar care not to be miſled by them: and ſhould ſuch men be taken into the management of national affairs, it is the duty of parliament to ferret them out, and to addreſs his Majeſty to remove them from his councils, from his employment, and from about his perſon.

The next public topic was the elevation of the Earl of BUTE *to the office of firſt Lord of the Treaſury; upon which occaſion the papers teemed with perſonal abuſe, and national reflections. However, ſome of thoſe fugitive eſſays were ſenſibly written, and contained ſtrong arguments: Theſe we have endeavoured to ſelect.*

IT gives me no ſmall offence, to obſerve Scotſmen and miniſterial writers endeavouring to deceive the public by general aſſertions which are falſe. One of theſe is, 'that all Britons are alike, 'and therefore it ought to be indifferent to the na'tion who are inveſted with power, or who enjoy 'the employments of profit.'

Now I do ſay, that great power in England ought only to be truſted with thoſe who are the beſt friends to the Engliſh conſtitution. England, it muſt be allowed, is the moſt important part of the

the Britiſh dominions, has the greateſt ſhare of the legiſlative power, the greateſt quantity of all kinds of property, contributes by far the moſt to the ſupport of government, and alſo to the demands of ſtate, and therefore ought to have a full proportionate ſhare in the general exerciſe of power, and in the emoluments of office.

There is a wide difference between a Sovereign's ſervants and his miniſters. His ſervants have the care of his palace only: but his miniſters have that of the kingdom: in the choice of the latter, therefore, the inclinations of the people ought always to be conſulted. Miniſters are, by our conſtitution, conſidered as ſervants of the commonwealth, as well as of the crown, and muſt be as much anſwerable to the former as to the latter for their conduct in office. It may be quite indifferent to the people who wear the feathers of ſtate; but it cannot be ſo with regard to thoſe who have the diſpoſitions of their properties, lives and privileges in their hands. In truſts, therefore, of ſuch kinds, their paſſions will become intereſted. It is fit they ſhould be ſo: and it is fit alſo, in ſuch matters, that their inclinations ſhould be conſidered.

The Engliſh are not national in their perſonal attachments. They make friendſhips with, and do ſervices indifferently to, all their fellow-ſubjects. Who moſt act otherwiſe I leave to the experience of all men to determine, as well as of thoſe who now cry out for the indiſcriminacy of regards, and how far they themſelves are like to become impartial practicers of that general duty.

The care of religion, the adminiſtration of laws, the offices of government and revenue in Scotland, are now, and always of late have been, only placed in Scotch hands. That is far from the caſe in Ireland: nor is it quite the caſe in England. Which country therefore appears to have moſt national

conſideration? And which, from its comparative importance, has the leaſt reaſon to complain, or the moſt to be contented?

Do Engliſhmen, or Iriſhmen, ever complain that they do not come in for a ſhare of Scotch preferments? Or are they ever heard to aſſert, that they have an equal right to the enjoyment of them with the natives, or inhabitants of that part of Great-Britain. Fair play, and fair ſharing, is what in all things may be called honourable: and it is what prudence ſhould ſuggeſt for univerſal contentment.

Individuals are, and ever will be, ſelf-intereſted. It may perhaps be ever impoſſible to ſatisfy all mens deſires; but it ſhould always be a practice, by REAL impartiality, to adhere to ſuch regulations as ſhould furniſh to bodies of men, no reaſonable cauſe of complaint; at leaſt to the moſt conſiderable part of a people.

What I would be underſtood to blame is, partial infuſions of opinion under pretences of impartiality, and the propagating of erroneous notions under the colour of ſtrict duty; againſt the poiſon of which I have furniſhed theſe looſe hints. JOHN BULL.

Anſwer to the preceding Letter.

IF John Bull will review his looſe hints, I am perſuaded he will acknowledge, ſome of his own general aſſertions are erroneous, and formed more upon old prejudices than a juſt view of the preſent ſtate of things. That there are fewer Engliſhmen in offices, either in Scotland or Ireland, than Scotch or Iriſh in England, is plainly owing, not to any national attachment, but to the ſeat of government being in England. If the ſeat of the Britiſh government was either in Scotland or Ireland, doubtleſs it would be no wonderful thing to ſee great numbers of Engliſhmen filling a variety of poſts,

poſts, both in the civil and military; but in that caſe few Scotch or Iriſh would leave their own country to ſeek for preferment in England. Can John Bull aſſign any good reaſon why the kingdoms of England and Scotland ought at this day to be looked upon as any thing elſe than a mere geographical diviſion of this iſland; and if this be allowed, his ſecond paragraph, urging a preference to one part more than another, falls to the ground. Narrow and vulgar minds are mighty fond of local partialities; and, like the country lady, who aſſerted, that the moon they had in their village was bigger than the London moon, vainly imagine that all excellence is confined to their birth-place; and that it would be abſurd to look for worth or abilities beyond ſuch a river, or out of ſuch a country.

The whole of John Bull's letter is founded upon ſuch falſe prejudices as theſe, conſequently, inſtead of inſtructing with candour, it tends to miſlead and deceive: but as it would be invidious to enlarge on the topics he has touched upon, I beg leave to conclude with his own words, 'That I muſt blame 'partial infuſions of opinion under pretences of 'partiality.'

Wanſtead, Eſſex. June 1762.

REPLY.

THE gentleman of Wanſtead has not only wilfully miſtaken my queſtions and aſſertions, but alſo my intentions. I did not aſk, if there were not fewer Engliſhmen in offices in Scotland or Ireland, than there are Scotch or Iriſh in England? I aſked, if Engliſhmen or Iriſhmen ever complained that they do not come in for any Scotch preferments? or ever thought they had an equal right to them with Scotchmen? and added, that was far from the caſe in Ireland, and not quite the caſe

had his birth. If I were to divide a ſhip into two parts, and aſk John Bull which of the two was the beſt for ſailing to the Eaſt-Indies, he would doubtleſs reply, that neither of them could perform ſuch a voyage apart, but that it required the unity of both; and if he would lay aſide his weak partiality, he would plainly perceive, that the ſame unity is neceſſary for the well-being of the ſtate.

What ſport would it afford to the people of this iſland, if the Spaniards of Caſtile and Arragon, inſtead of attacking the Portugueſe, ſhould fall to leaving each other about national preferences? And would we not think them mad, and in the highway to deſtruction, if ſuch factious writings as are publiſhed every week in London, were brought to us from Madrid. If we would but coolly reflect what a figure we muſt at preſent make to foreigners, how our enemies will be triumphing, how imprudent our diſſentions muſt appear to our coloniſts, and how all Europe will be laughing at our abſurdities, we would certainly be aſhamed of our animoſities and contentions.

Wanſtead.

SECOND REPLY.

THAT the Wanſtead gentleman may no longer miſtake my meaning, I will now ſpeak very plainly. Scotland does not contribute a fortieth part towards the ſupport of government and war: juſtice therefore requires, that ſhe ſhould have but a proportionate ſhare of ſtate employments and emoluments: is this reaſonable, or is it not? yet perhaps Scotſmen have long enjoyed near twenty times their due, and the Engliſh have not much repined at it. But as there is now a power lodged in Scotch hands for diſpoſing of all revenue offices, the Engliſh, ſenſible of Scotch partiality from

from long experience, do entertain an opinion, that the fleeces of their rich paſtures are doomed to the ravage of the hungry and naked wolves of the barren mountains of the north, becauſe they know that no North Briton dares reſtrain their greedineſs for rapine, without being conſidered as an alien, or an apoſtate, and purſued by them as an enemy.

Why therefore ſhould a man accept of a ſtation that muſt create enmity to him in one party or the other, and likewiſe that muſt cauſe diviſions? By doing ſo, he is ſurely the author of them; and his partizans ought not to complain of clamours, ſince his quitting that ſtation will at once put an end to them. Public union is then a matter entirely in his own hands: he only has been the deſtroyer of it, and he ought to be its reſtorer. If he thinks agreement will be of advantage to the kingdom, let him make the only ſacrifice that can moſt effectually promote it. This will be manifeſting the ſtrongeſt affection in his power, both to his ſovereign and his country. One man's ambition ſurely ought to appear more conquerable than a whole nation's opinions, or even prejudices, which have been rooted in experience, and which they are not ſoon like to part with; at leaſt 'till they ſee a good cauſe for giving them up.

What has England got by the union, but the mere means of living quiet? Which ſhe purchaſed with the repartition of her whole commerce and colony-proprietorſhip. If Scotland receives more by government employments than ſhe contributes towards its ſupport, of courſe England protects her in all induſtrious purſuits, and has given her a ſcope that will be endleſs for proſecuting them to advantage. What would ſhe have more? Let her ſpeak out and ſay 'Why all go-'vernment employments in England, as well as 'in Scotland: we want the Engliſh to labour,

'and

'and ourſelves to be their taſk-maſters and plun-
'derers, the clear ſingle motive of our pleas for
'indiſcriminacy, which we claim in the ſouth,
'but deny in the north.'

It is not the fault, but misfortune, of Engliſh-men, that Scotland is a poor and barren country, like Wales. But while Wales ſends us up chair-men and footmen, and huſbandmen to work in common with us, and on a cordial and equal foot-ing; what right has Scotland to ſend us up whole ſhoals of pretended gentlemen, who did not wear ſhoes in their own country, to live in affluence and idleneſs upon our labours and eſtates? For it is the produce of them which conſtitutes the whole go-vernment revenue, and therefore the emoluments and employments of it ſhould be kept ſacred to the people who contribute to its produce. Let but the Scotch mingle among us as they ought, and keep up no ſeparate intereſt, and then we ſhould be as little jealous of them as we are of any others of our fellow ſubjects, but while they hang together, and are partial, they provoke us to do the ſame.

JOHN BULL.

General objections to the Earl of Bute's *elevation.*

THE real matter of contention appears to be, whether the chief power of adminiſtration ought to be in the hands of the Scotch, or the Engliſh? For to ſay that the union is ſo compleat as to have eſtabliſhed an union of opinions and pur-ſuits, would be aſſerting the thing that is not. The Scotch, as the ſmaller number, do hang together; and prevent thereby ſuch an union; and as their motive for doing ſo is that of individual intereſt, which they ſtrenuouſly promote by national union, that union creates a jealouſy which cauſes a coun-ter one for oppoſing them; for it cannot be ex-pected,

pected, but all bodies of people, as well as individuals, will be ſelf intereſted: and therefore union, on this principle, eſtabliſhed on one ſide, will create it on the other.

The union of the two kingdoms was at beſt greatly defective; becauſe Scotland has a different eſtabliſhed religion to England, and had, 'till within theſe very few years paſt, a different civil conſtitution likewiſe. There heritable juriſdictions excluded the eſſential democratic part of ours, and were infuſers of principles of government incompatible with Engliſh ones. Time may aboliſh thoſe principles; but they are not aboliſhed yet: and 'till they are quite aboliſhed, conſtitutional power here in Scotch hands, will, with ſome ſtrong colour of ſound reaſon, be always dreaded by the Engliſh. Their excellent conſtitution is their greateſt glory and happineſs, and in both caſes muſt be allowed to be the greateſt that were ever enjoyed by any people upon earth. This is an intereſting conſideration, which will force its own weight: and as experience has convinced them, that, from the nature of their own old conſtitution, when inveſted with power, Scotchmen are apt to be overbearing as well as partial, it cannot be expected that Engliſhmen will not think their rights and intereſts at home will be always ſafeſt in Engliſh hands; and while they have reaſon to think ſo, they will not be ſatisfied without it.

Nor can they deſerve accuſation on this head: nor ought their moderation to be arraigned, while they interfere not with the laws, the religion, the government or offices of Scotland, nor ever repine at the military or marine employments, or even civil ones on the Engliſh eſtabliſhment, given to Scots, if the exerciſe of them cannot endanger the conſtitution. They glory in the moderation of their government and laws: and abhorrence of thoſe

rigours

rigours which Scotchmen are prone to exerciſe, from the arrogance which ariſes from their ariſtocratical principles. Even the Engliſh noblemen are ſeen tender of availing themſelves of the privileges of peerage which the conſtitution allows them: and if any act otherwiſe, they are ſure to be hated for it; as all men will be deteſted who appear arbitrary and tyrannical in office. Theſe are juſtifiable motives in Engliſhmen for being jealous of high power over them being given to the Scots. As juſtifiable is that of having a right regard for their own intereſts: and ſuch we muſt ſuppoſe they ever will have, as being what really ought to be.

A SOUTH BRITON.

A defence of LORD BUTE.

Multos abſolvemus, ſi cæperimus ante judicare, quam iraſci. Nunc autem primum impetum ſequimur: deinde quamvis vana nos concitaverint, perſeveramus, ne videamur cæpiſſe ſine cauſa: et quod iniquiſſimum eſt, pertinaciores nos facit iniquitas iræ.

Senec. de Ira, lib. iii.

THERE has been of late a change in the miniſtry, and this has produced a great deal of wonder, and is like to produce a great deal of altercation. Adminiſtration has within half a century paſt, ſo far extended its immediate influence, that no alteration therein, however neceſſary, can be made, but it muſt create a kind of feeling unknown to former times. There are now ſuch numbers connected by intereſt, or by hopes, which is as ſtrong a tie, to men in power, that remove them with or without cauſe, murmurs will riſe. Beſides, there has been of late ſo ſtrong a propenſity to democracy, artfully encouraged by thoſe whoſe purpoſe it was to ſerve, that multitudes were drawn to approve meaſures they did not underſtand,

ſtand, and then taught to eſpouſe them, by methods utterly inconſiſtent with our conſtitution.

It is univerſally agreed, that we have a prince upon the throne as eminent for royal virtues, as conſpicuous for the love of his people, as any monarch that ever filled it: a prince, who in his private life may be a pattern to his ſubjects: a prince, who in duty to his parent, in affection to his conſort, in his kindneſs to all the royal family, is apparently one of the beſt of princes: a monarch, who from the moment of his acceſſion has been giving repeated marks to his ſubjects of his real and ſincere concern for their welfare; who, inſtead of attempting to extend, has voluntarily curtailed his prerogative in thoſe inſtances where it might, in his own hands, or in thoſe of his ſucceſſors, have been injurious to the public: a monarch, who has ſhewn a due regard to his glory, and at the ſame time a royal tenderneſs for the vaſt expences that were requiſite to ſupport that glory, from the continuing of a war which preceded the commencement of his reign: a monarch, who in the midſt of victories has always manifeſted a deſire of peace, and at the ſame time a reſolution to accept of no terms inconſiſtent with the honour, the ſafety, and the welfare of the nation: a prince inclined to live with oeconomy, and recommending public frugality in the management of the public treaſure to all his ſervants. This monarch had his mind formed, and thoſe confeſſedly excellent principles inſtilled by this new miniſter, who, though he be a new miniſter, had been his old and faithful ſervant.

But though theſe ſervices might be ſufficient to recommend him to the king, there may be ſomething more neceſſary to reconcile the royal choice to the people. This miniſter has none of the uſual connections; he has not been raiſed to power by a

faction; he has not, he cannot have that kind of influence which might ſupport his meaſures of whatever nature: he muſt, therefore, be ſupported by the rectitude of his meaſures. His merit recommended him to his maſter; his merit only can juſtify his maſter's choice to his ſubjects. It is upon this, and this alone, that his adminiſtration depends; and this, one may preſume to ſay, is the beſt and ſtrongeſt ſecurity the nation can have for his behaviour. It is impoſſible for us to diſtruſt him without diſtruſting ourſelves: when we pretend to doubt of his capacity for government, we give up our own capacity of being equal and impartial judges, and ſeem to be afraid of that confidence which the moſt gracious of all ſovereigns repoſes in us.

But it will be objected, that, notwithſtanding all this, he may meet with oppoſition. No doubt of it: the Burleighs, the Walſinghams, the Clarendons, the Somers's, the Godolphins, all met with oppoſitions; and yet they were great and good miniſters. If ſome kings have been undone by adhering to their favorites, many more have been made unhappy through the want of ſteadineſs to ſupport their miniſters. It is no great diſcovery, that as evil miniſters will be oppoſed by good ſubjects, ſo honeſt miniſters may be maligned by faction.

An anſwer to the preceding letter.

THE firſt allegation I ſhall take notice of is, 'that there has been of late ſo ſtrong a propenſity to democracy, &c.'

I know of no power that the commons have of late gained in Great Britain. They are like the Scotch nobility, repreſented in parliament; and, like the Scoch nobility too, liable to be diſpoſed of

of by their repreſentatives. They are thoſe who furniſh the principal ſupplies to government, by their numbers and their labours; they are the principal defenders of the nation, and atchievers of its conqueſts. They have therefore rightly belonging to them a third part of the legiſlative power. But has their part of that power any way retrenched the portion of it which belongs to the peers? or have they not rather loſt a part thereof by the continual alienations of property, and of courſe influence, from the late frequent removal of many of the rich men of their order into that of the peerage? Power follows property: and every acceſſion of property to the ariſtocratical ſcale, lightens that of the democratic. Should the frequent practice of peer-making therefore go on, the houſe of peers, in a ſhort time, will become the makers of the houſe of commons, by which means they will enſlave both the crown and the people, and eſtabliſh a virtual ariſtocracy, of all kinds of government that which is moſt tyrannical.

That his majeſty poſſeſſes all the illuſtrious qualities of mind and heart, which are mentioned in the preceding letter, there is no Briton who does not acknowledge: but there are ſome who do doubt of his having his mind formed, and all thoſe excellent principles inſtilled in him by this new miniſter, becauſe he was neither parent, or governor, or preceptor to him, but was a meer officer of his houſhold, and that not in the higheſt degree; nor have we reaſon to believe, that his ſuperiors in ſtation were either leſs virtuous, leſs wiſe, or leſs zealous than himſelf; and therefore as he had a moſt excellent parent, had honourable governors and able preceptors, as well as many other officers about him of great character and merit, ought we not to attribute ſome of his rare virtues to his own excellent nature and diſpoſition, and moſt of his

mental infuſions, to that fond parent who ſo tenderly loved him, and to thoſe honourable and worthy perſonages whoſe expreſs duty it was to form his mind by education? all of whom are thus robbed of their honour to decorate the ſhrine of a volunteer, whoſe flatterers indirectly accuſe them of neglect, in order to beſtow a high merit on him, for what in his ſtation he cannot be ſuppoſed to have had any thing to do with.

But what aſſumptions are too daring for reſolute ambition? If this extraordinary ſervant really loved his royal maſter, his own intereſts would have been the laſt which he would have laboured to promote. The attachments of real friendſhips are always generous and diſintereſted. They are mean ſycophants and minions, who ſeek by ſervilities to create a confidence which they avail themſelves of for their own perſonal advantage. A truly noble nature ſhould have carefully guarded againſt all ſuch imputations, by declining the favours on which envy or ſuſpicion could raiſe a doubt of real worth; and have diſdained to ſink as a friend, in order to riſe as a ſervant.

Can that ſtock of friendſhip and merit be a true one, where one party, in order to acquire power, is ſeen reſolutely to ſacrifice the popularity of the other? No: let us learn to diſtinguiſh affection from pretenſion, and give to every quality and thing, no other than its proper name.

'But (ſays his advocate) this miniſter has none 'of the uſual connections.' On which I aſk, will the treaſury not create them? —'He has not 'been raiſed to power by faction.' But will not his power form a faction for him? I warrant it will, if you give it but time to operate. —'He has not, 'he cannot have that kind of influence which 'ſupport his meaſures of whatever nature: he 'muſt therefore be ſupported by the rectitude of 'his

'his meaſures.' Influence we know follows power and money; ſhe is a proſtitute to be purchaſed; and rectitude will not be requiſite when the purchaſe of her is made.—'His merit recommended 'him to his maſter;' and what follows is exactly what has been ſaid of every adminiſtration on its commencement.

We come next to the common cant of court champions, in telling us, the Burleighs, the Walſinghams, the Clarendons, the Somers's, the Godolphins all met with oppoſitions; and yet they were great miniſters: and there are thoſe who will tell you, the Empſons, the Dudleys, the Wolſeys, the Northumberlands, the Somerſets, the Buckinghams, the Cabaliſts, and the Sunderlands, were the ſame; and in which of the claſſes our preſent miniſter may come to be placed, there are probably North Britons and South Britons who differ widely in opinion.

'But (ſays our writer) if ſome Kings have been 'undone by adhering to their favourites, many 'more have been made unhappy through the want 'of ſteadineſs to ſupport their miniſters.' The number of the former have indeed been very many: but I hardly recollect an inſtance in the latter caſe from the hiſtory of England. A king and his people are like man and wife: they never get any thing by diſagreeing with each other.

A King of Great-Britain, in poſſeſſion of the affections of his people, is the greateſt of monarchs; but in a ſituation that is the reverſe, he may be the moſt miſerable of all mortals.

POPLICOLA.

A remarkable letter, upon the proſpect of a peace, which was circulated with ſingular induſtry, firſt in the form of an hand-bill, and publickly delivered at the Royal Exchange, and other places, and afterwards printed in the public papers.

To a gentleman in the city.

I AM told that there is a great clamour in the city againſt the peace. The gentlemen of the city are very much in the right to clamour againſt any thing they think wrong; but they may poſſibly be miſtaken in their opinion. I dare ſay, they do not pretend to infallibility, and will hear with patience any man whoſe ſentiments differ from their's. Altho' politicians have ſhort memories, yet I take it for granted, that every body who talks of public affairs remembers the beginning and origin of the preſent war. Great-Britain entered into a war with France to put a ſtop to the encroachments of that nation in North America; and the weſtern world, as it was the ſole cauſe, ſo it was at firſt allowed to be the primary object of the war. How we came to change both the object and the theatre of the war, I will not take upon me to determine: 'tis ſufficient for my purpoſe to obſerve, that after the war has endured for ſeveral years, upon a plan of expence unheard of, and even incredible; a plan propoſed, not for a continuance, but merely for one vigorous effort, yet the ſtate of the German war remains nearly the ſame, and we have notwithſtanding our repeated victories, a wolf by the ears.

I acknowledge with pleaſure that we have prevailed in every other quarter of the world: Our enemies, ſufficiently ſenſible of this, ſue for peace; and offer conditions, which the miniſtry have ſo far approved of as to agree to treat upon them. What theſe conditions are, is not yet made known to the public; but the adminiſtration have declared that

that the terms now offered are much more favourable to Britain than thoſe that were the foundation of the treaty laſt war. As I write not to juſtify or defend the miniſters, I write without any particular information, and think myſelf not the leſs fit to expreſs the ſenſe of an honeſt man, warm with love to his country, and zealous, at this great criſis, for her intereſt, which faction and folly combine to hurt.

I take for granted, that the peace now offered by France and Spain united, is in many reſpects better, and in no reſpects worſe, than the peace which was ſo near being concluded laſt year, when we had no enemy but France to contend with. And is not this general outline highly ſatisfactory, till more is known; Is Spain nothing in the adverſe ſcale? Is the defence of Portugal no addition to the burden of the war? If I ſhould adventure to gueſs at the terms, and enumerate upon report (and many people clamour upon no better authority) the particular advantages of the peace, I ſhould be at a loſs to know what the enemies of peace really think advantageous to this country: For their opinion, or at leaſt their language is totally changed.

North America, that mighty empire, which we ſo lately eſteemed as the baſis of our trade and greatneſs, is now undervalued and deſpiſed.

Cape Breton, conquered at a great expence, and extolled in the addreſſes of a former day, as a conqueſt ſo advantageous to us, and ſo pernicious to our enemies, hath loſt all its conſequence.

Senegal, the firſt place taken from the enemy during a late adminiſtration, whoſe importance we heard ſo much of at that time, is now depreciated as an uſeleſs, burdenſome poſſeſſion: In ſhort, every thing that it is ſuppoſed we are to keep at the peace, whether in Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, is di-

miniſhed to nothing; and every thing that it is imagined we are to reſtore, is magnified without meaſure.

Is this the voice of truth, or is it the language of prejudice and error? Thoſe who maintain, that we ought to keep all that we have conquered, muſt certainly believe that France is totally ruined, and unable to ſupport even a languiſhing and defenſive war: But is there any reaſon to believe that France is reduced ſo low as to ſurrender at diſcretion? to give up every thing but France itſelf; to give up its exiſtence as a trading ſtate and maritime power? How often have we been deceived in our ideas of the weakneſs of France? And ſhall we, upon a precarious, nay an improbable ſuppoſition, run on in a career, that muſt prove fatal to ourſelves? Like Pyrrhus we may be undone by our victories; or like Gaſton de Foix we may purſue a vanquiſhed enemy, till we alſo fall in the field.

I do not take upon me to ſay, that it is impoſſible to raiſe even the immenſe ſums required for another year: but I affirm, and call upon the enemies of peace to contradict me, that there is no certainty, no likelihood of compelling France, to ſubmit to terms better for us than thoſe now offered, by another campaign, and another after that: and what will be the condition of this country, if the preſent enormous expence continues? France already feels its full diſtreſs; ours is not yet come: if the war continues, our diſtreſs is near at hand.

France ſupports the expence of this war by an immediate and cruel taxation; we borrow immenſe ſums, the burden of which we ſhall feel hereafter. Already the want of men and money is complained of in every county of this kingdom, Middleſex excepted. As the capital derives peculiar advantages from the war, is it not reaſonable to ſuppoſe that there are individuals who exclaim againſt a peace from motives very different from love to their country? the partizans of former miniſters conſpire with

with the ſelfiſh and the intereſted, to diſtreſs the preſent miniſtry by oppoſing a peace, which, however ſalutary to the public, would put an end to the gains of inſatiable avarice, and cut off the hopes of criminal ambition: nay, a foreign prince, who owes ſo much to the bounty of this generous nation, pretends to be enraged that Great-Britain preſumes to take care of itſelf; and his inſolent emiſſaries join in the cry againſt a miniſtry, who are ſo ſingular in their politics, as to prefer the intereſt of Britain to that of Germany. This is the firſt miniſtry that ever did ſo; and ſhall they be rewarded with reproach and defamation, for doing what has been ſo long paſſionately wiſhed for, and yet deſpaired of? Is it poſſible to imagine, that the people of Great-Britain can be deluded to ſuch a degree as to murmur againſt their ſovereign, for having a Britiſh heart, and preferring the proſperity of his native country, to the intereſt and paſſions of a foreign prince?

A political writer of the firſt claſs has bequeathed to the world an obſervation, that I hope will be verified by the conduct of Engliſhmen upon this great occaſion. There are ſays he, 'in every nation (whoſe conſtitution is not ruined) a number 'of perſons who love their country. Their voice, 'in the beginning of troubles is not heard: it is 'ſuppreſſed by the clamour of the multitude; but 'this voice grows louder and louder, and becomes 'uppermoſt at laſt, or the ſtate is undone.'

I have ſuch confidence in the general candour and good ſenſe of my countrymen, as to be firmly perſuaded that the voice of truth and reaſon will ſoon be uppermoſt in Britain; that the people, though neceſſarily liable to deluſion, will open their eyes, and judge fairly for themſelves; and they will then applaud that miniſtry whoſe firmneſs, and integrity, in ſpite of oppoſition, concluded a peace which ſecured to this nation immenſe acquiſitions,

and

and terminated the moſt expenſive and hazardous war we were ever engaged in, with dignity and with glory.

Wandſworth, Sept. 5, 1762.

An anſwer to the preceding letter.

WE are told by the letter-writer at Wandſworth, what has been ſince repeated by the Auditor, that "the peace now offered by France "and Spain united, is in many reſpects better, and "in no reſpect worſe, than the peace which was ſo "near being concluded laſt year, when we had no "enemy but France to contend with." I ſhould be glad to know, from one of theſe gentlemen, (ſuppoſe the Auditor, for he is a weekly writer, and probably the beſt inſtructed) what is meant here by the word better? Does it not mean ſimply, that more is to be given up to us by theſe preliminaries, than what was to have been yielded to us laſt year? Or has it a fair and comparative relation to the circumſtances of the war, as it ſtood then, and as it ſtands now? And that, as the *uti poſſidetis* was to be the baſis of the peace at that time, ſo the preſent *uti poſſidetis* is to be the foundation of the preſent peace. If the laſt be the true meaning of this paragraph, and if this overture of peace be not to take place till the fate of the Havannah be determined, (as was the caſe laſt year with reſpect to Belleiſle) every true Engliſhman will bleſs the inſtruments of ſo happy and honourable an event: and indeed, if theſe writers have any authority for what they ſay, this laſt can be the only true and genuine meaning: for, France and Spain united, and, no enemy but France to contend with, argue a compariſon between our ſituation laſt year, and our preſent

ſent ſituation; and it would imply the meaneſt prevarication, partially to compare one circumſtance of the war, and to drop the compariſon in every other circumſtance. If, to the misfortune of Britain, the firſt interpretation is the true one, I ſay, we may have the offer of a better peace than what was near being concluded laſt year, and yet the acceptance of ſuch a peace may be now highly diſhonourable and injurious to this nation. To exemplify this truth, nothing more is needful than to purſue the comparative ſtate of the war, ſo artificially introduced in one point of light only, and ſo ſilently paſſed over in every other point;—let us candidly view it in every point of light.

Since the laſt year we have incurred an additional debt of twelve millions, a war with Spain, and the loſs of Newfoundland.—On the other hand, we have gained Martinico, and all the adjacent iſlands; the Havannah, with twelve ſhips of the enemy's line of battle, and an immenſe treaſure, are moſt probably in our poſſeſſion; Portugal, which employs ſeventy or eighty thouſand of the enemy's forces, is now in our alliance; our brave ally, the king of Pruſſia, who was beſet by foes on every ſide, has emerged from his diſtreſſes, having ſcarcely more than one power to contend with, over which he has a manifeſt aſcendancy; the French, who threatened Hanover from the banks of the Weſer, are now fled to the Mayne, after leaving ſome garriſons in Heſſe, which in all human likelihood will be ſoon reduced; and that country, which, if I miſtake not, was valued againſt Guadalupe and its dependencies in the laſt preliminaries, will now be reſumed without the ranſom of ſo precious an exchange. To compare then our preſent ſituation with what it was laſt year, we have to conſider, what we have gained, and what we have loſt.

We

We have gained,	We have loſt,
Martinico, the Grenadillos, St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent: an equivalent for Guadalupe and Marigalante: and moſt probably the Havannah.	St. John's in Newfoundland: which was taken by the enemy, with two ſhips of the line of battle, and a few ſoldiers.

This fair repreſentation of facts muſt convince every one, without further comment, that we have a right to inſiſt on much better terms of peace, than we could preſume to think of in the laſt year's preliminaries, though the loſs of St. John's may juſtify a leſs advantageous peace than might otherwiſe reaſonably have been expected.—After all, we may comfort ourſelves with the aſſurance of an excellent peace, on the footing of each power retaining what it has conquered, though a very valuable conqueſt on our part ſhould be ſet off againſt this acquiſition of the enemy.—With regard to our increaſed debt, we ought to conſider that great advantages cannot be obtained without great expence; it would be as vain to imagine it, as to expect great victories without bloodſhed; if we complain in victory, what muſt be the lamentations of the vanquiſhed? And if our conqueſts have coſt us dearly, we have the more right to demand the fruits of them.—As to our war with Spain, this year's experience has ſhewn how little cauſe we had to fear the enmity of the Spaniards, and how much reaſon they had to dread ours: for, provided the Havannah be taken, they will ſoon feel inevitable ruin on themſelves, while they ſought to avert it from the French; and ſince our conqueſts this year have exceeded the conqueſts of any former year, it appears that France and Spain united are not near ſo ſtrong as France alone was at the commencement of the war: why then ſhould we quit

any

any of our pretenſions to what we have conquered? Why not demand the ſame kind of terms, *viz.* the retention of our conqueſts, as would have been the caſe had the treaty laſt year taken place. That treaty went off: the laſt hope of France was in Spain: Spain unites herſelf with France, and has ſhewn how light ſhe is in the ſcale againſt us. Beaten as the French are, out of all their hopes, as well as out of the field, ſhall we give them back all their iſlands, and all their commerce, that they may be enabled once more to diſpute with us the ſovereignty of the Seas? Is it beſt to raiſe an implacable enemy from the duſt, and give him time to breathe, 'till he can renew the aſſault when he finds it moſt for his advantage? or to take proper meaſures to impair his ſtrength, ſince we cannot eradicate his malice? In ſhort, ſhall we be generous enough to conſult the intereſt of France, and forego our own? for that may be the caſe in the preſent poſture of our affairs, though the preſent treaty compared literally with the former, may be in many reſpects better; though the former, at that time, might not deſerve blame. For by the ſame rule that a peace, on equal terms, would have been a good one two years after the commencement of the war, when we had loſt Minorca and been beaten in America, yet if the ſame ſort of terms had been adopted laſt year as a plan of pacification, though mingled up with ſomething that would have made it in many reſpects better, and in no reſpect worſe, all the world would have decried ſuch an infamous peace; ſo the peace which was near being concluded laſt year, might not then have been diſguſtful, yet, without conſiderable additional ceſſions by the enemy, it may now become very unpalatable, and be held in abomination, even if it ſhould be ſweetened over with ſomething better.—Every one knows that our enemies would give up nothing that formerly belonged to them

them through the mere deſire of peace; it is neceſſity that drives them to any conceſſions, and the ſame neceſſity will compel them to accept ſuch conditions as our conqueſts enable us to impoſe.

They will certainly renew their claims when they think themſelves ſtrong enough, whether we keep the whole, or a part only of what we have poſſeſſed ourſelves by dint of arms; and they will ſoon forget our bounty in reſtoring a part, whilſt they will remember the injury done them in retaining any thing. Can there be a doubt, therefore, whether we ought to inſiſt on the retention of the whole? there is a double policy in it, we ſtrengthen ourſelves and weaken the foe. If the enemy comply we have nothing to fear from them for many years to come; if they reject the terms, when can there be ſo fit a time to proſecute the war, as when the enemy cannot effectually reſiſt us either by ſea or land? I have argued thus far on a ſuppoſition that this aſſertion of a better peace came from authority. Who tells us ſo? why, an anonymous letter writer, and a common weekly advocate for miniſterial meaſures, (*the auditor*). This is poor authority indeed.—But, beſides the futility of ſuch teſtimony, we ought to be peculiarly on our guard at preſent, how we truſt to any pretended authority: till lately, I thought the Gazette a very good authority; but I dare ſay the miniſtry will not allow it to be authority; for juſt before our rupture with Spain, the Gazette told us, we were on the moſt friendly and loving terms with Spain, and the very next Gazette informed us, that we were underſtood by that court to have made a formal declaration of war, by aſking a queſtion, which in ſubſtance amounted only to this, *Whether Spain was reſolved to be at war with us or no?* The miniſtry knew full well on what tickliſh ground we ſtood with that court, and had inſtructed our ambaſſador

to

to dreſs up, in the moſt tender and delicate terms, the queſtion they found themſelves under the neceſſity to put; which queſtion Mr. Wall pronounced to be an inſult on his king, and to amount to a formal declaration of war. Yet the Gazette had told us over and over again, that we were on the moſt amicable footing with that court; therefore the miniſtry will deny the Gazette to be authority; for certainly they would not lend the ſanction of their names to accounts which they know to be falſe; though ſuch ſpecious reports from ſuch fancied authority, might ſerve for a time to caſt an obloquy on the man they feared and hated: what ſort of credit then, will any other man give to miniſterial apologiſers, and panegyriſts?

It is much to be lamented, that this queſtion which the Spaniard deemed a declaration of war, had not been put ſooner in a leſs humble and ſubmiſſive ſtrain, as our patriot miniſter adviſed; if we had received the ſame anſwer, which is a doubt, the Havannah had been our's long ago, without a doubt, and without offering up ſo many brave men as victims to an ill timed attempt, and an unwholſome ſeaſon; and if another noble enterprize, as was propoſed, had been ſet on foot at that juncture, the Spaniards, in all probability had ſued for peace in a much ſhorter time from the opening of the war, than from the commencement of it they had meditated war.—But the wiſdom and foreſight of this great man was treated as temerity, and the generous ardour he breathed for his country's glory, ſerved only to make him repreſented as the incendiary of Europe.

Before I finiſh this letter, I cannot help obſerving, that not a word is ſaid in the pretended preliminaries about diſſolving the union between France and Spain; this makes me well aſſured, that the pretended preliminaries are altogether fictious, for

for a diſſolution of this union is the moſt neceſſary article of the treaty; the baſis, without which no miniſter will preſume to hearken to a peace, conſcious as we are, that ſuch an union ſubſiſts between France and Spain: a treaty that does not include a formal renunciation of that union on their part, would be equal to a formal guarantee of it on our part; in its inevitable tendency it would amount to a total prohibition of any lucrative commerce with Spain in times of peace; and on any future rupture with either power, it would bring both upon us, when they would be freſh and vigorous, inſtead of being worn out, as they now are, and fainting under the weight of our victorious arms.

N. B. Leſt the miniſtry ſhould plume themſelves too much upon the preſent glorious poſture of our affairs, and aſcribe the merit of it to themſelves, be it remembered that it was another perſon who then happily had the guidance of our military and naval operations, that planned the conqueſt of Martinico.—That the ſame perſon propoſed an attempt on the Havannah, in caſe of a rupture with Spain, at a proper time and ſeaſon, when ſuch an attempt muſt have ſucceeded.—That our ſucceſs in Germany muſt be attributed to happy contingencies, and not to any peculiar aſſiſtance and encouragement given to that department of the war.

Sept. 22, 1762.

Queries upon the Preliminary Articles of Peace.

1. HAD not France many advantages at the time of the late negociation, [Mr. *Pitt's*] which ſhe has not at preſent; and we had not at the time of the late negociation?

2. Did

2. Did not the *uti poſſidetis* of France comprehend at that time the Landgraviate of Heſſe, Munden, and the town of Gottingen in the electorate of Hanover? Does it now contain any more than the ſingle town of Caſſel, and that beſieged, (and taken before the peace was ſigned;) and has France any thing at preſent to exchange but that town and the iſle of Minorca?

3. What was the condition of our ally, the king of Pruſſia, at that time, and what is it now? Was he not then attacked by the whole force of the mighty empire of Ruſſia, and by Sweden? Is he not now free from both; and is not his condition on the whole, flouriſhing and proſperous?

4. Is not the actual poſſeſſion of the Havannah, twelve capital ſhips taken, three deſtroyed, four millions value in plunder, and all the rich poſſeſſions of the Spaniſh monopoly in the new world laid open to us, a balance againſt the ſucceſſes of the Spaniards on the frontiers of Portugal?

5. Have we not, ſince the rupture of the late negociation, made ourſelves maſters of Martinico, and all the reſt of the French Caribbee Iſlands?

6. Is not therefore our ſituation, on the whole, infinitely more advantageous now, than it was at that period? Are not our allies in a better condition? Are not both France and Spain more depreſſed? Are not at the ſame time our expences much encreaſed; and have we not from all theſe circumſtances united, a right to expect much more advantageous terms of peace from this, than from the laſt negociation?

7. Since all (or at leaſt all which are any ways conſiderable) of our conqueſts in the Weſt Indies, are to be ceded to France, what is ſuppoſed equivalent to be paid for them, by our proud and inſidious enemy out of her *uti poſſidetis*? Is Minorca a ſufficient compenſation for the fiſhery, worth a million

annually, and all the French Caribbees worth probably two millions more?

8. If ſome of our conqueſts are ceded *gratis*, to oblige France, *merely from a principle of moderation and without any equivalent*, is it not reaſonable that we ſhould retain ſomething of *real value*, as an indemnification for an expence of ſeventy millions; and that we ſhould amidſt all this wonderful moderation in our conduct, diſcover ſome ſmall degree of attention to our intereſt?

9. Would not the retaining of either Martinico or Guadalupe be a great acquiſition to England? and would not the ſurrender of either of them, ſeparately, be a great conceſſion to France?

10. Is it poſſible that beſides the reſtitution of the great French iſlands, we are to ſurrender alſo our own moſt important iſland of St. Lucia, which we always had by right, and which we have now by conqueſt; and what equivalent do we propoſe to receive for this additional and moſt extraordinary conceſſion?

11. If we are to retain nothing, or only ſome inconſiderable ſpots, for what end did we waſte our blood and treaſure in Weſt-India conqueſts, as in the laſt negociation France offered us all we could deſire, and more than we ever did deſire, in North America, *ſolely for a ſhare in the Newfoundland fiſhery*; and were not theſe North-American acquiſitions overpaid by the ceſſion of that fiſhery?

12. Did not our North American territories, on the plan propoſed in the laſt negociation, extend from 30 degrees, north latitude, on the ſea ſhore; and in the inland parts, from 36 degrees to the North Pole; that is from North to South, on the coaſt, above 4000 *Engliſh miles*; and in the inland, 3500 *and upwards*; and did they not alſo extend (if we could travel as far as they extended) from Eaſt and Weſt, at leaſt 2000 more? and could

could the French miniſter after this keep his countenance, if we ſuffered ourſelves to be diverted by the romantic deſire of adding foreſt to foreſt, on that wild continent, from any ſerious commercial acquiſition?

13. In what are we the richer by all our victories, or the French the poorer by all their loſſes, if neither of the capital Weſt Indian conqueſts are to be retained? What is the particular value of our other acquiſitions? Is it enough for a victorious nation to take up with mere ſecurity?

14. What are the *criterions* of a bad peace by which *nothing certain* is added to our revenues, and a great certain expence incurred?

Martinico, Guadalupe, Grand Terre, Marigalante, make annually at leaſt one hundred thouſand hogſheads of white and brown ſugar, the duty of which would be 600,000l. a year, for if we keep thoſe iſlands, there can be no neceſſity to give a draw-back to the exporter.

Their coffee, cocoa, cotton, and rum, would amount to as much as their ſugar; and I think it could be eaſily made appear, that theſe iſlands would pay at leaſt one million a year revenue; and this would pay half the intereſt of all the money borrowed the whole war, beſide the amazing trade it would occaſion to the kingdom.

Account of Tonnage.

IT appears that the common notion of an increaſe of our commerce during the war, did not ariſe from an increaſe of our tonnage and exports, but from a greater demand than uſual of manufactures from a reduced number of hands. Our tonnage, as laid before the Houſe of Commons in December 1762, was as follows.

From 1749 to 1754:

Britiſh tonnage outwards — —	672,641
Ditto inwards — — —	500,818
Foreign ditto outwards — —	151,115
Ditto inwards — — — —	65,437

For 6 years ſince, from 1754 to 1760 incluſive:

Britiſh tonnage inwards — —	408,259
Ditto outwards, — — —	466,438
Foreign ditto outwards — —	108,884
Ditto inwards — — — —	46,960

By this account the decreaſe of our tonnage is evident.

From 1749 to 1754:	£.	s.	d.
Exports — —	61,210,377	8	3
Imports — — —	33,279,348	5	7
Exports exceed the imports	27,931,029	2	8
Annual medium of exports,	10,201,729	11	4
Ditto of imports — —	5,546,558	0	11
Exports exceedt he imports,	4,655,171	10	5

For theſe 6 years ſince 1754:

Exports — — — —	55,101,920	10	9
Imports — — — —	33,973,776	8	10
Exports exceed the imports	21,128,144	1	11
Annual medium of exports	9,183,653	8	5
Ditto of imports — —	5,662,296	1	5
Exports exceed the imports —	3,521,357	6	11

In this value of exports and imports thoſe to and from the colonies are not included.

When exports exceed the imports, the balance is made up by bullion; thus it is evident we have loſt above eleven hundred thouſand pounds a year for the laſt ſix years.

In

The Cuſtom-houſe accounts of the imports from Guadalupe, laid this ſeſſion (1762) before the Houſe of Commons, are as follow:

		Cwt.	*qrs.*	*lb.*	
In 1759 — —		29002	1	8	Brown
1760 — —		168133	1	17	Brown
1761 — —		204127	3	27	Brown
and in 1761 ——		83	3	25	White

Theſe quantities reduced to hogſheads of about 800 weight each, which is about the average of French Hogſheads, make

In 1759 —— 3625 hhds and fraction
1760 ——21016 ditto
1761 ——25518 ditto

The whole import to England (but of which 'tis but too ſtrongly ſurmiſed, part was ſmuggled from Martinico) is for three years 50159 French hhds, which on an average make 16719 hhds, equal to Engliſh hhds of twelve hundred weight each, 11146.

Anſwer to the preceding.

HOWEVER ſpecious the foregoing calculation may appear at firſt view, it is moſt certainly calculated upon partial principles. And in order to undeceive the public in a caſe of ſo much conſequence, I deſire the following faithful extract of the annual totals of the exports and imports for the laſt twelve years, may be publiſhed; by which it is evident, that, during the courſe of ſix years war, the increaſe of exports is, 3,787,501 l. 7 s. 8 d. the imports 173597 l. 2 s. 3 d. But if they are taken for the three laſt years of the war, viz. 1759, 60, 61, when the nation was at its meridian of glory and unanimity at home, inſpired emulation abroad, and commerce every where at-

pended conqueſt! — the difference, compared with the three laſt years of profound peace, 1753, 4, 5, is 6,701,700 l. 11 s. 6 d.—a balance ſo notorious, that every unprejudiced perſon may judge, whether we were thereby rendered incapable of carrying on the war.

A BRITON.

N. B. The exports and imports for the year 1762 are not brought in, which it is preſumed, would have been greater than in former years, from the important conqueſt in Martinico and the Havannah, which latter had opened the trade to all the Spaniſh ſettlements in America.

EXPORTS

EXPORTS. 1750 to 1755. Six years peace.

1750.	1751.	1752.
12,691,246 16 6	12,414,111 17 3	11,694,911 3 5
1753.	**1754**	**1755.**
12,243,604 6 11	11,787,828 12 10	11,065,243 7 9

Total, of six years peace 71,896,947 4 8

1756 to 1761. Six years war.

1756.	1757	1758
11,390,856 3 3	10,982,218 8 3	11,512,997 1 10
1759	**1760**	**1761**
13,072,595 16 9	14,166,475 — 9	14,559,306 1 6

Total of six years war 75,684,448 12 4

IMPORTS. 1750 to 1755. Six years peace.

1750	1751	1752
7,767,826 7 8	7,941,897 16 11	7,889,336 4 3
1753	**1754**	**1755**
8624,370, 2 10	8,093,472 15 0	8,772,865 2 10

Total of six years peace, 49,089,768 9 6

1756 to 1761. Six years war.

1756	1757	1758
7,750,337 4 5	8,200,795 4 3	7,787,471 16 3
1759	**1760**	**1761**
8,481,611 4 4	9,367,199 12 8	9,238,270 9 11

Total of six years war 50,825,685 11 9

On the reſignation of LORD BUTE, April 8, 1762.

THE ſtrength of the oppoſition, ſupported by the united voice of the whole Engliſh nation, no doubt occaſioned the late reſignation. But what has it left behind? The adminiſtration, on its preſent footing, does not appear ſo laſting as the late. There are ſeveral reaſons for believing it: but I will mention only one, *viz.* If there were ſtrength and reſolution enough in any ſet of men, to force the ſubſtance out of power, will not the ſhadow vaniſh of courſe?—Thoſe who were timorous and backward, becauſe they thought the taſk inſurmountable, muſt now perceive what they before deemed impracticable; and be convinced, that in the preſent ſituation of things, there can be no ſtability. The memorable three days adminiſtration of the late earl Granville, is probably the model of our preſent ſtate, as well as the *legacy of one of the new guides*, [meaning the earl of Egremont, who was a pupil of lord Granville's.] The public mind is far from being ſatisfied. The laſt miniſtry was odious; and this is contemptible. It is compoſed of only the dregs of the laſt. The three principals are no more. Two are to be called up to the houſe of peers;* and the third † is either gone into Yorkſhire or behind the curtain—or perhaps both.

AN INDEPENDENT WHIG.

* Mr. Fox created lord Holland, and Sir Francis Daſhwood created lord le Deſpencer.

† Lord Bute.

Anſwer

Anſwer to the preceeding letter.

IF the Gentleman who ſigns himſelf An Independent Whig, is only as *independent* as thoſe obſervations ſpeak him to be impartial; it will then be no longer a doubt that he is the tool of faction, inſtead of being the advocate of liberty. For to paſs over the want of conſiſtency, in his firſt aſſertion, and foundation in fact, 'that the ſtrength 'of the oppoſition, ſupported by the united voice 'of the whole Engliſh nation, no doubt occaſioned 'the late reſignation.' I would only appeal to the candor of the public, whether the characteriſing a miniſtry, the very names of whom are not yet known, when not a ſingle arrangement is actually made, nor one office yet beſtowed; I ſay, whether the branding adminiſtration yet in embryo, will not ſtand forth an odious, yet a ſure and certain teſt of the ſpirit of libelling? and that not content with injuries, and miſrepreſentations of real events, he defames upon conjecture, and trumpets forth oppoſition to phantoms of his own creation. When it ſhall be fully aſcertained who the gentlemen are that will compoſe adminiſtration, it will then ſurely be time enough, it will then at leaſt be more decent and more diſcreet, to deliver ſentiments concerning them. 'Till then it can only ſerve the purpoſe of ſtirring up thoſe general ferments in which ſelfiſh and ill-deſigning men may flatter themſelves to be gainers, but which muſt be matter of ſerious concern to all true lovers of their country.

A. Y.

REPLY.

REPLY.

THE reſignation of the laſt great man has put the world into confuſion. Almoſt every one thought there was not power enough to force him to it; but there is no knowing what even a little power can do, 'till it is tried. I no ſooner ſaid, 'that the ſtrength of the oppoſition, ſupported by 'the united voice of the whole Engliſh nation, occaſioned that reſignation,' than one Mr. A. Y. ſteps forth and talks about facts being miſrepreſented. I ſhould be glad to know *what* facts are miſrepreſented; and he is here called upon to prove which, and in what manner, they are miſrepreſented. It is a juſtice which is due to the public, who ought not, nor ſhall not, be impoſed upon with falſe aſſertions, or evaſive plauſibilities.

Is it not notorious that it has been declared by authority, that his majeſty has been pleaſed to place his government in the hands of the Right Hon. George Grenville, the earl of Egremont, and the earl of Halifax; and that in all caſes of importance, they are not to act ſeparately, but in an agreement of the three? Will not this very day, [Apr. 13.] or at fartheſt, the courſe of the week, prove the truth of all the material facts aſſerted in the paper which has ſo unjuſtly given offence?—The anſwer *ſeems* to come from authority. Whether they begin to be afraid of their own ſilly work or not, time alone can determine; but I am ſure there is not one impartial man about the court, who will not acknowledge, that the ſtate of the caſe as pointed in that paper, was not matter of invention, but founded upon the then real intentions of the gentleman at preſent behind the curtain.

I do not underſtand what he means by *the true ſpirit of libelling*. What! will he talk of libels, when it is notorious to all the world, that the advocates

vocates of his cauſe have publiſhed the moſt infamous ones that ever came from the preſs? that their ſlanders, falſehoods, and ſcurrilities were utterly deteſted by all honeſt men. Pray let it be aſked, who *raiſed* the ſpirit of libelling? Did not the hired advocates of the late adminiſtration (or the preſent, for I repeat it again, that it is only the dregs of the laſt) ſay, that Mr. Pitt wrote a letter to the duke of Newcaſtle, ſoliciting his grace's intereſt with his late majeſty for a penſion; and does not the duke of Newcaſtle, on all occaſions, publicly declare, that he never had ſuch a letter? And did they not make and publiſh a ſpeech, which they aſſerted was the late earl Granville's in council; and did not his lordſhip ſeveral times declare, there was not even ONE ſingle word of truth in that ſpurious production; I could bring a thouſand inſtances of falſehood, and the TRUE ſpirit of libelling, from the Briton and Auditor; but I forbear to diſturb the aſhes of thoſe dead miniſterial tools, who when living were the contempt of mankind; and died, becauſe daily experience convinced their patrons, they were the worſt of enemies to the cauſe they were hired to ſupport.

Mr. A. Y. talks of the *indecency* there is in ſaying any thing about the miniſtry, 'till it is ſettled. To which I firmly anſwer, that there is, in ſuch a caſe, *no indecency*; and that the moſt fit time to talk, is before the miniſtry is ſettled; as the arguments, if founded on the public intereſt, may in ſome meaſure influence the impartial choice of men; for what good will talking do afterwards? only ſerve to raiſe ſuch another ferment, as we have lately ſeen, for the overthrow of another miniſter. The people cannot, they will not, be ſatisfied with thoſe in whom they do not chuſe to place their confidence: nor can it be ſuppoſed, that his majeſty, who

who is ever diſpoſed to meet his people half way, can now be a ſtranger to their wiſhes.

He ſays in effect, every thing is in a ſtate of uncertainty. I grant it: for I do not ſee how any thing ſhould be otherwiſe. Notwithſtanding the three heads which now rule, are, in theſe days of anarchy and diviſion, *fit* to preſide over theſe kingdoms: yet as they were moſt evidently concerned in the peace and the exciſe, the people are in no better an humour than before. The few changes which have been made, are only among a particular ſet of men on one ſide. The oppoſition (which is compoſed of the flower of the Engliſh nobility, as well with reſpect to talents as to independency) does not ſeem to be in the leaſt affected: or if any thing, it will gain ſtrength; for it is well known, that many eminent perſonages have been for ſome time timorous about taking either ſide. They diſliked the adminiſtration; and as for the oppoſition, they then conſidered it as entering into a kind of a proſcription for life, from the little probability there ſeemed to be of ſucceſs; but now as the ſuperſtructure, to the aſtoniſhment of mankind, is removed, and nothing but the ſhadow of the pillar left, it is not doubted, but many who before were neuter, will now openly declare themſelves: and it is ſincerely hoped, that an amicable capitulation among all parties, may ſpeedily take place. The intereſt and the buſineſs of the nation, call for it in the moſt preſſing manner. A mixed miniſtry is what has ever been the moſt happy and glorious for England. For inſtance, what contributed more to the reſtoration of harmony after the loſs of Minorca, and to the eſtabliſhment of that firm and unalterable union during Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, than the placing in the ſeveral principal departments of government, the leaders of both parties; particularly ſuch as were diſtinguiſhed by ability,

ability, not by favour. They then joined hand to hand, and this produced the immortal glories of the war. Let not our preſent æra be diſtinguiſhed by the advancement of only incapable men, and breaches in ſeveral of the moſt noble and illuſtrious families in the realm: let it rather be recorded to poſterity, that when diviſions unhappily broke out among the loyal and faithful ſervants of the crown and nation, they were, under the auſpices of George III. (as they had been before under George II.) reſtored to a perfect underſtanding, union, and cordiality; and Britain again experienced the happy effects of harmony, and friendſhip reigned throughout her people, which was the more valued, becauſe the want of it had been felt.

An INDEPENDENT WHIG.

QUERIES, *written by* A Moderate Whig; *with the anſwers, by* A True Whig.

QUERE 1. By the eſtabliſhed conſtitution of theſe kingdoms at the revolution, has the king a right to make peace and war, or not?

Anſ. By the conſtitution of theſe kingdoms, repaired and ſtrengthened at the revolution, the king has *power*, by and with the advice of his privy-coucil, to *declare* war, and to *negociate* peace. But that the king has, or that there is inherent in the royal prerogative, an abſolute, unlimited, and uncontroulable *right*, either to *make* or to *decline to make* war or peace; or in making peace to agree to any ceſſions or conceſſions which the crown may think fit, I take to be a doctrine manifeſtly ſubverſive of the conſtitution, deſtructive of the rights of parliament, and tending to overthrow the liberties of this FREE PEOPLE. Nor will any body, I imagine, attempt

attempt to maintain it, who is acquainted with our hiſtory; has conſulted the public records; or read the journals of parliament.

Q. 2. Upon the ſame principles, and by the ſame eſtabliſhment, has the king a right to chuſe his miniſters, or ſuch perſons as he thinks proper, and as he can place a confidence in, for carrying on the buſineſs of government?

Anſ. By the ſame conſtitution, but not upon the *ſame principles*, (if by that is meant that the powers ſtand preciſely on the ſame foot, and are alike in all reſpects) the king has a *right* to name and appoint his miniſters, or ſuch perſons as he, being *well* and *freely* adviſed by the ſervants of the crown, thinks proper, and as he can place a confidence in, for carrying on the buſineſs of government. But beſides the influence of ſuch a conſtitutional advice in the choice of miniſters, there is in this country a power, as indiſputable as that of the king, to name them, and of ſufficient efficacy, to controul the choice of the crown, and to remove from the king's preſence and councils for ever miniſters not approved of, even without proceeding ſo far as to condemn or puniſh them by a judicial trial. That great power has been often, and may at any time be put into motion by the voice of the people; of whoſe unalterable rites it is one to give and to enforce their inſtructions to the repreſentatives they *chooſe* and may *change*.

Q. 3. Is not the parliament ſtiled, and underſtood to be the grand council of the nation, a body who are conſidered as the repreſentatives of the whole people: from whom it is expected, the king ſhall receive advice; whoſe duty and intereſt it is that he ſhould do it, whoſe power is able to controul them, as they ſhall approve, or diſapprove his actions, by granting, or withholding from him the eſſential means of acting—the ſupplies?

Anſ.

Anſ. The parliament is ſtiled, and underſtood to be the GREAT COUNCIL of the nation; a body which is conſidered as the repreſentatives of the whole people, from whom it is expected the king ſhould receive advice. It is therefore no leſs expected that their *advice*, not their *approbation*, ſhould on ſome occaſions be aſked. A Britiſh parliament will not now, more than in former days, think itſelf tied up from giving their advice, though it ſhould not be aſked. Such advice has been aſked by ſome of the beſt kings England ever had; and it has been given with authority and effect, when it was not aſked to ſome of the worſt kings England ever ſaw; and in nothing more frequently than in the affairs of peace, war, and alliances made or declined to be made by the crown.—I know not how it can be the *duty* of the parliament (if to *it* the firſt *whoſe* in the query not very grammatically relates) that the king ſhould *receive* their advice, in any other reſpect than that it is their duty, on every proper occaſion, to give advice to the crown, when it is *not* as well as when it *is* aſked. But I am ſure it is the *privilege* and the *right* of parliament to adviſe the crown. And I agree it is their *intereſt* (as I alſo think it is the king's, which is indeed inſeparable from their's) that the crown ſhould not only *receive* but *aſk* the advice of parliament, in matters of the higheſt importance, and of ſingular difficulty. If there was no other reaſon for the crown's receiving or aſking the advice of parliament, it certainly is a very forceable one, that the power of the parliament is able to controul the crown, by giving or with-holding from it ſupplies, which are the *neceſſary* means of acting, as they approve, or diſapprove the meaſures to which the king is adviſed by his miniſters, who are anſwerable to their country for EVERY act of the crown.

Q. 4.

Q. 4. By the nature of our conſtitution, can the king learn the ſenſe of his people? ought he to ſeek it in any other manner than from his parliament, from that body who repreſent the people?

Anſ. By the nature of our conſtitution, the king learns the *preſumed* ſenſe of the people from the parliament. It is in that way he ought to ſeek it; and it is perhaps the only way in which he can, in an ordinary courſe, ſeek it; becauſe there is no other body repreſenting the WHOLE PEOPLE with which the crown can communicate. But as from the parliament (except perhaps in the caſe of a new one, choſen on purpoſe to convey the ſentiments of the electors to the throne upon a particular affair, previouſly declared to them) no more can be had than the *preſumed* ſenſe of the people; ſo neither does the people, by chuſing the parliament, *renounce* what they cannot *transfer*, their *own* ſenſe, nor the right of having one, and of ſignifying what it is, if it happens to be different from that of their repreſentatives. And the people have a channel as conſtitutional as that of parliament, in which, to make known to the crown the ſenſe which they, the body *repreſented*, entertain of any one thing falling under the cognizance of parliament, or as to things which do not ſo neceſſarily belong to the deliberations of parliament. The people, in their ſeveral collective bodies, which form the GREAT WHOLE, where the conſtitution is, as their birth right and inheritance, have a right to petition the throne. They can addreſs the king. To them belongs the privilege: the crown has the ſatisfaction ariſing from that ſort of intercourſe. In both theſe ways the crown *can* and *does* learn the *real* and the *univerſal* ſenſe of the people, and may be more certainly informed of it than it can be by any vote or reſolution of parliament. *Theſe* paſs for the ſenſe of the people only when not contradicted by their

their own proper voice, or when confirmed by their ſilent acquieſcence. And the crown itſelf, in ſome caſes, anxiouſly expects more than ſilence from the people. Addreſſes of congratulation have a grateful odour, as they convey the people's ſentiments of ſatisfaction and approbation of the meaſures of the crown, with the expreſſions of the joy they feel upon happy events.

Q. 5. Does not a majority of voices ſpeak the majority of opinions, and does it not imply the ſenſe and conſent of the majority of the people?

Anſ. A majority of voices ſpeaks the majority of opinions; *but only* of thoſe who have or give voices. *Their* ſenſe it *expreſſes* rather than *implies*. But the majority of voices of the *repreſentatives* of the people, neither *implies* nor *expreſſes* (for the utmoſt it can do is to give ground to *preſume*) the ſenſe and conſent of the people *repreſented*. From which it appears, that there is a fallacy in the terms of the query as put. The ſenſe of the people, and the ſenſe of a majority of the houſe of commons, were different upen a very noted occaſion. And the ſenſe of the people, firmly and boldly declared at that time, rendered abortive a vote carried in parliament, tending, as the people thought (whether right or wrong) to introduce a general exciſe; the then miniſter, with all his power, not having choſe to puſh even a favourite object againſt the plain ſenſe of the people.

Q. 6. By what other rule or means, did there, does there at this time, or can there ever exiſt one ſingle law?

Anſ. A majority of voices in the legiſlature, is the only thing that can give exiſtence to a law. The power of legiſlation gives force to the law, whether it be approved or not by thoſe from whom the legiſlative powers are derived, 'till they have influence to procure a repeal of it, if they happen

to differ in opinion from thoſe in whom they have veſted the power to make laws.

Q. 7. To what end and purpoſe was the crown put under an obligation to govern by parliament, and that it was made the eſſential part of our conſtitution?

Anſ. The crown was conferred, by thoſe who only had the right to beſtow it, under conditions inſeparable from the title by which it is held. One eſſential part of the conſtitution is, the being and power of parliament. The crown and the parliament are the GOVERNMENT of this country, the ſupreme executive part of which, and a third ſhare of the legiſlative power, is by the conſtitution veſted in the crown, to be exerciſed with a privy council, and by the adminiſtration of miniſters, who are reſponſible for the acts of the crown. The ends and purpoſes of this well-tempered conſtitution are as apparent as they are wiſe and ſalutary. But it is none of them that the people, from which both the crown and the parliament derive their powers, ſhould not have a ſenſe of their own, or that they ſhould be deprived of the invaluable right of making that ſenſe known, both to the crown and the parliament. That right muſt remain ſacred and inviolable, ſo long as we enjoy the freedom, for the ſecurity of which both the crown and the parliament were intruſted with the powers they are ſeverally poſſeſſed of.

Q. 8. Would it not, of the two, be the moſt arbitrary proceeding in the crown to act contrary, and in oppoſition to the voice of his parliament, or to attempt governing without a parliament?

Anſ. The power of the crown is not, and therefore its proceedings cannot be *arbitrary*; not even in thoſe caſes in which it is *abſolute*. For it is always exerciſed by and with advice; and the adviſers are anſwerable for the act. This eſſentially diſtin-

diſtinguiſhes the acts even of abſolute power in this monarchy from the arbitrary proceedings of princes, whoſe *will* is the *law*, and whoſe miniſters are accountable to none but themſelves. It would not therefore, ſtrictly ſpeaking, be an arbitrary proceeding in the crown to act contrary to the advice of the parliament. But it would be *unconſtitutional* to do it, in matters relating to the adminiſtration of government, and the puniſhment of the miniſter to whom the act was found to be imputable would explain the nature, and ſhew the demerit of this offence. The *legiſlative power* muſt not, however, be confounded with the *executive part* of government. The parliament cannot be ſaid to *adviſe* the crown, when either or both houſes paſs a law. It acts in that caſe in its legiſlative capacity, and not as the GREAT COUNCIL of the nation. And as either houſe has a negative upon the other, ſo the crown has, by the conſtitution, one upon both. In the exerciſe of it, more perhaps than in any other thing, the will of the crown *properly adviſed*, may, without impropriety, be called abſolute and unlimited. And as the crown is in this matter a truſtee for the people, having equal powers with the repreſentatives choſen by themſelves, it may, and for good reaſons (of which none can be more weighty than the general diſapprobation of the people properly manifeſted) ought to refuſe the royal aſſent to a bill, though agreed upon by both houſes of parliament. The propriety of ſuch a ſtep in the crown muſt ſtand upon the ſufficiency of the reaſons for it. And upon the ſame foot will ſtand the ſafety of the miniſter who ventures to adviſe the crown to it. Nor need any miniſter dread the reſentment of parliament, if he can ſatisfy the people of the rectitude of his advice to the crown. —To attempt to govern without a parliament (which is the ſecond alternative ſuppoſed in the

query) would be to attempt to deſtroy the conſtitution, and to make a limited and mixed government give way to an abſolute and arbitrary power.

Q. 9. Has not the parliament in the ſtrongeſt manner, by ſo great a majority, approved the peace and the perſons who made it?

Anſ. The parliament did in a very ſtrong manner, by a great majority, approve of the preliminaries: and the perſons who accepted of the preliminaries have, in the ſtrongeſt manner, diſapproved of the parliament's approbation of them, by not chooſing to conclude a definitive treaty, without inſiſting for, and actually obtaining more advantageous terms than were agreed to by the preliminaries: which has clearly ſhewn, that the peace, approved of by parliament, was not the beſt that could have been had, nor ſuch a one as ought to have been conſented to at firſt.

Q. 10. Is not every corporation (even the city of London in petitioning) every public company, nay even every private club, guided, determined, and governed by the majority of opinions?

Anſ. Moſt certainly every corporation (the city of London not excepted in petitioning or any thing elſe) every public company, nay even every private club, that has any order, and has no particular conſtitution to the contrary, is guided, determined, and governed by the majority of opinions; and as in acts a majority muſt be deciſive in councils or opinions, their weight will be greater or leſs, according to the number and circumſtances of the majority and minority.

Q. 11. Does the actual execution conſtitute a right of acting, and will the city of London's petitioning his majeſty to refuſe his aſſent to a bill [*alluding to the exciſe bill*] to be preſented to them by his parliament, and in that to act contrary to the advice

advice of his and the nation's council, prove it to be right becauſe they did it?

Anſ. Acting *ſuppoſes* and gives reaſon to *preſume*, but does not conſtitute a right to act. The city of London's petitioning his majeſty not to give the royal aſſent to a bill to be preſented to them by parliament, and in that not to agree with the then preſent, but fallible and mutable opinion of the parliament, in its legiſlative capacity, does not prove it to have been right to do ſo. Nor does the king's not having been of the ſame mind with the city of London prove, that it would have been wrong to have been ſo. And it might have been right for the city of London to have petitioned, though they had not actually done it; and for the king not to have given the royal aſſent to that bill, if he had received no petition at all againſt it. But the king's not giving the royal aſſent to any bill, that has paſſed both houſes of parliament, differs widely from his acting contrary to the advice of the parliament, when, acting as the GREAT COUNCIL of the nation, in affairs relating to the adminiſtration of government, of which the laws in being, and the fundamental rules of the conſtitution, are the true ſtandard.

Q. 12. Is there no mob in England? Are there no deſcendants of Wat Tyler's and Jack Straw's exiſting? What would an aſſemblage of thoſe miſerable Engliſh wretches yearly hanged and tranſported, the many thouſands who are daily purſuing the ſame ſteps to deſtruction, be termed? What were thoſe, whoſe indecent hiſſings, &c. at perſons of reſpectable and ſacred characters, ſtamp ignominy on a civilized people, and on liberty itſelf, but a mob? What were the inſulting acclamations, on a certain indecent proceſſion to the city, of the great commoner, but the clamour of an ignorant intoxicated rabble? But I ſhall anſwer this query

myſelf, by ſaying, that though the giddy, ignorant, intoxicated and deceived rabble, may be the attendants, followers and emiſſaries, even of perſons of rank and fortune, they may nevertheleſs ſtill be a mob: nor is it any breach of good manners in ſtiling them ſuch, though they are our countrymen. Let his advocates give a name to any body whatever, who ſhall ſet up to oppoſe the determination of king, lords, and commons, render them odious to the multitude, the ignorant, unthinking, wanton croud, and thereby attempt to overthrow the whole conſtitution.

I muſt beg leave to anſwer a queſtion in the papers, 'Whether the voice of the nation be not conſtitutional, becauſe Mr. Pitt was brought into the miniſtry in 1757," by another, viz. whether becauſe the Highland rebels did come into England, at a time when it could not be prevented, that it was by the voice of the Engliſh nation? It is well known that they both forced their way.

Anſ. There may be ſuch a thing as in the queſtion is meant by *mob* in England. But the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND is a known and a reſpectable name. I cultivate no acquaintance with the perſons, becauſe I abhor the principles of the deſcendants of Wat Tyler's and Jack Straw's, if any ſuch exiſt, who adopt their tenets, or approve their practices. Their rebellion ſhould be looked upon with a juſt deteſtation, at the ſame time that it preſents a ſad proof of the danger of ſubſtituting a *rigorous* inſtead of a *gentle* method of levying a tax, in itſelf unpopular, eſpecially when the people had been previouſly incenſed againſt ſome of their chief rulers. For ſuch are the circumſtances of that rebellion, as recorded in hiſtory. The aſſemblage deſcribed in the query, would juſtly be termed, as the queriſt does term it, *a company of wretches*. I alſo think they might deſerve to be called a mob, who

who would make indecent hiſſings, &c. at perſons of reſpectable and ſacred characters; but the hiſſings of ſuch perſons can ſtamp ignominy only on themſelves, not upon a civilized people who do not countenance, nor on liberty which does not juſtify any miſbehaviour. It remains however to be proved, (and that is the queriſt's buſineſs) that the perſons hiſſed at were really of reſpectable and ſacred characters, for upon that depends the decency or indecency, and even the impropriety, of the hiſſings. Inſulting acclamations, on occaſion of any indecent proceſſion, to the city, or to any other place, may be preſumed to be the *noiſe* of an ignorant and intoxicated rabble. But acclamations will not of themſelves prove that they were of an inſulting kind: They ſhould rather naturally receive a different interpretation; and the indecency of the proceſſion muſt be ſhewn before any acclamations attending it can be fairly condemned.— It is not neceſſary to diſpute with the queriſt the truth or juſtice of the anſwer he gives to his own query, when he ſays, that though the giddy, ignorant, intoxicated and deceived rabble may be the attendants, followers, and emiſſaries, even of perſons of rank and fortune, they may nevertheleſs be ſtill a mob. For a mob, whether deſcribed by a ſtring of mobbiſh epithets, ſuch as there uſed by the queriſt, or by the one contemptuous monoſyllable, will ſtill be *but* a mob. One, however, ſhould be very ſure that the deſcription is applicable to the perſons meant to be deſcribed, before ſuch liberties are taken with our fellow ſubjects, who may be as good men as ourſelves. And thoſe who pay any regard to the *impartial* teſtimony of our gracious ſovereign, as well as they who, from their own conviction, are of the ſame opinion with his majeſty, as to the great and important ſervices done to this country, by the perſon who was juſtly ho-

noured and rewarded by the crown on that account, will think (whatever the queriſt does) that it is a breach of good manners to attempt, however unſucceſsfully, to beſpatter with every *foul*, but *undefiling* language, thoſe of our countrymen who are diſpoſed to ſhew reſpect to the perſon who was ſo inſtrumental in reviving the ſpirit, and raiſing the glory of the nation. Nor ſhould any one make quite light either of the hiſſings or acclamations of what may be called the rabble. For as the trumpet is not the voice which it makes to be heard, neither is the ſound of the multitude, even of the loweſt ſort, to be conſidered merely as their own. When left to themſelves they generally but echo the voice of their ſuperiors; and if they are at any time in the wrong, they ſeldom continue long ſo. Their language, eſpecially when accompanied with an almoſt total ſilence of thoſe reſpectable bodies, which uſually addreſs the throne on great occaſions, is a mark, if not a proof, of the general ſenſe of the nation; which probably has made itſelf to be felt where it has not been at all agreable.—But although I may think them very blame-worthy, whoever they be, that *without cauſe* ſet up to oppoſe the determination of king, lords and commons, and to render them odious to the multitude, *even* the ignorant, unthinking, wanton croud, (which I hope is a thing not in the power of any ſet of men;) I muſt be of opinion, that their conduct is not leſs culpable, and that it muſt be of a much more dangerous tendency, who deny the capacity of the greateſt part of the nation to judge, or would deprive the PEOPLE OF ENGLAND of the right to diſapprove of determinations either of king, lords, and commons ſeverally, or of them altogether. THAT indeed I cannot help conſidering as an attempt to overthrow the whole conſtitution; and, if authorized, would not only ſhut the door againſt the

moſt

moſt dutiful and lawful remonſtrances againſt the paſſing of laws, from which bad conſequences are feared, but would exclude all applications for the repealing of any laws in force, from which inconveniences have been felt.

To me it appears, that the voice of the nation, when uttered by the true organs of the conſtitution, is *conſtitutional*. I think, however, that Mr. Pitt's coming into the miniſtry, 1757, was not ſo much a proof of that which did not (in my apprehenſion) need to be proved, as it was a ſign that the voice of the people is heard at the throne; and that it has ſometimes been thought not unworthy to be attended to by the crown. I am perſuaded it always will be, while princes reign amongſt us who place their glory in reigning for the people's happineſs; which has been the endearing character of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, ever ſince it was called to the crown by the voluntary ſuffrages of a FREE PEOPLE. But I cannot, I own, perceive the leaſt paralel between the circumſtances of Mr. Pitt's coming into the miniſtry, and thoſe of the Highland rebels coming into England at a time when it *was not* prevented. Whether it *could* or *could not* have been prevented (as I think it would have been by the bravery of a few good Engliſh troops oppoſed to them) it is certain that it was not by the voice of the Engliſh nation that thoſe rebels came ſo far as they did. And though I cannot altogether agree to what the queriſt ſays is well known that they forced their way, my own opinion being that they advanced with eaſe, not having been obſtructed; yet if it had been literally ſo, there is ſurely no ſimilarity between that and the other affair to which it is compared. The ſovereign who had the key of his own cloſet, opened the door of it to Mr. Pitt. He did it in compliance with the voice of the PEOPLE—the people, whoſe voice is very well

well known, and eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the noiſe of a mob.—That may be called *force*, but it is a *compulſion* without *violence*. Its efficacy proves the wiſdom of thoſe who yield to it, *not* the inſolence of thoſe who uſe it. The iſſue ſhewed, that the PEOPLE judged right in that inſtance, and they may do ſo in any other. Neither will the voice of the people be ſtifled by the harſh epithets of *mob*, *rabble*, *ignorant*, *wanton*, and all the reſt of them. And we would do well to take care, that when we pretend, under ſuch deſcriptions, to cenſure the dregs of the people, we do not vilify the flower of the nation.

The following letters, &c. are genuine, and the originals of ſome of them are in the poſſeſſion of the earl of HALIFAX. *They are preſented to the public, becauſe they bear an immediate relation to the* NORTH BRITON; *particularly that of the 21ſt of Auguſt* 1762.

MR. Secker preſents his compliments to Mr. Wilkes, he has been three times at his houſe to wait on him from lord Talbot. Mr. Secker would be obliged to Mr. Wilkes to let him know by a note directed to him at Mr. Holford's St. James's Palace, where and what time Mr. Secker could ſpeak to him this afternoon. If he does not hear from Mr. Wilkes, will wait on him by nine o'clock to-morrow morning at his houſe.

Sept. 10. half an hour paſt two o'clock.

Directed to John Wilkes, Eſq;

Mr.

' Mr. Wilkes's compliments to Mr. Secker, was ' not acquainted till this minute by his note, that ' Mr. Secker had once called in Great George-' ſtreet, ſhall be at home from ſeven till eight this ' evening, and as Mr. Wilkes ſhall be alone, he ' ſuppoſes at this meeting Mr. Secker will bring ' no company.'

Friday afternoon,

Great George-ſtreet, Five, Sept. 10.

Directed to

Mr. Secker, at Mr. Holford's St. James's Palace.

' Mr. Secker's compliments to Mr. Wilkes, he ' will wait on him alone this evening between ſeven ' and eight.'

St. James's.

Directed to

John Wilkes, Eſq;

SIR,

' As I have received no anſwer to a letter I wrote ' to you on the 25th of Auguſt, and find by ſend-' ing to your houſe in town that I can have no im-' mediate opportunity of ſeeing you, I am forced ' again by a letter to aſk if you avow or diſclaim ' being author of the paper entitled the North ' Briton of the 21ſt of Auguſt.' TALBOT.

Bolton-ſtreet. *Directed to*

Sept. 10. 1762. Col. Wilkes.

Great

Great George-ſtreet, Friday Sept. 10.

My Lord,

'I beg your lordſhip to do me the juſtice to believe that I have never yet received the letter to me at Wincheſter, which Mr. Secker tells me was ſent there a fortnight ago. I have juſt now the honour of your lordſhip's by that gentleman. Your lordſhip aſks if I avow or diſclaim being author of the paper entitled the North Briton of the 21ſt of Auguſt. My anſwer is, that I muſt firſt inſiſt on knowing your lordſhip's right to catechiſe me about an anonymous paper. If your lordſhip is not ſatisfied with this, I ſhall ever be ready to give your lordſhip any other ſatisfaction becoming me as a gentleman.'

I am, my lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

Directed to
Earl Talbot.

Wincheſter, Sept. 14, 1762.

My Lord,

'I left Wincheſter, with lord Effingham's leave, on the ſecond of Auguſt, and did not return to this city till the 12th of this month. My drum-major brought me your lordſhip's letter yeſterday. I now return it with the ſeal unbroke, as the cleareſt demonſtration that I never have read the contents of it. I ſuppoſe they are the ſame with the

'letter

'letter I had the honour of receiving and anſwering
'by Mr. Secker.'

I am, my lord,
Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

Directed to
Earl Talbot.

SIR,

'I ſuppoſe you have by this time found the let-
'ter I wrote directed to you at Wincheſter, and
'that hath acquainted you why I addreſſed myſelf
'to Mr. Wilkes, to enquire if The North Briton
'of the 21ſt of Auguſt was written by him. I well
'know every gentleman who contributes to ſup-
'port periodical papers by his pen, is not anſwer-
'able for all the papers that appear under the title
'of that which he aſſiſts, but I cannot conceive that
'any man ſhould refuſe to aſſure a perſon who hath
'been the object of the wit of any paper, that he
'was not the author of a paper he did not write.
'Every man's ſenſe of honour ought to direct his
'conduct, if you prefer a perſonal engagement to
'the denying being the author of a paper that hath
'been ſo free with my name; I who am publickly
'affronted by that paper, cannot in honour avoid
'requiring the ſatisfaction you ſeem moſt deſirous
'to give. Be pleaſed to write or ſend to me as
'ſoon as you have determined what part you will
'act. I ſhall be in London Thurſday and Friday
'next, and this day ſe'nnight, after which I ſhall
'not be in London till Thurſday the 23d.'

I am, Sir, your humble ſervant.
TALBOT.

Bolton-ſtreet,
Sept. 12. 1762,

Directed to
Col. Wilkes.
Wincheſter,

Wincheſter, Sept. 16. 1762.

My Lord,

'I had not till yeſterday the honour of your 'lordſhip's letter of the 12th, and embrace this 'earlieſt opportunity of acknowledging it. Your 'lordſhip has not yet, in my poor idea, aſcertained 'the right you claim of interrogating me about 'the paper of the 21ſt of Auguſt, and I will firſt 'know the very good authority on which I am 'thus queſtioned, before I will return any anſwer 'whatever.

'Your lordſhip deſires me to write or ſend to 'you as ſoon as I have determined what part I 'ſhall act. I intended my firſt letter ſhould have 'made that ſuffieiently clear.'

I am, my Lord,

Your Lordſhip's very humble ſervant,

Directed to JOHN WILKES.

Earl Talbot.

SIR,

'I have this inſtant received your's of the 16th. 'It is your own declaration before men of truth 'and honour that you occaſionally aſſiſted the 'paper called The North Briton with your pen, 'that is the foundation of my interrogating you 'about the North Briton of the 21ſt of Auguſt— 'and whatever may be your idea, mine is that 'when a gentleman owns himſelf an occaſional au- 'thor of an anonymous ſatirical paper, any perſon 'by name ridiculed in ſuch an hebdomadal per- 'formance hath a right to aſk the occaſional avow- 'ed writer, if he was the author of the offending 'paper.

'You

'You may now, Sir, anſwer my queſtion or
'not, I have offered to put myſelf upon that foot-
'ing with you that became a man who hath ſpirit,
'and is influenced by honour—if you do not deny
'the paper I muſt and will conclude you wrote it.'

Your humble ſervant,

TALBOT.

Bolton-ſtreet,
Sept. 17, 1762.

Directed to
Col. Wilkes.

Wincheſter, Sept. 21, 1762.

My Lord,

'Sunday's poſt brought me your lordſhip's of
'the 17th, and by the return of it this waits on
'your lordſhip.

'You are pleaſed to ſay that it is my own de-
'claration before men of truth and honour that I
'occaſionally aſſiſted the paper called the North
'Briton. I wiſh your lordſhip had been more ex-
'plicit, and had mentioned the name of any one
'gentleman before whom I made that declaration.
'Was it made in public? or was it in pri-
'vate converſation? Still I have the misfortune of
'not yet ſeeing your lordſhip's right of putting the
'queſtion to me about the paper of the 21ſt of
'Auguſt, and 'till I do, I will never reſolve your
'lordſhip on that head, though I would any friend
'I have in the world, who had the curioſity of
'aſking me, if it was in a civil manner.

'Your lordſhip ſays that if I do not deny the
'paper, you muſt and will conclude I wrote it.
'Your lordſhip has my free conſent to make any
'concluſions you think proper, whether they are
'well or ill grounded; and I feel the moſt per-
'fect indifference about what they are, or the
'conſequences of them.

'I in-

'I intend at preſent to make a tour on Thurſ-
'day to the iſle of Wight. I ſhall return to
'this city the beginning of the next week.'

I am, my Lord,
Your Lordſhip's
Directed to moſt humble ſervant,
Earl Talbot. JOHN WILKES.

Wincheſter, Sept. 30, 1762.

SIR,

'Lord Talbot by your meſſage has at laſt
'brought this moſt important queſtion to the pre-
'ciſe point, where my firſt anſwer to his lordſhip
'fixed it, if he preferred that. As you have only
'ſeen the two laſt letters, I muſt entreat you to
'caſt your eye over thoſe preceding, becauſe I
'apprehend they will juſtify an obſervation or two
'I made this morning, when I had the honour of
'paying my compliments to you at camp.

'Be aſſured that if I am between heaven and
'earth, I will be on Tueſday evening at Tilbury's
'the Red Lion at Bagſhot, and on Wedneſday
'morning will play this duet with his lordſhip.

'It is a real ſatisfaction to me that his lordſhip
'is to be accompanied by a gentleman of colonel
'Berkley's worth and honour.

'This will be delivered to you by my adjutant,
'who attends me to Bagſhot. I ſhall not bring
'any ſervant with me, from the fear of any of the
'parties being known. My piſtols only, or his
'lordſhip's, at his option, ſhall decide this point.

'I beg the favour of you to return me the let-
'ters, as I mean to leave Wincheſter this evening.
'I have lord Bruce's leave of abſence for ten
'days.'

I am, with ſincere regard, Sir,
your very humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

I hope that we may make a *partie quarrée* for ſupper on Tueſday at Bagſhot.

Directed to

Colonel Berkeley.

SIR,

'I have read all the letters and ſhall depend 'upon the pleaſure of ſupping with you at Tilbu-'ry's the Red Lion at Bagſhot Tueſday evening. 'My ſervant will attend me, as the going alone 'would give room for ſuſpicion, but you may de-'pend upon his following your direction at Bag-'ſhot, and that he ſhall not be ſeen where you 'would not have him—I am much obliged by 'your favourable opinion, and am,

'Your very humble ſervant,

N. BERKELEY.

Camp near Wincheſter,
Sept. 30, 1762.

'Incloſed is the copy of a letter received by Mr. 'Stanley this afternoon. [It related to the taking 'the Havannah.]

Directed to

Colonel Wilkes.

[To theſe Letters we ſhall ſubjoin the following Paper; as it alſo relates to the North Briton.]

Extract from an AFFIDAVIT, *examined by the* Office Copy.

AND this deponent, Peregrine Cuſt, for himſelf ſaith that he hath particularly attended to and conſidered the following paragraph or parts of the ſaid annexed paper, A, called the North Briton, beginning at the 28th line of the third

page thereof (fol. 249) and from thence to the word 'friends', in the fourth line of the following page, fol. 250, and which is, or are, expreſſed in the words and figures or to the effect following, that is to ſay 'let us now conſider another ſtriking 'inſtance of the total diſregard of oeconomy: I 'mean the preſent loan of 3,500,000*l.* The terms 'of the new ſubſcription have been ſo injurious to 'the public, but ſo beneficial to the ſubcribers, 'that is, to the creatures of the miniſter, that there 'was immediately an advance of ſeven per cent. 'and in a very few days, of above eleven 'per cent. I ſhall however, only ſtate it at the 'even round ſum of ten per cent. that I may not 'puzzle the chancellor of the exchequer. The 'whole loan amounted to 3,500,000*l.* conſequent-'ly in the period of a very few days the miniſter 'gave among his creatures, and the tools of his 'power, 350,000*l.* which was levied on the pub-'lic: the moſt enormous ſum ever divided in ſo 'ſhort a time among any ſet of men. A few of 'their names I will mention to ſhew in what eſti-'mation they are held by the public. Meſſieurs 'Touchet Glover, Cuſt, (brother to the able and 'impartial ſpeaker) Amyand, Maygens, Salvador, 'Colebroke, Thornton and Muilman had each '200,000*l.* of the new ſubſcription and of courſe, 'almoſt immediately cleared 20,000*l.* each which 'they have or have not ſhared among their friends.'

'And this deponent further ſaith that he hath alſo read over and conſidered the ſimilar paragraphs or parts of the ſaid reprinted copy of the ſaid paper, called the North Briton, as the ſame appeared to be expreſſed in the ſaid reprinted copy of the ſame in the ſaid annexed book called the Political Controverſy, as the ſame are therein ſet forth beginning at the twelfth line of the page or folio in the ſaid book marked 377 at the like words 'Let us

'now

'now conſider' and ending at the word '*friends*' in the ſixth line of the page following or folio marked 378 of the ſame book. And this deponent ſaith that he doth apprehend and think himſelf prejudiced and injured in his character and credit in his buſineſs as a merchant of the city of London by the aſperſions and inſinuations reſpectively contained in the ſaid ſeveral parts or paragraphs before mentioned and ſpecified of the ſaid paper called the North Briton and the reprinted copy thereof in the ſaid book called the Political Controverſy ſo far as the ſame do reſpectively mention and relate to the perſon in the ſaid paper and reprinted copy reſpectively mentioned by the name of *Cuſt* and that the ſaid papers do reſpectively contain in the opinion and belief of this deponent very groſs defamatory and malevolent as well as falſe and unjuſt inſinuations and aſperſions on the honour character and reputation of this deponent and this deponent ſaith he is the more fully convinced that this deponent was and is the perſon meant and intended by the name of *Cuſt* incerted in the ſaid ſeveral papers before mentioned, called the North Briton and the ſaid reprinted copy thereof for that in or about the months of Auguſt and September laſt it being generally underſtood that a loan of money would be wanted for the ſervice of the public and ſupport of his majeſty's government in the ſucceeding year 1763 and it being then uncertain what ſum would be wanting (on account of the uncertainty at that time whether the war would continue or not) and it being alſo apprehended that a much larger loan would be wanted by the government than afterwards was found neceſſary and it being ſuppoſed that eight millions at leaſt would be wanted for the ſaid ſervice and this deponent being deſirous of contributing ſo far as he could to the ſervice of the public by procuring

among his friends and acquaintaince part of the money which might be wanted for the ſaid loan for the ſervice of the government whether there ſhould be a continuation of the war or not this deponent therefore declared to and gave out among his acquaintance that he intended to offer a liſt of ſubſcriptions to the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury on account of the ſaid loan to amount of one million or thereabouts and thereupon this deponent received from many perſons as well thoſe of his acquaintance as many others who this deponent knew only by reputation and character as reſponſible perſons letters offering the ſums which they were reſpectively willing to ſubſcribe and which they deſired to be included in this deponent's liſt and this deponent did accordingly incert in his ſaid liſt indiſcriminately the names of all the perſons who ſo deſired to become ſubſcribers in this deponent's ſaid liſt (they being all perſons who in this deponent's judgement were able and reſponſible perſons) and the reſpective ſums which they ſeverally deſired to have incerted and were deſirous of ſubſcribing were accordingly incerted in their reſpective names in the ſaid liſt and no perſon who deſired to have any part of the ſaid ſubſcription was omitted or left out of this deponent's ſaid liſt in regard this deponent looked on the ſaid loan in the nature of a public ſubſcription and as what was likely to be a real ſervice, or benefit to the public and this deponent ſaith that in or about the month of January laſt and long before the terms of the ſaid loan were known and before it could be poſſibly known whether the terms thereof would prove advantageous to the ſubſcribers or not this deponent delivered in his ſaid liſt for the conſideration of the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury and that in the ſaid liſt ſo delivered in amounting to one million and twenty-four thouſand pounds or thereabouts

abouts were included the names of all and every perſon who had wrote to this deponent deſiring to be included in this deponent's liſt with the ſums by them deſired to be ſubſcribed whether they were of this deponent's acquaintance or ſtrangers (as many of them in fact were to this deponent, except by character as to their abilities) in order to their being eventually admitted as ſharers of the ſaid loan. And this deponent ſaith that above four-fifths of the ſum of two hundred thouſand pounds being the ſum allowed to this deponent on account of the ſaid liſt ſo delivered in and offered to be ſubſcribed by this deponent as aforeſaid was divided among the ſeveral perſons who had made ſuch applications to this deponent as aforeſaid and in which this deponent had no intereſt, or ſhare or profit whatſoever and that there was not any one perſon who had wrote to this deponent to be in this deponent's liſt who had leſs than one fifth of the ſum which he ſo wrote for except only one perſon who had wrote to ſubſcribe twelve thouſand pounds and had two thouſand only, of the loan, to make it an even ſum and this deponent ſaith that the aſſertions contained in the ſaid two printed papers herein before mentioned and deſcribed that is to ſay in the ſaid paper called the North Briton that a ſum of three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds and in the ſaid book called the *Political Controverſy* that a ſum of fifty thouſand pounds, was given in ſuch manner as in the ſaid papers mentioned which was levied upon the public is according to this deponent's judgment and beſt of his belief, a falſe and unjuſt miſrepreſentation inaſmuch as it was in this deponent's opinion and judgement *uncertain at the time of this deponent's delivering in his ſaid liſt as aforeſaid whether the agreement for the public loan would or would not be attended with benefit to the ſubſcribers and there was not in this deponent's judgment*

any probability that the ſubſcribers to the ſame would derive any large conſiderable or unreaſonable benefit from it nor was the agreement itſelf in this deponent's opinion unfair or unequitable or inadequate to the riſk run.

[*The following are the papers relating to the caſe of* Mr. Wilkes *and the 45th number of the* North Briton.]

MAGNA CHARTA, Cap. 29.

NULLUS Liber Homo *capiatur*, vel *impriſonetur*, aut *diſſeiſiatur*, de libero tenemento ſuo, vel LIBERTATIBUS, vel LIBERIS CONSUETUDINIBUS SUIS, aut utlageter, aut exulet, aut *aliquo modo deſtruatur*. Nec ſuper eum *ibimus*, nec *ſuper eum mittemus* niſi per legale judicium parium ſuorum, vel per *legem Terræ*.*

As the apprehenſion, and commitment of John Wilkes, Eſq; Member of Parliament, to the Tower, muſt have raiſed the curioſity of many people, to know the circumſtances attending it, the following detail of ſimple facts (upon which every reader will make his own comments) cannot be unſeaſonable, and are perhaps abſolutely neceſſary to be laid before the public.

On Saturday the 30th of April, 1763, early in the forenoon, three of his majeſty's meſſengers, by virtue of a warrant from the ſecretary of ſtate, ſeized on the perſon of the ſaid John Wilkes, Eſq; Member of Parliament; of which warrant the following is a true copy.

* No freeman *may be apprehended*, or *impriſoned*, or *diſſeiſſed* of his freehold, or LIBERTIES, or FREE CUSTOMS, or be outlawed or baniſhed, or *any wiſe deſtroyed*. Nor *will we paſs upon him*, nor *condemn him*, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the *law of the land*.

George

L. S. George Montague Dunk earl of Halifax viſcount Sunbury and baron Halifax one of the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council lieutenant general of his majeſty's forces and principal ſecretary of ſtate.

Theſe are in his majeſty's name to authorize and require you (taking a conſtable to your aſſiſtance) to make ſtrict and diligent ſearch for the authors printers and publiſhers of a ſeditious and treaſonable paper intitled the North Briton Number XLV Saturday April 23 1763 printed for G. Kearſly in Ludgate Street London and them or any of them having found to apprehend and ſeize together with their papers and to bring in ſafe cuſtody before me to be examined concerning the premiſes and further dealt with according to law And in the due execution thereof all mayors ſheriffs juſtices of the peace conſtables and all other his majeſty's officers civil and military and loving ſubjects whom it may concern are to be aiding and aſſiſting to you as there ſhall be occaſion and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant Given at St. James's the twenty-ſixth day of April in the third year of his majeſty's reign

ſigned
Dunk Halifax

directed to
Nathan Carrington John Money
James Watſon and Robert Blackmore
Four of his majeſty's meſſengers in ordinary

N. B. The officers had a *verbal* order to put this warrant in execution by entering forcibly into the houſe of John Wilkes, Eſq; Member of Parliament, at midnight; and thoſe officers are now threatened

with the loſs of their places for not complying with ſuch *verbal* inſtructions.

On the intimation of Mr. Wilkes, Member of Parliament, being in cuſtody, a motion was made in the court of common pleas then ſitting in Weſtminſter Hall, for a Habeas-Corpus, which was granted; though by reaſon of the Prothonotory's office not being open, ſuch Habeas Corpus could not be ſued out 'till four o'clock in the afternoon.

Several gentlemen, friends and acquaintance of the ſaid John Wilkes, Eſq; Member of Parliament, applied for admittance into his houſe, which was then peremptorily refuſed by a *pretended* order from the ſecretary of ſtate; which order, though repeatedly requeſted, was not or could not be produced.

As no proper or *legal* authority appeared to countenance ſuch refuſal, the gentlemen thought themſelves no ways obliged to obey the *verbal* commands of officers acting only under a *verbal* authority; and entered accordingly without further queſtion or moleſtation from *thoſe* officers.

Mr. Wood, the deputy ſecretary of ſtate, being ſent for, demanded the reaſon of ſuch *forcible* entry: It was replied that *no* force had been uſed, and that the gentlemen thought themſelves *legally* juſtified in what they had done.

Soon after this (whether ſent for or not, does not appear) Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq; ſolicitor to the treaſury, came into the room, and ſome *private* converſation between him and Mr. Wood having paſſed, the latter aſked, if any gentleman then preſent would attend or inſpect the officers while they were ſealing up all papers in the houſe of Mr. Wilkes; or uſed words to that or the like effect.

Mr. Wilkes having declined accepting of the like offer, no perſon then preſent thought himſelf authorized to take upon him ſuch inſpection.

Not-

Notwithſtanding it was known, that the court of common pleas had granted an Habeas Corpus, of which fact, Philip Carteret Webb, Eſq; ſolicitor to the treaſury, at that time at Lord Halifax's, was then well aſſured; yet was the ſaid John Wilkes, Eſq; member of parliament, committed to the tower of London.

His ſolicitor and one of his council, ſoon after they heard of ſuch commitment, went to the Tower in order to conſult with the ſaid John Wilkes, about the *legal* methods to be purſued for his enlargement; but were denied admittance; Major Ransford informing them, that he had received *orders* from the *ſecretary* of *ſtate*, not to admit *any perſon whatſoever*, to ſpeak with or ſee the ſaid John Wilkes: and further informed them, that he had juſt before refuſed the right honourable the Earl Temple ſuch admittance.

On Sunday, May the firſt, the ſame gentlemen between the hours of twelve and one, called again upon Major Ransford, on the ſame occaſion; but were again denied admittance, as were ſoon after many noblemen and gentlemen of the firſt diſtinction, and Mr. Wilkes's own brother.

After ſuch denial, Mr. Wilkes's ſolicitor demanded of the Major a copy of the warrant, under which Mr. Wilkes was committed to the Tower; which was readily granted by the Major, and of which the following is a true copy.

> Charles earl of Egremont and George Dunk earl of Halifax lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council and principal ſecretaries of ſtate.
>
> Theſe are in his majeſty's name to authorize and require you to receive into your cuſtody the body of John Wilkes, eſq; herewith ſent you for being the author and publiſher of a moſt infamous and ſeditious libel intitled the North Briton number

45 tending to inflame the minds and alienate the affections of the people, from his majeſty and to excite them to traiterous inſurrections againſt the government, and to keep him ſafe and cloſe until he ſhall be delivered by due courſe of law, and for ſo doing this ſhall be your warrant. Given at St. James's the 30th day of April 1763 in the third year of his majeſty's reign.

ſigned

Egremont L. S.
Dunk Halifax L. S.

To the right hon. John Lord Berkeley of Stratton conſtable of his majeſty's Tower of London, or to the lieutenant of the ſaid Tower or his deputy.

Philip Carteret Webb, eſq; ſolicitor to the treaſury, then being preſent in the ſaid Major Ransford's room, Mr. Wilkes's council and ſolicitor applied to the ſaid Mr. Webb for admittance to the ſaid Mr. Wilkes.

Philip Carteret Webb, eſq; deſired Major Ransford to allow ſuch admittance, which he would indemnify; the Major, with a ſpirit becoming a good officer, replied, he could not diſobey orders.

Philip Carteret Webb, eſq; reanſwered, he believed there muſt have been a miſtake in the orders, and that, if either of the ſecretaries of ſtate were in town, he would apply to them, and obtain ſuch admittance as aforeſaid, and that he would either ſend or bring an order for ſuch admittance in the afternoon.

Upon this aſſertion, the ſaid Mr. Wilkes's counſel and ſolicitor between eight and nine o'clock in the evening of the ſame day, again went to the Tower and applied for admittance as aforeſaid. The Major having received no inſtructions from either the ſecretaries

ſecretaries of ſtate, or Philip Carteret Webb, eſq; refuſed as before.

On the morning of Monday, the ſecond of May, the court of common pleas ordered a return to their writ of Habeas Corpus, which return not then appearing to the court to be ſufficient, the court ordered, that the ſaid return ſhould not at preſent be filed; but upon motion granted another Habeas Corpus directed to the conſtable and ſo forth of the Tower of London.

Mr. Wilkes's ſolicitor and counſel the ſame day, between the hours of two and three, again went to the Tower, and made application to Major Ransford for admittance to the ſaid John Wilkes, eſq; but were refuſed ſuch admittance, Major Ransford declaring that he received no orders from either of the ſecretaries of ſtate to that purpoſe. There appeared upon the table of the ſaid Major Ransford a written order for him to take down the names of all perſons applying for admittance to Colonel Wilkes.

MAGNA EST VERITAS.

ORDERS *iſſued by the lieutenant governor of the Tower reſpecting the detention of John Wilkes, Eſq*;

'That the warders appointed to keep a cloſe priſoner, ſhall not preſume to leave him for a moment alone, either night or day, or to change their duty, with other warders, but by particular leave or order from the conſtable, lieutenant, deputy lieutenant, or in their abſence the major of the Tower.

'They are to permit no perſon to have admittance into the room he is confined in, or to ſpeak to him, but by particular order brought them by the major, or gentleman gaoler.'

The

The Major had likewiſe a written order, to take down the names of all perſons who applied for admittance to Mr Wilkes.

On the morning of Tueſday May, 3, Mr. Wilkes was brought to the bar of the court of Common Pleas, Weſtminſter, where he made the following ſpeech.

'I FEEL myſelf happy to be at laſt brought 'before a court, and before judges, whoſe cha-'racteriſtic is the love of liberty. I have many 'humble thanks to return for the immediate or-'der you were pleaſed to iſſue, to give me an op-'portunity of laying my grievances before you. 'They are of a kind hitherto unparaleled in this 'free country, and I truſt the conſequences will 'teach miniſters of Scottiſh and arbitrary principles 'that the liberty of an Engliſh ſubject is not to be 'ſported away with impunity, in this cruel and deſ-'potic manner.

'I am accuſed of being the author of the North 'Briton, No. 45. I ſhall only remark upon that 'paper that it takes all load of accuſation from the 'ſacred name of a prince, whoſe family I love and 'honour as the glorious defenders of the cauſe of 'liberty, and whoſe perſonal qualities are ſo amia-'ble, great, and reſpectable, that he is deſervedly 'the idol of his people. It is the peculiar faſhion 'and crime of theſe times, and of thoſe who hold 'high miniſterial offices in government, to throw 'every odious charge from themſelves upon ma-'jeſty. The author of this paper, whoever he 'may be, has, upon conſtitutional principles, done 'directly the reverſe, and is therefore in me the ſup-'poſed author, meant to be perſecuted according-'ly. The particular cruelties of my treatment, 'worſe than if I had been a ſcottiſh rebel, this 'court will hear, and I dare ſay, from your juſtice 'in due time redreſs.

I

'I may perhaps ſtill have the means left me to 'ſhew that I have been ſuperior to every tempta-'tion of corruption. They may indeed have flat-'tered themſelves, that when they found corrup-'tion could not prevail, perſecution might intimi-'date. I will ſhew myſelf ſuperior to both. My 'papers have been ſeized, perhaps with a hope the 'better to deprive me of that proof of their mean-'neſs, and corrupt prodigality, which it may poſ-'ſibly, in a proper place, be yet in my power to 'give.'

He then pleaded by his council, Mr. Serjeant Glynn, for his diſcharge, alledging that his commitment was not valid. The debate laſted from eleven o'clock till a quarter paſt two; when after ſeveral learned arguments on both ſides, he was remanded back to the Tower; and his friends had, for the firſt time, the opportunity of acceſs to him. At his departure from the hall, the acclamations of the people were, Liberty! Liberty! Wilkes for ever, and no exciſe! The court then adjourned to Friday the 6th of May, at which time he was ordered to be brought up again, that the affair might be finally determined.

His friends now had the liberty of viſiting him; and perhaps no priſoner in the Tower of London ever before, was attended by ſuch an illuſtrious train of viſitors.

During this reſpite his majeſty was pleaſed to iſſue orders to lord Egremont, to remove him from his poſt of colonel in the militia of the county of Buckingham, which was ſignified to him in the following letter.

Copy of a letter from the Earl of Egremont *to the Earl* Temple.

My Lord,

THE king having judged it improper, that John Wilkes, esq; should any longer continue to be colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham, I am commanded to signify his majesty's pleasure to your lordship, that you do forthwith give the necessary orders for displacing Mr. Wilkes, as an officer in the militia for the said county of Buckingham.

I am with respect,
My Lord,
Your lordships most obedient
humble servant,
EGREMONT.

Whitehall,
May, 4, 1763.
To the earl Temple.

Letter from the earl Temple *to* John Wilkes, *esq*;

SIR,

AT my return last night from the Tower, I received the enclosed letter from the Earl of Egremont: in consequence of his majesty's commands therein signified, you will please to observe, that you no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham.

I cannot, at the same time, help expressing the concern I feel in the loss of an officer, by his deportment in command, endeared to the whole corps.

I am, Sir
Your most obedient,
And most humble servant,
TEMPLE.

Pall Mall,
May 5, 1763
To John Wilkes, esq;

Copy

Copy of a letter from John Wilkes, *eſq*; *to the Earl* Temple.

My Lord,

I HAVE this moment the honour of your lordſhip's letter, ſignifying his majeſty's commands that I ſhould no longer continue colonel of the militia for the county of Buckingham. I have only to return your lordſhip my warmeſt thanks for the ſpirit and zeal you have ſhewn in the ſupport of that conſtitutional meaſure from the very beginning. Your lordſhip will pleaſe to remember, that I was amongſt the foremoſt who offered their ſervices to their country at that criſis. Buckinghamſhire is ſenſible, and has always acknowledged, that no man but your lordſhip could have given ſucceſs to that meaſure in our inland county. I am proud of the teſtimony your lordſhip is pleaſed to give me, and am happy, in theſe days of peace, to leave ſo amiable a corps in that perfect harmony, which has from the beginning ſubſiſted.

I have the honour to be,
With unfeigned reſpect,
My Lord,
Tower, Your lordſhip's moſt obedient,
May 5, 1763. and moſt humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

To the Earl Temple

ANGLIÆ JURA in omni caſu LIBERTATI dant Favorem.

Impius et Crudelis judicandus eſt qui LIBERTATI non favet. *Coke Littleton.*

On Friday the 6th of May, Mr. Wilkes was brought up from the Tower to the court of common pleas

pleas, where as ſoon as the court was ſeated) he made the following ſpeech:

My Lords,

'FAR be it from me to regret that I have paſs-
'ed ſo many more days in captivity, as it will have
'afforded you an opportunity of doing upon ma-
'ture reflection, and repeated examination, the
'more ſignal juſtice to my country. The liberty
'of all peers and gentlemen, and what touches
'me more ſenſibly, that of all the middling and
'inferior ſet of people, who ſtand moſt in need of
'protection, is in my caſe this day to be finally de-
'cided upon: a queſtion of ſuch importance as to
'determine at once, whether Engliſh liberty be a
'reality or a ſhadow. Your own freeborn hearts
'will feel with indignation and compaſſion all that
'load of oppreſſion under which I have ſo long
'laboured. Cloſe impriſonment, the effect of pre-
'meditated malice; all acceſs for more than two
'days denied to me; my houſe ranſacked and plun-
'dered; my moſt private and ſecret concerns di-
'vulged; every vile and malignant inſinuation
'even of high treaſon itſelf, no leſs induſtriouſly,
'than falſely circulated, by my cruel and implaca-
'ble enemies, together with all the various inſo-
'lence of office, form but a part of my unexam-
'pled ill treatment. Such inhuman principles of
'ſtar chamber tyranny, will, I truſt, by this court,
'upon this ſolemn occaſion, be finally extirpated,
'and henceforth every innocent man, however poor
'and unſupported, may hope to ſleep in peace and
'ſecurity in his own houſe, unviolated by king's meſ-
'ſengers, and the arbitrary mandates of an over-
'bearing ſecretary of ſtate.

'I will no longer delay your juſtice. The nation
'is impatient to hear, nor can be ſafe or happy till
'that is obtained. If the ſame perſecution is after
'all to carry me before another court, I hope I
ſhall

'ſhall find that the genuine ſpirit of Magna Charta, that glorious inheritance, that diſtinguiſhing 'characteriſtic of Engliſhmen, is as religiouſly revered *there*, as I know it is *here*, by the great 'perſonages, before whom I have now the happineſs to ſtand; and (as in the ever-memorable caſe 'of the *impriſoned biſhops*) an independent *jury* of 'free-born Engliſhmen, that will permit to determine my fate, as in conſcience bound, upon conſtitutional principles, by a verdict of *guilty* or *not* 'guilty. I aſk no more at the hands of *my countrymen.*'

After which the court proceeded to give their opinion: and Mr. Wilkes was ordered to be *diſcharged*. He then addreſſed himſelf to the court in the words following.

My Lords,

'GREAT as my joy muſt naturally be at the de'ciſion which *this court* with a true *ſpirit of liberty*, 'has been pleaſed to make concerning the *unwar'rantable ſeizure of my perſon*, and all the other 'conſequential grievances, allow me to aſſure you 'that I feel it far leſs ſenſibly *on my own account*, 'than I do for *the public*. The ſufferings of *an* '*individual* are *a trifling object*, when compared 'with the *whole*, and I ſhould bluſh to feel for *my*'*ſelf* in compariſon with conſiderations of a nature 'ſo *tranſcendently ſuperior*.

'I will not trouble you with my poor thanks. 'Thanks are due to you from the whole *Engliſh* 'nation, and from *all* the ſubjects of the *Engliſh* 'crown. They will be paid you together with 'every teſtimony of zeal and affection to *the learned* '*ſerjeant*,* who has ſo *ably* and ſo *conſtitutionally*

* Mr. Serjeant Glynn.

'pleaded my cauſe, and in mine (with pleaſure I 'ſay it) *the cauſe of liberty*. Every teſtimony of 'my gratitude is juſtly due to *you*, and I take leave 'of *this court* with a veneration and reſpect, which 'no time can obliterate, nor can the moſt grateful 'heart ſufficiently expreſs.'

When Mr. Wilkes had ended, the audience burſt into an *univerſal ſhout*, which was *often* repeated. Mr. Wilkes ſtaid ſome time in a room adjoining to the court, in expectation that the crowd would diſperſe: at laſt, finding that it continually encreaſed, he went out of the back door of the common pleas, and was received by a prodigious multitude of people who attended him, amidſt continual acclamations, to his own houſe in Great George Street, Weſtminſter. The evening concluded with bonfires, illuminations, and other rejoicings.

VIVANT REX ET JUDICES REGIS.

On Mr. Wilkes's return home from the court of common pleas, he ſent the following letter to the ſecretaries of ſtate.

Great George Street, May 6, 1763.

My Lords,

ON my return here from Weſtminſter Hall, where I have been diſcharged from my commitment to the Tower under your lordſhips warrant, I find that my houſe has been robb'd, and am informed that the ſtolen goods are in the poſſeſſion of one or both of your lordſhips. I therefore inſiſt that you do forthwith return them to

Your humble ſervant

JOHN WILKES.

Directed to

the earls of Egremont and Halifax, his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

[Next

[Next morning Mr. Wilkes in perſon, attended only by Mr. Grignion, of Ruſſel-Street, Covent-Garden, went to ſir John Fielding's, in Bow-Street, and demanded a warrant to ſearch the houſes of the earls of Egremont and Halifax, his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, for the goods ſtolen out of his houſe, which he had received information were lodged at the ſaid houſes of the ſecretaries of ſtate, or one of them. John Spinnage, Eſq; the ſitting juſtice, refuſed to iſſue the ſaid warrant.]

The next day Mr. Wilkes received the following anſwer to his letter.

Great George Street, May 7, 1763.

SIR,

I N anſwer to your letter of yeſterday, in which you take upon you to make uſe of the *indecent* and *ſcurrilous* expreſſions of your having found *your houſe had been robbed*, and that *the ſtolen goods are in our poſſeſſion:* we acquaint you that your papers were ſeized in conſequence of the heavy charge brought againſt you, for being the author of an infamous and ſeditious libel, tending to inflame the minds, and alienate the affections of the people from his majeſty, and excite them to traiterous inſurrections againſt the government; for which libel, notwithſtanding your diſcharge from your commitment to the Tower, his majeſty has ordered you to be proſecuted, by his attorney general.

We are at a loſs to gueſs what you mean by *ſtolen goods:* but ſuch of your papers as do not lead to a proof of your guilt, ſhall be reſtored to you; ſuch as are neceſſary for that purpoſe, it was our duty to deliver over to thoſe, whoſe office it is to collect

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the evidence, and manage the proſecution againſt you.

We are
Your humble ſervants,
EGREMONT.
DUNK HALIFAX.

Directed to Mr. Wilkes.

To this anſwer Mr. Wilkes *ſent the following reply*, viz.

Great George-ſtreet, May 9, 1763.

My Lords,

'LITTLE did I expect, when I was requiring 'from your lordſhips what an Engliſhman has a 'right to, his property taken from him, and ſaid 'to be in your lordſhips poſſeſſion, that I ſhould 'have received in anſwer, from perſons in your 'high ſtation, the expreſſions of indecent and ſcur-'rilous applied to my legal demands. The reſpect 'I bear to his majeſty, whoſe ſervants it ſeems you 'ſtill are, though you ſtand legally convicted of 'having in me violated, in the higheſt and moſt 'offenſive manner, the liberties of all the com-'mons of England, prevents my returning you 'an anſwer in the ſame Billingſgate language. If I 'conſidered you only in your private capacities, I 'ſhould treat you both according to your deſerts: 'but where is the wonder that men, who have at-'tacked the ſacred liberty of the ſubject, and have 'iſſued an illegal warrant to ſeize his property, 'ſhould proceed to ſuch libellous expreſſions? You 'ſay, "that ſuch of my papers ſhall be reſtored "to me, as do not lead to a proof of my guilt." 'I owe this to your apprehenſion of an action, not 'to your love of juſtice; and in that light, if 'I can believe your lordſhip's aſſurances, the whole 'will be returned to me. I fear neither your pro-

'ſecution,

'ſecution, nor your perſecution; and I will aſſert
'the ſecurity of my own houſe, the liberty of my
'perſon, and every right of the people, not ſo
'much for my own ſake, as for the ſake of every
'one of my Engliſh fellow ſubjects.

I am,
my Lords,
Your humble ſervant,
JOHN WILKES.

Directed to
the earls of Egremont and Halifax, his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of State.

[*On the firſt day of the ſeſſions of parliament* (Nov. 15, 1763.) Mr. Wilkes *made the following ſpeech.*]

Mr. Speaker,

'I THINK it my duty to lay before the houſe a
'few facts, which have occured ſince our laſt
'meeting, becauſe, in my humble opinion, (which
'I ſhall always ſubmit to this houſe) the rights of
'all the Commons of England, and the privileges
'of parliament have, in my perſon, been highly
'violated. I ſhall at preſent, content myſelf with
'barely ſtating the facts, and leave the mode of
'proceeding to the wiſdom of the houſe.

'On the 30th of April, in the morning, I was
'made a priſoner in my own houſe, by ſome of the
'king's meſſengers. I demanded by what au-
'thority they had forced their way into my room,
'and was ſhewn a warrant in which no perſon was
'named in particular, but generally the authors,
'printers and publiſhers of a ſeditious and treaſon-
'able paper, entitled, The North Briton, No. 45.
'The meſſengers inſiſted on my going before lord
'Halifax, which I abſolutely refuſed, becauſe the

'warrant was, I thought, illegal, and did not re-
'ſpect me. I applied, by my friends, to the
'court of common pleas, for a Habeas Corpus,
'which was granted, but as the proper office was
'not then open, it could not immediately iſſue.
'I was afterwards carried, by violence, before the
'earls of Egremont and Halifax, whom I informed
'of the orders given by the court of common pleas
'for the Habeas Corpus; and I enlarged upon
'this ſubject to Mr. Webb, the ſolicitor of the
'Treaſury. I was, however, hurried away to the
'Tower by another warrant, which declared me the
'author and publiſher of a moſt infamous and ſe-
'ditious libel, intitled, *The North Briton*, No. 45.
'The word *treaſonable* was dropped yet I was de-
'tained a cloſe priſoner, and no perſon was ſuf-
'fered to come near me for almoſt three days,
'although my council, and ſeveral of my friends,
'demanded admittance, in order to concert the
'means of recovering my liberty. My houſe was
'plundered, my bureaus broke open, by order
'of two of your members, Mr. Wood and Mr.
'Webb, and all my papers carried away. After
'ſix days impriſonment I was diſcharged, by the
'unanimous judgment of the court of common
'pleas, "That the privilege of this houſe extend-
'ed to my caſe." Notwithſtanding this ſolemn
'deciſion of one of the king's ſuperior courts of
'juſtice, a few days after, I was ſerved with a
'ſubpœna upon an information exhibited againſt
'me in the king's bench. I loſt no time in con-
'ſulting the beſt books, as well as the greateſt
'living authorities; and from the trueſt judgment
'I could form, I thought that the ſerving me
'with a ſubpœna was another violation of the pri-
'vilege of parliament, which I will neither deſert
'nor betray, and therefore I have not yet entered
'an appearance.

'I now ſtand in the judgment of the houſe, ſubmitting, with the utmoſt deference, the whole caſe to their juſtice and wiſdom, and beg leave to add, that if after this important buſineſs has in its full extent been maturely weighed, you ſhall be of opinion, that I am intitled to privilege, I ſhall then be not only ready, but eagerly deſirous, to wave that privilege, and to put myſelf upon a jury of my countrymen.'

Mr. Wilkes's letter to Mr. Martin.

Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, Nov. 16.

'SIR,

'YOU complained yeſterday before five hundred gentlemen, that you had been *ſtabbed in the dark* by the North Briton, but I have reaſon to believe you was not ſo much in the dark as you affected and choſe to be. Was the complaint, made before ſo many gentlemen, on purpoſe that they might interpoſe? To cut off every pretence of ignorance as to the author, I whiſper in your ear, that every paſſage in the North Briton, in which you have been named, or even alluded to, was written by

Your humble ſervant,

JOHN WILKES.

Mr. Martin's *Anſwer.*

Abingdon-ſtreet, Nov. 16, 1763.

SIR,

'AS I ſaid in the Houſe of Commons yeſterday, that the writer of the North Briton, who had ſtabbed me in the dark, was a cowardly, as well as a malignant and infamous ſcoundrel; and your letter of this morning's date, acknowledges that every paſſage of the North Briton, in which

'I have been named, or even alluded to, was 'written by yourſelf, I muſt take the liberty to 'repeat, that you are a malignant and infamous 'ſcoundrel, and that I deſire to give you an op- 'portunity of ſhewing me whether the epithet of 'cowardly was rightly applied or not.

'I deſire that you may meet me in Hyde 'Park immediately, with a brace of piſtols each, 'to determine our difference.

'I ſhall go to the ring in Hyde-Park, with my 'piſtols ſo concealed that nobody may ſee them; 'and I will wait in expectation of your one hour. 'As I ſhall call in my way at your houſe to deliver 'this letter, I propoſe to go from thence directly to 'the ring in Hyde-Park, from whence we may 'proceed, if it be neceſſary, to any more private 'place; and I mention that I ſhall wait an 'hour in order to give you full time to meet me.

I am, Sir,
Your humble ſervant,
SAM. MARTIN.

The circumſtances of the duel related by Mr. W. are as follow: when the gentlemen met in Hyde Park, they walked together for a little while to avoid ſome company, which ſeemed coming up to them. They brought each a pair of piſtols. When they were alone, the firſt fire was from Mr. M's piſtol. Mr M's piſtol miſſed Mr. W. and the piſtol in Mr. W's hand flaſhed in the pan. The gentlemen then each took one of Mr. W's pair of piſtols. Mr. W. miſſed, and the ball of Mr. M's piſtol lodged in W's belly. Mr. W. bled immediately very much. Mr. M. then came up and deſired to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power. Mr. W. replied, that Mr. M. had behaved like a man of honour, that he was killed, and inſiſted on Mr. M's making his immediate eſcape, and no creature ſhould know from Mr. W. how the affair happened. Upon this they

parted, but Mr. M. came up again in two or three minutes to Mr. W. offering him a ſecond time his aſſiſtance, but Mr. W. again inſiſted on his going off. Mr. M. expreſſed his concern for Mr. W, ſaid the thing was too well known by ſeveral people, who came up almoſt directly, and then went away. Mr. W. was carried home, but would not tell any circumſtance of the caſe 'till he found it ſo much known. He only ſaid to the Surgeon, &c. that it was an affair of honour.

The day following Mr. W. imagining himſelf in the greateſt danger, returned Mr. M. his letter, that no evidence might appear againſt him; and inſiſted upon it with his relations, that in caſe of his death no trouble ſhould be given Mr. M. for he had behaved as a man of honour.

Mr. M. not at the ſame time returning Mr. W's letter, occaſioned ſomebody to remark, 'That in all 'probability it was kept in order to be made uſe of 'as a proof of Mr. W. being concerned in the 'North Briton.' I own, ſaid the remarker, that I can account for this behaviour of Mr. M. no more than I can for his tamely bearing above eight months the abuſe upon him. Has he been all this time (Sundays not excepted) practiſing at a target? that report is confirmed by all his neighbours in the country. Yet, after all, he did not venture to ſend to Mr. W. but before five hundred gentlemen, ready to interpoſe, ſeemed to intend to begin a quarrel, I ſuppoſe, that it might end there. Mr. W. choſe coolly, to take it up the next morning, by a private letter to Mr. M. who inſiſted on piſtols, without naming the ſword, though the choice of weapons, was, by the laws of honour, in Mr. W.

A letter from Dr. Brocklesby *to Mr.* Wilkes.

Dear Sir,

LATE last night I received the incloſed letter from my moſt ingenious and worthy friend Dr. Hebberden, and alſo the incloſed copy of an order of the houſe of commons, to report upon your caſe on the 19th of January; I am therefore to entreat you, to fix the hour for our attendance at your houſe on Monday, and I will take care to appoint Dr. Hebberden and Mr. Hebberden, and Mr. Hawkins, I am, Dear Sir,

Norfolk-ſtreet, Your moſt obedient
Sunday morning, humble ſervant,
Dec. 18, 1763. RICHARD BROCKLESBY.

Letter from Dr. Hebberden, *to Dr.* Brocklesby, *which was the incloſed letter abovementioned*

Cecil-ſtreet, Dec. 17.

Dear Sir,

AN order of the houſe of commons is come to Mr. Hawkins and me, to attend Mr. Wilkes from time to time in order to obſerve the progreſs of the cure, and to make a report to the houſe, together with you and Mr. Graves. You will oblige us by acquainting Mr. Wilkes with this; and if you will let us know at what time you intend to ſee Mr. Wilkes on Monday, we will be ready to meet you there. Mr Hawkins deſires that the appointment may be for ſome hours after twelve.

I am, Sir,
Your moſt humble ſervant,
W. HEBBERDEN.

A

A card from Mr. Wilkes *to Dr.* Hebberden.

MR. Wilkes preſents his compliments to Dr. Hebberden, and is duly ſenſible of the kind care and concern of the houſe of commons, not only for his health but for his ſpeedy recovery. He is attended by Dr. Brockleſby, of whoſe integrity and ability he has had the experience of many years, and on whoſe ſkill he has the moſt perfect reliance. Mr. Wilkes cannot but ſtill be of opinion, that there is a peculiar propiety in the choice he at firſt made of Dr. Brockleſby, for the cure of what is called a *gun-ſhot* wound, from the circumſtances of the doctor's having been ſeveral years phyſician to the army; but at the ſame time entertains a real eſteem for Dr Hebberden's great merit, and though he cannot ſay that he wiſhes to ſee the doctor at preſent, he hopes that he ſhall be well enough to beg that honour to eat a bit of mutton in

Monday, Dec. 19. *Great George-ſtreet.*

A card from Mr. Wilkes *to Mr.* Hawkins.

MR. Wilkes preſents his compliments to Mr. Hawkins. He ſome time ago, from motives of humanity, readily conſented, at the requeſt of Mr. Martin, to receive the viſits of Dr. Hebberden and Mr. Hawkins. He is now acquainted that the honour Mr. Hawkins intends him, of a viſit to-day, is not at the deſire of Mr. Martin; and therefore he begs that it may be deferred 'till he is more capable of enjoying company. He has every reaſon to continue perfectly ſatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Graves, a military ſurgeon of eminence, who extracted the ball, he hopes, in a few weeks, to be ſo well recovered, as to be able to receive Mr. Hawkins,

Hawkins in Great George-ſtreet: and ſhall be impatient for an opportunity of ſhewing the juſt regard he will ever pay to ſo diſtinguiſhed a character.

Monday, Dec. 19.

Letter from Mr. Wilkes *to* Dr. Brockleſby.

Great George-ſtreet, Monday, Dec. 19. 1763.

Dear Sir,

I HAVE the favour of your letter, and of the papers incloſed. I think you are rather deficient in politeneſs, that you do not congratulate your friend on the *new* and *ſingular* honour done him by the *houſe of commons*, in appointing a *phyſician* and *ſurgeon* to attend him. The *lords* ſet them ſuch an example, by ordering the *phyſician* and *ſurgeon* of a member of the other houſe to their bar, to be examined concerning his ſtate of health. I had before received other unmerited obligations from their *lordſhips*, and the old friendſhips of Lord *Sandwich*, though I own I was rather put to the bluſh *by their publiſhing* to the world what they pretended was found [perhaps put] among the things ſtolen from me. If a man makes a private *eſſay on woman*, ſhould all the world ſee it? is a treatiſe againſt the ſpleen or the *tædium vitæ*, ſo dangerous as now to become a ſtate-crime for the cognizance of our preſent —l rulers, or rather In———s? Has the naſty gummy, blubbering, over-grown boy of a *lord*, as barbarous and bluſt'ring as the *north*, has he likewiſe received his orders to *denounce* to the commons a laughable poem, as a horrid crime to make all good chriſtians ſhudder? are the moſt wretched and impious lines, to be *forged*, that a work which idolizes the ſex, may be brought into judgment before the

he *crafty ſcot*, who never loved any woman and who——

This laſt act of the *commons* ſeems almoſt to perfect the ſcene, and quite overwhelms me with gratitude. Yet though I am a young member, I cannot but obſerve and lament, that the antient, eſtabliſhed forms of parliament have in the preſent caſe been laid aſide, as if order had taken leave of the *houſe* with good old *Onſlow*. The courſe of buſineſs has always been, that affairs of importance ſhould previouſly go to a *committee*. The affair you have mentioned is of ſo much real conſequence, that it ſhould (in my poor opinion) have been referred to *two committees*. *Firſt*, it ſhould have gone to the *committee of ways and means*, to contrive how the *ſtate phyſician* and *ſurgeon* can get into my houſe. *Secondly*, to the *committee of ſupply*, to vote the fees due to the gentlemen for their attendance; but I have public *oeconomy* ſo much at heart, (though I make no parade of it) that I will ſave the nation that expence; for I will not ſuffer either of them to enter my doors.

The *commons*, like true country people, ſeem to have an overflowing of kindneſs for me, which is very apt to ſurfeit: and yet like the others, ſometimes in the ſame moment, they fail in a point of good breeding, even to one of their own members. The *houſe* deſires Dr. *Hebberden* and Mr. *Hawkins* to come to me, but forgot to deſire me to receive them, and I moſt certainly will not.

Surely, my dear Sir, this matter has been too lightly determined upon by the *honourable houſe*. It is pretty well known that I have already a *phyſician* and *ſurgeon*, whoſe characters the foul breath of ſlander never reached, and whom I confide in and love. Why ſhould I admit any others? am I to conſent to an unjuſt ſlur upon gentlemen, with whom I have all the reaſon in the world to be ſatisfied? ſhall

he would be expelled: of courſe therefore a vacancy would happen for the borough of Ayleſbury which he repreſented; and ſomebody put the following paragraph in the London Evening Poſt:

'*Extract of a letter from* Ayleſbury, *Dec.* 1.

'WE have had great canvaſſing here ſince there 'has been a talk of expelling Mr. Wilkes. Sir William L— has been very buſy in behalf of his 'friend Capt. ——; but it is not believed he will 'ſucceed, becauſe it is very ungenerous and ungentleman like, in ſuch a particular caſe as this, 'to ſolicit intereſt to ſucceed a man before it is 'certainly known whether he will be expelled.

Which occaſioned the following letter.

To the printer of the London Evening Poſt.

SIR,

HAVING ſeen in your paper of laſt Saturday a reflection upon me, for having intereſted myſelf in behalf of a friend, upon the ſuppoſition of a vacancy likely to happen for that borough, I deſire you to inform your anonymous correſpondent, that I have done nothing therein, or upon any occaſion whatever, that I am not ready to vindicate as a gentleman to any one that ſhall require it.

Hartwell, W. LEE.
Dec. 6, 1763.

Although Mr. Wilkes was very innocent of the paragraph alluded to, yet he could not help taking notice of ſo extraordinary a letter; and immediately wrote the following anſwer.

To

To Sir William Lee *of Hartwell, in the county of Bucks, Bart.*

SIR,

GIVE me leave to congratulate you on your having commenced author, and the *London Evening Poſt*, on the great acquiſition made of ſuch talents as your's for that paper. I doubt not of your ſoon diſtancing all the other *miniſterial* writers; and though you may not regularly on Saturday nights have your pay counted out to you, yet ſome little ſnug fine-cure, or a miniſterial mandate to a county, for what you were very lately ſo aukwardly gaping after, (though thank heaven, you were diſappointed,) may, in the end, recompenſe your labours.

I muſt, however, recommend to you, rather more temper, you *ſtart* too furiouſly; you ſhould firſt play with bended reins, then urge by degrees more rapidly, and at laſt try the whole fury of the courſe. As a young man, you are intitled to pardon, but you ſhould have laughed at an idle paragraph in a news paper, in which your GREAT name is not at length. Did the conſcientiouſneſs of having merited that little ſatire, ſting you? I have a right to aſk you; for in your curious letter, you ſay *I have done nothing therein, or upon any occaſion whatever* (bravo! W. LEE de ſeipſo) *that I am not ready to vindicate as a gentleman to any one* THAT (not who) *ſhall require it.* Now I will only remark, *that, that that* worthy baronet urges it the very pink of chivalry, and is *that that* is very brave. But do you mean to *vindicate* it by your *pen* or your *ſword?* If by your *pen*, as you offer to *vindicate it to any one*, I, *A. B.* beg to aſk you a few queſtions. Was it conſiſtent with *honour* and *humanity* to begin a canvaſs in the borough of Ayleſbury, when

there was no certainty of any vacancy, and the preſent member lay dangerouſly ill from an affair of *honour?* Was this chriſtian like, pouring oil into his bleeding wounds; or, was it not, as far as you could, planting thorns under a ſick man's pillow? Was it fair, candid, or juſt, ordering application to be made to one of the returning officers, who is Mr. W——'s tenant? Have you ever had any provocation from Mr. Wilkes? Have you not always been upon terms of civility with him? Juſtify then to the world, the propriety, the decency, or even the humanity, of your conduct.

But, perhaps, I miſtake you, and you meant to juſtify it by your *ſword.* You have juſt begun by *inking* your *maiden pen*, and you might poſſibly mean at the ſame time to contrive to *fleſh your maiden ſword.* Pray be explicit, and let me know if you meant to ſend a challenge to all the world by the *London Evening Poſt.* Was ever any thing ſo truly noble and great?

But I tire you and myſelf: I ſhall therefore conclude, with only begging of you, that, inſtead of beginning any diſturbances at Ayleſbury, you would keep your own little pariſh of Hartwell quiet, and be reconciled to a worthy clergyman, who never offended you, and whom your good father cheriſhed, and honoured.

White Hart, Ayleſbury,
Dec. 16, 1763.

The following papers relate to the attempt which one Mr. Dun, *made on* Mr. Wilkes's *life.*

In the King's Bench. } JOHN WILKES, of Ayleſbury in the county of Bucks, Eſq; Matthew Brown, ſervant to the ſaid Mr. Wilkes, and Mathias Darly, of the pariſh of St. Anne, Soho, in the liberty of Weſtminſter, engraver, ſeverally make oath; and firſt, the ſaid John Wilkes for

for himſelf ſaith, That he this deponent verily believes that he is in danger of his life, from the wicked, malicious, revengeful, and unprovoked menaces of one Alexander Dun, who (this deponent is informed) is a Scotch officer; and between eleven and twelve of the clock laſt Tueſday Evening demanded entrance into this deponent's houſe in Great George-Street, Weſtminſter, and threatened violence to his perſon; and this deponent further ſaith, That about nine of the clock this morning he received the letter hereunto annexed, marked (A) which this deponent is informed, and verily believes, is of the hand writing of the ſaid Alexander Dun: and this deponent, Matthew Brown, for himſelf ſaith, that he ſaw a perſon at the time firſt above mentioned make ſeveral very rude and violent endeavours to come into the houſe of the ſaid Mr. Wilkes; and upon his being refuſed by this deponent, threatened revenge to Mr. Wilkes, and alſo to this deponent; and by the beſt deſcription and information which this deponent has been able to collect, he believes the ſaid perſon's name is Alexander Dun: and this deponent Mathias Darly for himſelf ſaith, That he this deponent did yeſterday write to Mr. Wilkes the letter hereunto annexed (B) the contents of which are true, and that the Scotch officer therein alluded to is the ſaid Alexander Dun: and this deponent further ſaith, That he is not moved by any malice or reſentment againſt the ſaid Alexander Dun, but thought it his duty as a member of ſociety, to make the above intimations to Mr. Wilkes, in order that he might concert the neceſſary meaſures for his perſonal ſafety. And therefore the ſaid John Wilkes craves ſureties of the peace againſt the ſaid Alexander Dun, not out of hatred or malice, but merely for the preſervation of his life and perſon from danger.

JOHN WILKES,
MATTHEW BROWN,
MATHIAS DARLY.

The deponent John Wilkes ſworn at his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, he being indiſpoſed, the 8th day of December, 1763, before me,

W. Mapelſden, by Commiſſion.

Matthew Brown and Mathias Darly, ſworn in Great Ormond-ſtreet, the 8th day of December, 1763, before E. WILMOT.

SIR, *London, Dec.* 8, 1763.

AS I have ſomething of conſequence to communicate to you, I ſhould be glad to know what time would be moſt convenient for me to call upon you this day, I called once before and was refuſed admittance. Be ſo good as ſend me an anſwer by my ſervant who will wait for it. Lieutenant Crockat of dragoons, who is now in Scotland, deſires his compliments to you for the many civilities ſhewn him when he was quartered near your country ſeat; you may be aſſured that many of the Scotch have ſtill a regard for you, and none of them more ſo than your moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

ALEX. DUN.

Direct to me at Mr. Whyte's, perukemaker, lieutenant of marines.

To John Wilkes, Eſq;

(A)

London Dec. 7, 1763.

SIR,

I SHOULD not do my duty if I did not acquaint you that the young Scotch officer, that wanted entrance at your houſe, is a villain, and his intentions are of blackiſh dye. I had been in his company for near four hours. That part of our converſation that relates to you, conſiſted chiefly of

of his intentions of maſſacreing you the firſt opportunity, and that there was thirteen more gentlemen of Scotland of the ſame reſolution, and confederates of his, who was reſolved to do it, or die in the attempt. Laſt night, when your trial was over, the gentleman at the coffee-houſe quitted the room that I was in (on account of the ſhouts in the Hall) and left the Scotch hero and I together, but I abruptly left the room, and went after the people to Great George-ſtreet, and on hearing a noiſe at your door, I went up, and, to my great ſurpriſe, ſaw the Scotchman a-trying for entrance; I knocked and had admittance, which enraged the hero ſo much, that he ſwore revenge againſt the ſervant, and was very troubleſome; when I went out, I heard a gentleman taking him to taſk upon his vowing revenge on you or your ſervant, upon which I told the gentleman a ſmall part of what I knew, and he put him in the hands of two watchmen, and ordered him to the roundhouſe, but at the corner of Great George-ſtreet, I am told, he was reſcued, and ran away. There was converſation paſſed between him and the company that is not ſafe to communicate by letter: his principles and zeal make it unſafe for ſuch an abandoned wretch to be at large. Your own diſcretion, I hope, will guide you to prevent any thing that may be intended. I am, with all reſpect,

To Mr. Wilkes,
Great George-ſtreet.

Sir your's,
M. DARLY.
Cranborn alley,
Leiceſter Fields.

(B)

E. WILMOT. L. S.

ENGLAND, } WHEREAS I have received in-
to wit, } formation on the oath of John Wilkes, Eſq; Matthew Brown, and Mathias Darly,

That one Alexander Dun, between eleven and twelve o'clock on Tueſday evening laſt, demanded entrance into the houſe of John Wilkes, and threatened violence to his perſon; and hath ſince, in the hearing of Mathias Darly, declared his intention to maſſacre the ſaid John Wilkes the firſt opportunity; and therefore the ſaid John Wilkes craves ſureties of the peace againſt the ſaid Alexander Dun, not out of hatred or malice, but merely for the preſervation of his life and perſon from danger.

Theſe are therefore to will and require, and, in his majeſty's name, ſtrictly to charge and command you, and every of you, upon ſight hereof, to apprehend and take the ſaid Alexander Dun, and bring him before me, or one other of the juſtices of his majeſty's court of King's Bench, if taken in or near the cities of London or Weſtminſter, otherwiſe before ſome juſtice of the peace living near the place where he ſhall be herewith taken: to the end he may become bound with ſufficient ſureties for his perſonal appearance, in his majeſty's court of King's Bench, on the firſt day of Hillary term, to anſwer the premiſes, and, in the mean time, to keep the peace, and be of good behaviour towards all his Majeſty's ſubjects, eſpecially towards the ſaid John Wilkes; and hereof fail not at your peril.

Given under my hand and ſeal this eighth Day of December, 1763.

To Richard Elſton my tipſtaff, and to all chief and petty conſtables, headboroughs, tythingmen, and all others whom theſe may concern.

Mr. Wilkes having appointed ſeven in the evening, on Thurſday laſt, for an interview with the ſaid Alexander Dun, he came punctually at the time, when he was apprehended in conſequence of the above warrant.

[The

[The following is taken from a paper that was circulated by Mr. Dun, with ſome remarks thereon.]

A S there is to be publiſhed by ſubſcription, by lieutenant Alexander Dun of Marines, a book entituled, The hiſtory of a reduced officer, with advice to half-pay officers, and to officers entering the army; a point explained concerning the ſea and marine officers: interſperſed with various obſervations on the fair ſex.

Quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens ſurvabit,
Odorem Teſta diu.

To which is added, ſome advices to, and obſervations on, Mr. Wilkes's behaviour to the Scotch nation.

†‡† The author may be heard of at the Parliament-tavern, near Weſtminſter-hall, or at St. Clement's coffee-houſe in the Strand, if any gentlemen chuſe to ſubſcribe.—

Mr. Dun has had ſo much encouragement already from the nobility and quality, both in Britain, and in foreign countries, in this publication, that he would not have made it public had it not been for an accident which happened lately, now to be explained.

As Mr. Wilkes is mentioned in his treatiſe, he thought it incumbent upon him to wait upon Mr. Wilkes to ſee whether or not the diſſentions betwixt the Engliſh and Scotch nations [*what are theſe diſſentions? nobody ever heard of them*] reported to be occaſioned by him were from real or imaginary cauſes. He had an offer of being introduced to Mr. Wilkes by ſeveral different gentlemen [WHO?] and on Tueſday night [*near twelve o'clock*] went for that purpoſe, but was refuſed admittance; was diſappointed next day by breach of appointment [*What appointment?*] and on Thurſday Morning wrote Mr. Wilkes the following letter, which was ſent by his ſervant.

To JOHN WILKES, *Esq;*

SIR, *London, Dec.* 8, 1763.

'AS I have ſomething of conſequence to communicate to you, I ſhould be glad to know what 'time would be moſt convenient for me to call 'upon you this day: I called once before, and 'was refuſed admittance. Be ſo good as ſend me 'an anſwer by my ſervant, who will wait for it.

'Lieutenant Crockat of dragoons, who is now 'in Scotland, deſires his compliments to you for 'the many civilities ſhewn him when he was quar-'tered near your country ſeat. You may be aſ-'ſured that many of the Scotch have ſtill a regard 'for you; and none of them more ſo than your 'moſt humble and obedient ſervant,

ALEX. DUN.'

This letter he ſent at nine o'clock in the morning; a little after one o'clock he received, by his ſervant, the following card.

Mr. DUN, *Thurſday.*

'Mr. W——s's compliments to Mr. Dun, and 'deſires to ſee him at ſeven o'clock this evening: 'is obliged to him for the account of Mr. 'Crockat.'

In conſequence of this deſire, Mr. Dun went to Mr. Wilkes's lodgings [*Who does Mr. Wilkes lodge with? This is the true Edinburgh ſtile: has Mr. Wilkes a houſe or only a flat: two or three rooms they call a flat at Edinburgh*] in George-ſtreet, at the time appointed—When he came there he knocked gently at the door, and was admitted by a ſervant who called himſelf Mr. Wilkes's Butler; he aſked Mr. Dun to walk into a parlour until Mr. Wilkes ſhould come down; wanted to know if he had

had any covers [*as he had desired by his boy*] to be signed; and that he would carry them up to Mr. Wilkes: Mr. Dun then gave him a dozen, which he took away in order to carry up to Mr. Wilkes, who, he said, was in the room above.—

In a few minutes after, the Butler came back, in a mild manner desired Mr. Dun to walk above to his master, who was waiting for him: he immediately followed, and was scarcely out of the parlour door, when five or six men catched fast hold of him, and brought him down; some of them were gentlemen, whose names Mr. Dun does not chuse to mention, who used him very well afterwards: that violence was offered is evident, because one of the gentlemen had the joints of two of his fingers dislocated: they then searched Mr. Dun, but found no deadly weapon about him; indeed he had a penknife in his waistcoat pocket, [*loose in his left hand coat pocket*] which they kept, and said he had brought it with intention to kill Mr. Wilkes. That he may do impartial justice to all, he here declares, that in a little time they returned his pocket-book, papers, &c. and upon his observing that he was almost strangled, they brought several different kinds of wine to chuse of; drank his health, and said they believed they were all in the wrong; [*not true*] but that he must go to some genteel house and be confined a little, until he should clear up this matter, as Mr. Wilkes had a warrant against him on suspicion of his intending to massacre him [*according to his own declaration.*] They then asked, if he did not think it proper for them to have acted this part? He said not, as he thought it was taking hold of him under shew of friendship, as the card expressed. He asked if his letter did not deserve civil treatment? To which Mr. C—tes, Justice of peace, [*in Surry*] was pleased to reply, That Mr. Wilkes had acted by his advice; that they found out

out he was a man of education from his letter, and therefore judged him the more dangerous. Mr. C—tes told him, that Mr. Wilkes deſired he would write to him and clear up the matter more fully, and he would ſend him an anſwer [*not true.*] They then brought Mr. Dun, pen, ink, paper, and wax, and he wrote, directed to Mr. Wilkes in his lodgings: as Mr. Wilkes ſent him a verbal anſwer, he will not inſert a copy of this letter; he will only obſerve, that he procured him a dozen of franks from Mr. F—tzherb—t; thanked him for what he wrote; and ſaid that he would have done them himſelf, but was not well. This meſſage was ſent him by a gentleman who carried up Mr. Dun's letter. Mr. F—tzherb—t he muſt thank for likewiſe ſubſcribing to his performance in Mr. Wilkes's houſe, by only hearing a few pages read.

He does here declare he has no animoſity againſt Mr. Wilkes, nor any man in Britain; ſome have ſhewn it in London, and that very lately, againſt him, for no other cauſe but his mentioning Mr. Wilkes in this performance: he has been often inſulted and beat, [BEAT!] and bruiſed, but as juſtice always will get the better, and innocence will be protected, has always come off to his own ſatiſfaction; and is not this moment afraid, although under lock and key in Stanhope-ſtreet.

He now, as an officer who has ſuffered in his Majeſty's ſervice, claims protection: is but young, cannot therefore command temper every moment to put up with hearing his countrymen in Scotland abuſed; but he wiſhes ſincerely the whole would be unanimous, and then the Engliſh, Iriſh, and Scotch, would be a terror to all their enemies: if they diſagree amongſt themſelves, the conſequences will be dreadful. [*Do they?*] As the aforeſaid publication will ſoon appear, he ſhall ſay no more at preſent on this ſubject, but acquaint the public that

it

it is his firſt performance, wrote at the deſire of many gentlemen of known merit, and offered to the King's peruſal.

Upon the 10th of December inſtant, Mr. Dun was tried [*not even examined*] at Mr. Wilkes's inſtance, for a breach of privilege, &c. and acquitted: he muſt here own his obligations to ſeveral members who ſpoke in his behalf; although none of them will ſay he aſked them to appear in his defence.— He is ſorry that he had reaſon to ſay ſome Gentlemen were over inquiſitive; who inſiſted that his ſervant ſhould inform, and even threatened him, to tell them, what meſſages he ſent him from the Houſe of Commons.

The night this trial was ended, ſome of Mr. Wilkes's friends [*who were they?*] came to ſee Mr. Dun (as they themſelves owned) from a principle of curioſity; they wanted, they ſaid, to know what was the reaſon for his animoſity againſt Mr. Wilkes, and to ſee and take a copy of his card to Mr. Dun. In the firſt place, he informed them that he had no ill will at Mr. Wilkes, and let them copy the card, as they deſired: he further ſaid, that he intended to be his friend, and they ſaw his recompenſe. They then told Mr. Dun that the world conſidered this as a raſh and frantic action, at leaſt, that Mr. Wilkes's friends did; but that now they were ſatisfied it was not. They ſhewed Mr. Dun ſeveral penknives, and wanted to know the ſize of the one he had in his waiſtcoat pocket on the 8th inſtant. He told them it was the ſize of the leaſt of thoſe they produced; but that he ſhould not ſuſpect *them* of aſſaſſination for bringing them into his apartments: at this they ſmiled. As the news papers ſay [*his own account*] that Mr. Dun ſaid he purchaſed the penknife firſt nine months ago, then a ſhorter ſpace, and at laſt confeſſed he bought it at Chatham a fortnight before that time, he muſt explain

plain this matter? As he had three penknives purchaſed much about the times mentioned, but the one for common uſe, which was then in his pocket, he bought on the 1ſt of December laſt, from the ſhop of Nicholas Foſter, near the corner of Grocer's-alley. When Captain B——r came up to Mr. Dun in the Houſe of Commons, along with Dr. F——n, and aſked him if he knew them, he told Captain B——r, that he had the moment before made a bow to him, and aſked him how he did, but was ſurprized he took no notice of it; that as to Doctor F——n, he thought he might have ſeen his face before, but could not have recollected it except he had told his name; for altho' he informed Mr. Dun he was Phyſician at the Hoſpital of Gibraltar, when he was bad in a fever for ſix months, he did not recollect ſeeing him often, altho' he has reaſon to remember all the reſt of the faculty there. Mr. Dun was ſurprized that Captain B——r ſhould aſk him if he knew him, as he has been ſeveral times in company with him very lately, yea, within theſe three or four days. But as ſoon as theſe two Gentlemen had left Mr. Dun, he told the reſt that were preſent, that he ſuſpected that they were called as evidences to prove him mad or lunatic, from his behaviour when almoſt brought to the gates of death, by a fever at Gibraltar; had reaſon to be confirmed in this opinion, when his ſervant called at Mr. Wilkes's houſe, according to appointment, that ſame night, and was aſked by Mr. Wilkes's Valet de Chambre, if he was ſent by the madman his maſter? [*not true*] Mr. Wilkes ſent word he had no anſwer. Captain B——r knows that Mr. Dun always did his duty, and even more than lay to his ſhare; and that it was always a pleaſure to him while he was well. He likewiſe knows that there were ſeveral brave and ſenſible men (officers) in a worſe condition than ever

ever he (Mr. Dun) was, proceeding from the ſame malady; that ſome cut their throats; that others ſhot themſelves thro' the body; and that many were prevented from putting an end to their own lives, proceeding, as one would imagine, from the nature of the climate; but he muſt obſerve, that ſometimes people receive favours from thoſe they leaſt expect them, and are deceived by others they confide moſt in; this has been Mr. Dun's caſe in this affair: A man, profeſſed the greateſt friendſhip for him, ſubſcribed to his book, ſaid he was half a Scotchman, and was in company with him on Tueſday night the 8th inſtant, at the Parliament tavern, was, as he is informed, the principal occaſion of this proſecution. God keep Mr. Dun from the company of half friends for the future; but let him add,

Integer vitæ, ſceleriſque purus non eget Mauri
Jaculis nec Arcu, nec venenatis grævida Sagittis.
Fuſce Pharetra.

We ſhall take the liberty of adding to Mr. Dun's caſe, that it is the obſervation of Machiavel, that in all caſes, not only of aſſaſſination, but of deep danger, no man ſhould be employed, who is always, and entirely in his ſenſes.

When Mr. Wilkes *was ſomewhat recovered of his wound he retired to* Paris, *where he was complimented by* Mr. Martin *(who had fled thither in conſequence of their late duel) with the following card:*

Hotel de Luynes, Dec. 30, 1763.

'MR. Martin preſents his compliments to Mr. 'Wilkes, and deſires to know how he 'does, flattering himſelf, from Mr. Wilkes's per-'formance of ſo long a journey, at this ſeaſon of

'the

'the year, that his health is perfectly re-eſta-
'bliſhed.

'Mr. Martin cannot help taking this opportu-
'nity to aſſure Mr. Wilkes, that he had deſired
'Mr. Bradſhaw to deliver up Mr. Wilkes's note,
'written to Mr. Martin on the 16th Nov. as it
'occurred to the latter that any imaginable uſe
'might be made of it to Mr. Wilkes's prejudice,
'and before Mr. Martin had heard from Mr. Brad-
'ſhaw that it was actually given up.

'Mr. Martin returns his thanks to Mr. Wilkes
'for his attention to Mr. Martin's ſafety, by giv-
'ing the early notice he did to Mr. Bradſhaw, of
'his apprehending himſelf to be in danger.

'It is impoſſible for Mr. Martin to think of
'taking part in any affair of Mr. Wilkes that he
'may find depending in the Houſe of Commons
'at his arrival in England. He propoſes to ſet off
'from hence on his return home on Monday next,
'but believes he ſhall not ſet foot in London till
'thoſe affairs are determined, to avoid even a co-
'lour of ſuſpicion that he is capable of appearing
'againſt Mr. Wilkes after what hath ſo recently
'happened.'

To which Mr. Wilkes returned the following anſwer.

Hotel de Saxe, Dec. 30. Friday.

'Mr. Wilkes's compliments to Mr. Martin,
'and is much obliged by the favour of his note.
'Mr. Wilkes is going to pay his reſpects to Lord
'Hertford, and if Mr. Martin is diſengaged, will af-
'terwards wait upon him for a quarter of an hour,
'at the Hotel de Luynes.'

Mr.

Mr. Wilkes *ſent the following letter to the Speaker.*

Paris, Hotel de Saxe, Jan. 11. 1764.

'SIR,

'I cannot expreſs the concern I am under, from 'the impoſſibility I now find of attending my duty 'in parliament on the 19th of this month: I have 'ſuffered very much from the tour I made here in 'the holidays to ſee my daughter: my wound is 'again become extremely painful, the parts are 'very much inflamed, and a fever attends it. I 'incloſe a certificate of one of the king's phyſicians, 'and a ſurgeon of the army, gentlemen of emi-'nence in their profeſſion, who think it abſolutely 'neceſſary for me to ſtay ſome time longer at Paris. 'I refer to the certificate itſelf for the particulars.

'The impatience I feel to juſtify myſelf to the 'houſe, from the groundleſs and cruel attacks upon 'me, and the zeal I hope ever to retain for the vin-'dication of the ſacred rights of the commons of 'Great Britain, and the privileges of Parliament, 'both of which have been groſsly violated in my 'perſon, had determined me to ſet out for England 'on Friday next, but I now find myſelf incapable 'of performing the journey. I am therefore, Sir, 'under the neceſſity of intreating you to ſubmit my 'caſe to the Houſe, and I doubt not, from their 'juſtice, a more diſtant day will be appointed, 'when it may be in my power to attend the diſ-'cuſſion of points very important in themſelves, 'and in which I am very materially concerned.

'I would not, Sir, implore this of the Houſe, 'if I thought the delay could be attended with any 'poſſible inconvenience to the public; and I beg 'to obſerve, that I ſeized the firſt moment, which 'the reſolutions of Parliament gave me, to enter

'my

'my appearance to the informations filed againſt 'me in the King's Bench. I am, with due reſpect 'and regard,

Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JOHN WILKES.'

Right Honourable
Sir John Cuſt.

'Nous ſouſſignes medecin conſultant du Roi, ci 'devant medecin en chef des ſes armees en Alle- 'magne et en Eſpagne, et nous chirurgien conſul- 'tant des armees, et chirurgien major du regiment 'des Gardes Francoiſs, certifions que Monſieur 'Jean Wilkes eſt dans un etat que ne lui permet 'point, tant par raport a ſa bleſſure qui n'eſt pas 'encore entierement cicatriſee, que par raport a la 'fievre qui lui eſt ſurvenue d'entreprendre la rout 'de Paris a Londres; qu'il ſeroit a craindre un 'l'inflammation et le bourſoufflement conſiderable 'arrives depuis peu de jours, qu'il ne ſe format une 'hernie a la quelle, il ne ſeroit point poſſible de 'remedier, que pour prevenir cet accident, dont 'il eſt menace et que movement violent, tel que 'celui d'une chaiſe de poſte, et l'agitation de la 'mer ne manqueroient pas de determiner, il eſt 'abſolument indiſpenſable qu'il reſte encore quel- 'que tems a Paris. En ſoi de quoi nous lui avons 'delivre le preſent certificate. *A Paris*, 11 *Jan- 'vier* 1764.'

NINNIN.
DUFOUARE.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Wilkes *to* Mr. C——s, *dated Paris, June* 5, 1764.

'THE two noble *Sweediſh whigs*, of whom you 'were ſo fond, did me the favour of dining here 'yeſterday.

'yesterday. I passed the day very happily, though 'not so joyously as that day twelve month, in the 'midst of my worthy constituents at Aylesbury, all 'of us in full chorus, to the liberties of our country 'and the virtues of our sovereign; yet after the late 'flagrant acts of despotic power in the ministers, 'not forgetting either their wickedness or their insolence. * *Joly's champaigne* was not necessary to 'inspire the highest good-humour and gaiety on so 'white, so auspicious a day as the *fourth of June*; 'The toast consecrated the wine, and gave it the 'true flavour, though I could not help lamenting 'my hard and unmerited lot of being forced to 'give such a toast out of my own dear country, 'and in a land where the standard of *liberty* is 'not yet erected. With Miss W———'s help we 'made out tolerably well GOD SAVE GREAT 'GEORGE OUR KING; and as the Duke of 'Nivernois says in one of his letters———*Nous 'avons* toaste *et chant fort gaiement, et enfin nous 'avons éte quatre bonnes heures à table.* As I am 'an universal *whig*, I could not avoid giving an 'additional stanza, the poetry of which I endeavoured to bring *down* as low as the rest of the song, 'and I believe I succeeded; the thought was good 'that the name of BRUNSWICK may ever 'be as propitious to the liberties of mankind as that of NASSAU; and our gracious sovereign, through a long and glorious reign, *equally 'feared abroad and beloved at home*, may approve 'himself as steady a patron of the rights of Englishmen as his grandfather was. On the whole, it 'proved the most agreeable day I have passed since 'a few of us in April kept the anniversary of CULLODEN, which a good many others seem to 'have a *memorandum to forget*, or at least to neglect very shamefully.

'Lord *H****** gave yesterday a grand dinner 'to all the *English* here, except one, and to the true

* Wine Merchant at *Paris*.

'Iriſh whigs; nor like a good courtier did he omit
'the new converts, the *Scots*; he did not, however
'obſerve the diſtinction which is ſo much in faſhion
'on your ſide the water, for the friends of the
'*Hanover* family, were received at leaſt as well as
'their known enemies. My lot is particular and
'droll enough: I am the ſingle *Engliſhman* not in-
'vited by the A———— of my country, on the
'only day I can at *Paris* ſhew my attachment to my
'ſovereign, as if I was diſaffected to the preſent
'eſtabliſhment, and yet I am frequently and groſs-
'ly abuſed by a ridiculous fellow at *Bouillon*, be-
'cauſe I am known to hate the other family; and
'his maſter, the *duke*, married the ſiſter of the pre-
'tender's wife, a princeſs of *Poland*, of the houſe
'of *Sobieſki*. This ſcribbler is one *Rouſſeau*, who
'by a wretched *journal* does all he can twice a
'month to degrade a name made illuſtrious by one
'of the beſt *French* poets, and by the great philo-
'ſopher, though *in theſe times* no longer the citizen
'of *Geneva*. He lays at my door the North Bri-
'tons againſt the *Stuarts*, and their *dear friends* in
'the north of our iſland.—You may believe me,
'when I aſſure you it was not the ſlighteſt mortifi-
'cation to me, that I did not receive an invitation
'to the H**l de B*****s. When I was aſked, how
'it could happen that ſo ſtaunch a *whig* as
'Mr. Wilkes was not invited, on the 4th of
'*June*, I laughed like the old *Roman I had*
'*rather you ſhould aſk why I was* NOT, *than*
'*why I* WAS *invited*; perhaps it ſhould have been
'aſked, why ſome others *were* invited. The liſt
'of the company of *Macs* and *Sawneys*, NOT *in the*
'*French* ſervice would divert you: I wiſh ſome of
'our neighbours from the other ſide of the Tweed
'may not keep the *twenty-firſt* with more real de-
'votion then they did the *fourth*. With reſpect to
'external rites they were exemplary, as all new
'converts are; and I believe you find them in En-

gland

'gland good *occaſional conformiſts*, though I ſhall ever
'imagine that it depends on contingencies how long
'they will continue ſuch. To ſay the truth, I paſ-
'ſed the day much more to my ſatisfaction than I
'ſhould have done in a a ſet of mixed or a ſuſpi-
'cious company, a fulſome dull dinner, two hours
'of mighty grave converſation, to be purchaſed in
'all civility by ſix more of PHARA, which I deteſt
'as well as every other kind of gaming. As to the
'A———, I have never had the leaſt connection
'with him, nor indeed wiſh it; nor at this time
'with his *Scottiſh* S*******y, nor at any time with
'his *Scottiſh* ch******n, becauſe—— an A*******,
'generally owes his very nomination to miniſterial
'influence, and is almoſt of courſe *(though this
'does not extend through his family)* under the di-
'rection of the miniſters, or perhaps as to the pre-
'ſent caſe, in all propriety we ought to ſay, of the
'*miniſter*, who, *behind and between the curtains*, ſtill
'governs our iſland. I have never been preſented
'at court, becauſe an Engliſhman ſhould be pre-
'ſented by the Engliſh ambaſſador; and I will not
'aſk any favour of Lord *Hertford* in the preſent
'ſtate of public affairs; though as a private noble-
'man, I ſhould be ambitious to merit, and moſt
'fortunate to obtain, his friendſhip, as well as lord
'*Beauchamp*'s, from their real ſterling ſenſe, great
'intrinſic worth, and what ſets off the whole, their
'amiable manners. I have the protection of the
'laws, which I never offend; I am at *Paris* like
'any other foreigner, who has no favour to aſk,
'nor need ſeek any other ſecurity.—The eloge,
'which the nobleſt of poets* gives me, that

I neither court the ſmile, nor dread the frown of kings,

'is as exact a truth here as you know it to have
'been while I was at home. The ſmall circle in
'which I now walk, will, however, bear teſtimony
'to the juſt tribute of gratitude I pay to the hu-

* Churchill.

'mane virtues of a prince, under whoſe mild and 'gentle government I have met with that protection 'which an innocent man has a right to expect, but 'could not find in his own country, under his own '*****. Yet let me do juſtice, and carry my com-'plaints to the ſource from whence they ſpring, to 'the baſe contrivances of miniſters exceedingly 'wicked and corrupt, and beſides ſtung to the quick, 'who had obtained a moſt unhappy aſcendency over 'the mind of their ******, and to ſecure them-'ſelves, have made their moſt odious mea-'ſures paſs for the meaſures of their ******, 'that the enormous load of their guilt, may be 'thrown from themſelves upon him; a practice not 'new, but of which every reign of the *Stuarts*, 'furniſhes examples. I hope ſoon to ſend you 'ſomething, *quod et hunc in annum vivat et plures*. 'My large work opens with the general idea of 'political liberty; then proceeds to examine the 'ſentiments of the European nations on this head, 'as diſtinguiſhed from the almoſt univerſal groſs 'deſpotiſm of the reſt of the world. The third 'part is a critique on the various governments 'of Europe. The fourth and laſt is entirely on the 'Engliſh conſtitution, the various changes it has 'undergone, the improvements made in it by the 'glorious revolution, and the no leſs happy than 'timely acceſſion of the houſe of *Brunſwick*. 'There are a few hints of ſome remedies to the 'defects ſtill ſubſiſting in this noble, and if my 'prayers are heard, this eternal fabric. A large *ap-'pendix* contains, I hope a full juſtification of Mr. 'W——, upon conſtitutional grounds: a variety 'of characters are drawn from the life, which if I 'miſtake not, will entertain you; and I believe they 'are not *ſkeletons*, though I hope the originals will 'be ſo before the book is publiſhed.'

Having

Having given all the authentic letters and papers which were publiſhed relative to every branch of Mr. Wilkes's caſe, we now come to the ſtrictures and obſervations made upon them.

Queries on Mr. Wilkes's caſe.

WHETHER the apprehenſion of Mr Wilkes under a warrant *without oath, and without name,* is not illegal.

2. Whether in either of the warrants, which have been iſſued, the uſual and neceſſary word FALSE is to be found among the epithets applied to the ſuppoſed libel, No. 45 of the *North Briton?*

3. Whether any diſingenuous and unfair method was not employed by the ſecretaries of ſtate to elude the effect of the firſt *Habeas Corpus?*

4. Whether the commitment of Mr. Wilkes to the Tower for a *bailable* offence, and yet for above two days preventing any perſon from having acceſs to him, was not depriving him of all poſſibility of offering *bail,* and is not therefore a direct act of injuſtice, and a violation of the laws of England?

5. Whether the counſel, relations, and friends, of the lords *Lovat, Kilmarnock, Cromartie, Balmerino, &c.* committed to the Tower for *high treaſon,* were not from the firſt moment admitted to them?

6. Whether the *firſt warrant,* under which Mr. Wilkes's perſon was ſeized, his houſe rifled, his locks broke open, and his papers carried off, is not *univerſally* allowed to be arbitrary and tyrannical?

7. Whether (except in caſes of high treaſon) the *papers* of any *Engliſh* ſubject ought ever to be ſeized and whether all apparent proof being believed to be deficient, this is not to be deemed a moſt odious method of *fiſhing for evidence.*

8. Whether Mr. Wilkes did not from the firſt reſt his caſe on *the univerſal liberty of the ſubject,* and not on *privilege* only?

9. Whether the many proſecutions now carrying on by Mr. Wilkes at ſo great an expence, bear the leaſt relation to *privilege*, and whether they are not clearly in vindication of the liberty, property, domeſtic quiet, and ſecurity of every *Engliſhman ?*

10. Whether Mr. Wilkes was admitted to ſee any one of his accuſers, and whether there is yet any accuſation *on oath* againſt him, relative to the *North Briton*, No. 45 ?

11. Whether Mr. Wilkes has not been treated as *guilty*, though juſtice as well as candour would yet pronounce him *innocent*, the law of *England* never *preſuming guilt ?*

12. Whether *ſureties of the peace* have been demanded or taken from any of the perſons ſuppoſed to have been concerned in the *North Briton*, No. 45 ?

13. Whether in all caſes of *breach of the peace*, the *ſubject* has not a right to be diſcharged from his confinement upon giving *ſureties for the peace*, and whether a *member of parliament* can be diſcharged, without giving them, if demanded ?

14. Whether every ſubject of *England* is not intereſted in the preſervation of the *privileges of parliament*, the houſe ofcommons being the guardians of the liberties of the people againſt the deſpotiſm of miniſters ?

15. Whether the *privileges of parliament* have not been extorted from *former kings*, and whether they have not ever been conſidered as the firmeſt barrier of the *Engliſh* nation againſt the encroachment of the crown, when unhappily under the influence of arbitrary miniſters ?

16. Whether any one fact reflecting on Mr. Wilkes's private character has been yet aſcertained, and whether, (as in the caſe of the *Wincheſter* falſehood of *lord Bute's ſon)* any proof whatever has been brought to ſupport the infinite calumnies ſo induſtriouſly propagated againſt Mr. Wilkes ?

17. Whether

17. Whether it be not the clear language of the conſtitution, that *the king can do no wrong*, but that ſome miniſter is reſponſible for the exerciſe of all the royal functions of *peace*, *war*, and even the darling attribute of *mercy*, not excepted?

18. Whether the *king's ſpeech* has not at all times been adviſed and made by miniſters, and whether it is not the language of *every* conſtitution, that *good kings* may be ſurpriſed and impoſed upon by *bad miniſters?*

19. Whether the *liberty of the preſs*, which is always deemed the bulwark of our liberties, can ſubſiſt, if there be a privileged vehicle of fallacy?

20. Whether in the *North Britou*, No. 45, there appears the leaſt intention of vilifying the ſacred dignity of *royalty*, and whether the whole charge is not printed againſt *adminiſtration—contrary to the opinion of royalty itſelf—a prince of ſo many, great, amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres—the perſonal character of our preſent amiable ſovereign makes us eaſy and happy that ſo great a power is lodged in ſuch hands?*

Standing order of the houſe of lords, April 18, 1626.

THE privilege of the houſe is, that no lord of parliament, ſitting the parliament, or within the uſual times of privilege of parliament, is to be impriſoned or reſtrained, without ſentence or order of the houſe, unleſs it be for treaſon, or felony, or for refuſing to give ſecurity for the peace.

Standing order of the houſe of commons, June 1, 1626, 19 Jac.

ORDERED upon the QUESTION, That in caſe of *any arreſt*, or any diſtreſs of goods, ſerving any proceſs, citation for *his perſon*, *arreſting his perſon*, ſtaying him in any court, or BREAKING

ANY OTHER privilege of this houſe, *a letter ſhall iſſue under Mr. Speaker's hand, for the party's relief therein*, as if the parliament were ſitting; and the party refuſing to obey it, to be cenſured at next meeting.

Caſe of Chief Juſtice Scroggs.

THE ſixth article of impeachment of high treaſon and other great crimes and miſdemeanors, againſt Sir *William Scroggs*, chief juſtice of the court of *King's Bench*, by the *commons* in *parliament*, A.D. 1680, is expreſſed in the following words. 'That 'the ſaid Sir *William Scroggs*, in further oppreſſion 'of his majeſty's liege people, hath ſince his being 'made chief juſtice of the ſaid court of *King's Bench*, 'in an arbitrary manner, granted divers general 'warrants for attaching the perſons and ſeizing the 'goods of his majeſty's ſubjects, *not named* or '*deſcribed particularly in the ſaid warrants*; by 'means whereof many of his majeſty's ſubjects 'have been vexed, their houſes entered into, and 'they themſelves grievouſly oppreſſed contrary to 'law.'

Query? Was Mr. Wilkes either *named* or *particularly deſcribed* in the warrant iſſued by the ſecretaries of ſtate for attaching his perſon? If not, what cenſure would the houſe of commons, who impeached Sir *William Scroggs*, have paſſed upon them for granting a warrant againſt *a perſon not named or particularly deſcribed in the ſaid warrant*.

Short note from Sir William Temple.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, in relation to king CHARLES II. ſays, in his Memoirs, p. 28, 29, edition 8vo. 'At a long audience in his cloſet,—I 'ſhewed—that the force ſeeming neceſſary to ſub-

'due

'due the liberties and ſpirits of this nation, could 'not be eſteemed leſs than an army of 60,000 men, 'ſince the Romans were forced to keep twelve le'gions to that purpoſe, the Normans to inſtitute '62,000 knights fees, and Cromwell left an army 'near 80,000 men. That I never knew but one 'foreigner that underſtood England, which was 'Courville, whom I knew the king eſteemed the 'ſoundeſt head of any Frenchman he had ever ſeen. 'That when I was at Bruſſels in the firſt Dutch 'war, and he heard the parliament grew weary of 'it, he ſaid, the king had nothing to do but to 'make the peace. That he had been long enough 'in England, ſeen enough of our court, and peo'ple, and parliments.' To conclude.

'Qu'un Roy d'Angle-	*'That a king of En-*
'terre, qui veut être	*'gland, who will be the*
'l'homme de ſon peuple,	*'man of his people, is the*
'eſt le plus grand Roy du	*'greateſt king in the*
'monde; mais s'il veut	*'world; but if he will*
'être quelque choſe d'ad-	*'be any thing more, by*
'vantage, par Dieu il	*'G—d he is nothing at*
'n'eſt plus rien,'	*'all.'*

On Privilege of Parliament.

THE privilege of parliament was wiſely ordained for the ſecurity of the ſubject; who, having repoſed his liberty and property in his repreſentative in parliament, expects that protection from him which may be neceſſary againſt the deſigns or the attempts of any of the wicked inſtruments of power. Therefore, for the good of the whole, the perſons of members of parliament were exempted from attachment, unleſs it could be proved that they had been guilty of felony, treaſon, or breach of the peace.

In

In this exemption is ſacredly depoſited the certain ſafety of the liberties of the people; for while a member of parliament avoids thoſe offences, he cannot be cognizable for his conduct; and therefore, however he may give umbrage to a miniſtry, or be obnoxious to a court, he is yet ſafe in his perſon, and may therefore continue to be the advocate of our liberties and intereſts. To the benefit of this privilege we owe all the oppoſition which has been made, time immemorial, to tyrannic miniſters and arbitrary proceedings; for members being thus uncontroulable, act with that free will and ſpirit which is abſolutely neceſſary for the preſervation of that great truſt repoſed in them. If they were under a reſtraint with reſpect to ſuch freedom, the liberties and the intereſt of the people would ſoon be ſacrificed, becauſe they would not be able to defend them. The ſecretaries of ſtate would every day be committing them to one gaol or other, and perhaps in the ſpace of half a ſeſſion we ſhould be robbed of half our repreſentatives.

It is therefore evident, that on the privilege to which our members of parliament are entitled, our ſecurity depends. But there is an end of this privilege, and with it the liberties of the people, if the king's meſſengers, ſent by the ſecretaries of ſtate, are allowed to enter the houſe of a member of parliament at midnighr, carry away his perſon by force, break open his locks, and ſeize his papers for evidence againſt him. I ſay, if ſuch STAR CHAMBER PRACTICES are allowed, our boaſted liberty, for which our anceſtors fought and bled, is at an end. Our members will all be ſcrupulous in oppoſing the miniſters, fearing leſt their oppoſition ſhould be termed an oppoſition to the king, and upon *that charge* their houſes become ran-

ſacked,

ſacked, and their perſons toſſed about from hand to hand, and at length ſequeſtered in a gaol.

The caſe of a member of parliament, wherein his privilege is violated, appears to me, and ſo it muſt to every man, as not the caſe of that member only, but of the whole people of England, who are as eſſentially concerned in the preſervation of that privilege, as they would be materially affected by the loſs of their liberties. The privileges of the members, and the liberties of the people, are inſeparable: the former was made for the effectual preſervation of the latter againſt arbitrary and ill deſigning men, and therefore with the loſs of thoſe privileges we muſt inevitably loſe our liberties, which I believe will never be but with our lives.

HAMPDEN, *Bucks.*

Againſt privilege of Parliament.

I AM a tradeſman of very extenſive buſineſs, whereby I have made an eaſy fortune. In the early part of my life, the increaſe of my trade was almoſt the only object of my attention; but ſince my fortune has been more eaſy, I have thought it my duty to give ſome attention to the affairs of the public. I had been informed that an attack had been made upon the liberties of my country, in the perſon of Mr. Wilkes; and though from ſome private circumſtances known to me in the courſe of my buſineſs, (which is that of a diſtiller) I could have wiſhed the liberties of my country had found a better champion. I ſoon reſolved to forget the man, and thinking only of the cauſe, became ſo zealous, that I went for three mornings to Weſtminſter-Hall upon his account. I was preſent at his diſcharge on Friday; and on my return to the city, I went directly to a very worthy man who manages my law buſineſs, and to whoſe good ſenſe I have been

been more than once obliged, in the courſe of my life. I told him with great joy of the glorious determination that had been given in favour of liberty, and invited him to go home with me, and drink the health of Mr. Wilkes, earl Temple, and lord chief juſtice Pratt. But what, ſays he, is the determination? I explained to him, that the warrant of commitment had been declared legal: but notwithſtanding as a libel was not an actual breach of the peace, Mr. Wilkes being a member of Parliament, muſt be diſcharged. And is this, ſays he, the determination you are ſo overjoyed with? What protection is this to your liberty or mine? Is then privilege of Parliament become ſo popular a topic? Surprized at the reception my news found from him, Why, ſaid I, don't you think this deciſion is according to law? 'Tis that I regret moſt, ſaid he, and I dare ſay the court was very ſorry to pronounce it; but if it is law, they could not help it. Pray, ſaid I, explain what you mean, for I don't underſtand all this. You'll underſtand it ſoon enough, and feel it to your coſt, ſaid he; you remember the bill you directed me to file laſt year againſt Mr. ——, for the 2000*l.* mortgage? Aye, I may well remember it, after ſo many delays before we could come at his anſwer, and ſo many fair promiſes of payment, to defend himſelf by accuſing me of taking exorbitant intereſt; but I hope you'll loſe no time in carrying on the indictment againſt him for that perjury. I beg your pardon, ſaid he, I ſhall proceed no farther; thank God I have not taken him up, the firſt loſs is the cheapeſt; take back your papers, pay me my bill of coſts, and make yourſelf eaſy with the loſs of your 2000*l.* for as long as he has privilege you can never try him. Good God, cried I, and have I been rejoicing for this? Can't a man be tried without he be committed? No ſurely, ſaid he, for how otherwiſe ſhall he be forced to plead?

But

But your caſe will ſoon be other people's. Look there in the beginning of that Hawkins, (pointing to a folio upon his table) how many crimes there are which are neither treaſon, felony, nor actual breach of the peace; all theſe a peer, or member of parliament, is, by what you tell me, privileged to commit. After looking at this Hawkins, I could not help owning, that though I was not much concerned that Mr. Wilkes ſhould have a right to ſay what he pleaſed of the king and the miniſtry; I was a good deal uneaſy to think that Mr. —— knew he had a privilege to ſwear againſt my life or property, to cheat me of my goods, to ſeduce my daughter, nay, ſet up a bawdy houſe at next door, and keep her there publickly. 'Tis very true, ſaid my friend, there is no great reaſon to rejoice at this, but ſo the law is. And does this alſo extend to all great people's ſervants? To all; Bleſs me, ſaid I, I hope the houſe of commons will alter it; they are very good if they do, ſaid he, the nation will have reaſon to pray for them; but they won't meet theſe ſix months. I hope, ſaid I, the king will call them together ſooner: what for our ſake? have we been ſo thankful to him for giving up ſome of his own privileges, for reducing his civil liſt, and making his judges independent?

While he was ſaying this, I took up a Court Calendar, and being uſed to figures, made the following calculation.

Engliſh Peers —— —— ——	187
Arch-Biſhops and Biſhops ——	26
Scotch Peers —— ——	98
Members of Parliament ——	558
Total	869
Servants upon a medium of eight to each, which is rather too low ——	7100
Total of privileged perſons	7985

I then

I then took from Hawkins the following liſt.

Crimes in which there is privilege

I. Blaſphemy. 1
II. Præmunire of which there are nine ſorts 9
III. Miſpriſion of treaſon ——— 1
IV. Contempt of the king's palace or court of juſtice ——— ——— ——— 1
V. Contempts againſt his prerogative, of which there are three ſorts ——— 3
VI. Contempts againſt his perſon, ſix ſorts, viz.
1. Charging the government with oppreſſion, or weak adminiſtration.
2. Doing an act which impliedly encourages rebellion.
3. Endeavouring to frighten the king into a change of meaſures.
4. Spreading falſe rumours concerning the king's intentions.
5. Charging him with a breach of his coronation oath.
6. Speaking contemptuouſly of him. 6
VII. Contempts againſt his title, four ſorts 4
VIII. Petit Larceny ——— —— 1
IX. Breach of duty by officers ——— 1
X. Bribery ——— ——— —— 1
XI. Extortion ——— —— 1
XII. Perjury ——— —— 1
XIII. Forgery ——— ——— 1
XIV. Cheats ——— ——— 1
XV. Conſpiracy ——— —— 1
XVI. Libels ——— ——— 1
XVII. Keeping a bawdy-houſe —— 1

Total of crimes 34

The reſult is, that there are 34 crimes which 7985 perſons have a privilege to commit, without any reſtraint, for at leaſt ſix months in the year, the uſual receſs of parliament.

If

If any perſon has a mind to carry the enquiry farther, he need only multiply the crimes by the perſons, and divide the total by the number of days in ſix months, and the quotient will give him the number of crimes that may be committed with impunity in a day.—After having made this calculation, I came home, very much out of humour with my own politicks; and I did not drink the healths of Mr. Wilkes, earl Temple, nor of lord chief juſtice Pratt.

Baſinghall-Street, I am, &c.
Saturday. A. B.

P. S. Perhaps it would be more accurate, if whoever makes the calculation I have mentioned, would take the trouble of ſubſtracting the archbiſhops and biſhops for themſelves, though not for their ſervants.

An anſwer to the preceding paper.

THE writer from Baſinghall-ſtreet, gives the beſt reaſon that can be given for the inconſiſtency there is in his letter, by confeſſing the extreme ignorance he laboured under of the ſubject he has thought fit to write upon. But that is no apology for any perſon's pretending, whether in a feigned or real character, to handle a matter, in itſelf of great importance, with which he profeſſes to have been utterly unacquainted.

If that tradeſman did not know, there are very few I believe of his own rank who are ignorant, that the privilege of parliament, moſt indiſputably, protects againſt perſonal arreſts for debts, and that it ſtays proceedings in civil actions. This ſeems to be the great ground of *this tradeſman*'s indignation at it; and yet, if it be true that he is a tradeſman of extenſive buſineſs, his ignorance of the fact only proves, that it is not attended with the general inconvenience

convenience he pretends to ground his complaint upon, to any ſuch degree as could have excited ſo unreaſonable animoſity as he expreſſes againſt it. The truth is, that if in any thing the privilege of parliament is attended with bad conſequences, it is in ſuits for recovery of debt. At the ſame time the ſtation itſelf, which preſumes the perſon ſo highly honoured and intruſted by his country to have ſome ſhare both of character and fortune, is a ſecurity againſt the inconveniencies that might attend the privilege belonging to it. Not to mention that if by any accident a perſon ſhould enjoy it who is baſe enough to abuſe it in that inſtance, the houſe of commons has a method of putting it out of his power, by making him wave his privilege. And beſides, every perſon ought to know with whom he deals, and need not do it with any member of parliament who, he thinks would treat him ſo ill as to uſe even his privilege for a protection againſt the demands of juſtice.

But this tradeſman is inconſiſtent beyond all meaſure, when he proceeds from the ſame ſelfiſh conſideration, which he owns firſt touched him to alarm the public with the ſuppoſed miſchiefs of the privilege of parliament, by a long liſt of crimes, which, he ſays, his attorney appriſed him (from Hawkins) any member of parliament is *privileged to commit*. He invites any perſon to make very ſtrange, and I ſuſpect a very unarithmetical calculation, how many crimes may be committed with impunity in a day. But a little good breeding, and not a great degree of common ſenſe, would have led him to an eaſier method of computation, by reflecting how often in his life he has heard of members of parliament being accuſed of any of the crimes in his fictitious liſt, which he has ſwelled by unintelligible ſubdiviſions, ideal offences, and deſcriptions which ſeem to have been borrowed from ſome office of inquiſition. By

that

that politer and more certain rule he would have found his quotient of danger to be juſt nothing, becauſe the ſubject admits of no figures at all capable of being compounded or divided. The liſt itſelf cannot be more ridiculous than it is ill-mannered; it begins with blaſphemy, and ends with bawdy-houſes; and the right rev. the biſhops are among the perſons from whoſe guilt the ſociety is apprehended to be in danger.

Among the few other crimes it contains are larceny, perjury, forgery, and conſpiracy, none of which are very gentlemen-like miſdemeanours, (if any can be ſo called) though he ſuppoſes all the peers and beſt gentlemen in the kingdom capable of a frequent commiſſion of them.

But without ſaying more in anſwer to an objection that apparently has no argument in it, and is deſtitute of fact to ſupport any, let any one who is really deſirous to make a juſt eſtimation of the miſchief or inconvenience of the privilege of parliament, conſider in the firſt place, that it takes place in no caſe where *bail* does not. Bail will protect any other perſon from impriſonment, as effectually as privilege does a member of parliament: and, without dipping into the grounds of this privilege, is it not to be preſumed, that the character and ſtation of a member of parliament is equal to *bail*, for all the purpoſes which bail is deſigned to anſwer? Secondly, privilege neither exempts from proſecution or puniſhment, and therefore it is abſurd to ſay a member of parliament is *privileged to commit any crime*, becauſe he is not liable to be impriſoned before trial and conviction. It would not be more ſo to ſay, that he is diſcharged of his debts, becauſe his perſon cannot be arreſted while the privilege continues. And, indeed, if one is pleaſed to reflect upon the caſes to which privilege, and the effect it produces, applies, the danger muſt totally vaniſh, which leaves the

thing to ſtand upon its own grounds; and conſequently if it be proper, juſt, reaſonable, or uſeful in itſelf, the inconveniences attending it will not amount to any ſufficient objection againſt it.

I cannot ſay that A. B. will be anſwered, by my going to conſider the nature and grounds of the privilege of parliament, for he keeps at a very great diſtance from that part of the ſubject: but I ſhall take this opportunity to beſtow a very few words upon it; as I think it is either much miſunderſtood, or has been very much miſrepreſented, in ſome late animadverſions. No body ſurely can conceive that this privilege was introduced to do miſchief. That would be too groſs. And if we have any confidence in the wiſdom of our anceſtors, or any regard to the experience of ages, we muſt believe it was deſigned for ſome very good purpoſes, and that it has been productive of good effects. If we even ſuppoſe it to be attended with ſome inconveniences, we cannot have a ſtronger proof of its general expediency and neceſſity; becauſe it is the good having been found to overbalance the bad conſequences, that could only have made it be continued and ſubmitted to. It is alſo a great miſtake to imagine that the privilege of parliament is founded on any perſonal regard to the members. The perſon of peers is ſaid to be ſacred, which gives them a perpetual exemption from civil arreſts. Their dignity, and more immediate relation to the crown, which involves a particular obligation to attend upon the perſon of the ſovereign, is probably the ſource of that and the other peculiar privileges of the peerage, diſtinct from the privilege of parliament, which the members of both houſes have in common, and alike in all reſpects. The ſhare of the commons in it they derive from their election and from the quality of repreſentatives. They enjoy it not for their own ſakes, but for the ſake of their conſtituents; and a very

very little reflection will ſhew how fit it is. What might be the caſe, if, upon occaſion of any great queſtion in parliament, a ſet of bailiffs, with writs in their pockets (which any man whatever may be liable to at almoſt any hour) had it in their power to take poſſeſſion of the avenues to St. Stephen's chapel, and arreſt particular members when going to it? Or to ſuppoſe the caſe of misfortunes in trade, or otherwiſe, happening to a very worthy man, who is a member of parliament, and who, being once choſen, muſt continue ſo; would it be for the good of the public, or the ſafety of the ſtate, that an action for debt ſhould ſequeſtrate ſuch a member, perhaps one of the moſt uſeful in the houſe, or that the fear of impriſonment ſhould tempt his otherwiſe incorruptible honeſty. The perſons of members are free, becauſe they are not their own maſters, but are the ſervants of their conſtituents. They originally were forced to accept the place, and might yet, if neceſſary, be compelled to fill the office of repreſentation. The public has a right to their attendance in parliament: and the rights of the public, every body knows, prevail, in all things, over the rights of individuals, however ſacred in other reſpects. Members of parliament enjoy abſolute freedom in their bodies, that their minds may be at large; the one ſuperior to influence, while the other is above reſtraint: the deſign of it is, that the fulfilling the duties of their ſtation may not depend upon extraneous and contingent circumſtances, which ought not to interfere with an object of ſo great moment. That this is the true idea of the privilege is apparent from this, that the ſame is, by ſtatute, given to the members of convocation, when called upon by the king; it being ſuppoſed, that the buſineſs and duty they meet together for is eſſential to the public weal. And upon the ſame principle, the ſervants both of the members of par-

liament and of convocation have the benefit of privilege; becauſe their attendance and ſervice is neceſſary to their maſters. They have it from a regard to their maſters, as their maſters have it from a regard to the public, and to their conſtituents, whom they ſerve in that honourable truſt. I do not argue from a ſuppoſition of arbitrary and illegal acts of power, which might yet produce worſe effects than mere civil arreſts: I will not ſuppoſe that any ſuch thing can ever happen in this country, while our conſtitution remains entire: but every body muſt ſee this might afford a ſtrong, though a more invidious illuſtration of the neceſſity there is that the perſons of members of parliament ſhould be ſecure. I have mentioned what I apprehend to be the real principle of the privilege of parliament: and I think, whoever attends to it, muſt, without any large diſcuſſion of it, ſee that it reſts upon a ſolid foundation, and is intended for the moſt important purpoſes. When theſe, and the limitations attending it, are duly weighed, againſt any inconveniences, real or imaginary, that may follow from it, when kept within the bounds, within which the law has circumſcribed it, I am perſuaded that no thinking or impartial perſon will ſee any cauſe to wiſh it to be diminiſhed, in any degree, or upon any account; much leſs to be alarmed with it as an object of terror and ſource of danger. I imagine it muſt, on the contrary, appear to be a very valuable branch of the conſtitution, a main pillar of the independency of parliament, eſſential to the ſtrength and ſtability of that great bulwark of our rights and liberties; and that any infringment of it is an intereſting object to all true Engliſhmen. And I will add, that to endeavour, by miſrepreſentations and falſe colours, to miſlead the ignorant, or inflame the haſty, with unfavourable notions of this privilege, to me appears to be a very high indignity to parlia-

parliament; and injurious, in a great degree to the whole realm; at the ſame time that it is more the mark of party and of prejudice, than the fruit of ſober reaſon and ſound judgment, or of good diſpoſitions.

CANDOUR.

Anecdote.

PRAY inform the public, that a great perſonage, who once filled the higheſt poſt in the law, has declared it as his opinion that Mr. Wilkes is not entitled to privilege of parliament, in caſe of his being the writer of the North Briton, No. 45. The two learned perſons who now fill the higheſt departments of that profeſſion are entirely of the ſame opinion.

Remarks upon it.

I COULD not, without the higheſt indignation, read that unſigned letter, which deſires the printer, with a great air of authority, to inform the public, that a great perſonage had declared it as his opinion, that Mr. Wilkes was not entitled to privilege of parliament in caſe of his being the writer of the North Briton, No. 45; and that the two learned perſons who now fill the higheſt departments in that profeſſion are entirely of the ſame opinion. It is ſo far lucky, that it appears to have come from ſome low hand, becauſe it is nonſenſe; as the queſtion of privilege muſt have been decided before it could appear who was the author of the North Briton, and conſequently could not depend upon that after enquiry. But no one who knows any thing of the three noble lords pointed at, can heſitate a moment to pronounce what that anonymous herald of faction

proclaims, an inſolent and ſcandalous falſhood; equally diſreſpectful to thoſe great perſonages, as full of indignity to the other learned and honourable judges, for whom they always expreſs the higheſt honour and regard. Theſe great lords know well how unbecoming it would be (and indeed nothing is more unlike that character) to give judgment in a cauſe they had not heard, or to reverſe a ſentence, the grounds of which they are unacquainted with. But they are remarkable, all of them, for their prudence in avoiding to form, much more to declare opinions on diſputed points, except in judgment. Yet this ſilly fellow expects to be believed, when he takes upon him to inform the world of their opinion, as if he had been ſecretary of a meeting held to declare it; although his ignorance of what is decent and proper, which appears from his pretending to publiſh what he ought not to have revealed if it had been true, is an undeniable proof that he is below the character that could entitle him to be in company with any of them. This letter has evidently been deſigned to paſs for a miniſterial ſquib: and really if it was poſſible to ſuſpect that adminiſtration, or the friends of it, employed one to trumpet forth ſuch impertinence, contempt would be rather too ſlight a cenſure for the weakneſs of their conduct. But it ſurely cannot be; for no body, that has the moſt moderate ſhare of good ſenſe, can ſuppoſe people are ſo weak as to ſwallow down ſuch ſelf-apparent improbabilities, or to be bullied with ſuch *knock downs* of pretended authorities. Yet many will be ready to believe, that this ſame unauthentic proclamation came from a ſecretary of ſtate's office, or ſome other quarter of power; and the poor creature, who is the real author of it, and very likely meant to ſerve the miniſters by it, did not conſider what hurt his officious endeavours would really do the patrons he wanted to pleaſe.

His

His performance is really nothing leſs than an attempt to ſet the king's courts by the ears, and to make the world believe, that party has got into the tribunals of juſtice, and that ſo many of the judges are with, and ſo many againſt the miniſtry. But it is our happineſs, that thoſe days are over, in which the court had its favourites upon the benches of judgment, and new men muſt ariſe before any could be found capable of ſuch proſtitution, if it was deſired. The king who now reigns is ſo good, that he does not need it; he is ſo juſt, that he does not deſire it; and, thank God, if he did, he could not procure it. But they are either enemies or very injudicious friends of his majeſty, who can think of doing any thing that has ſo ugly an aſpect as that fooliſh paragraph that has been ſent to be put in the papers; and I wiſh it had not been inſerted. The leaſt effect it can have is to vilify and weaken government, and it may produce moſt diſagreeable conſequences.

One of the KING'S FAST FRIENDS.

Opinions of the Attorney and Solicitor relative to Mr. Wilkes.

NOtwithſtanding the many invidious inſinuations of *blunders* committed by the ſecretaries of ſtate, it is well known, that no ſtep relative to Mr. Wilkes's commitment was taken without the advice of the attorney and ſolicitor general; and that thoſe two great law officers of the crown both delivered their opinions in writing, 'that the North Briton, No. '45, was an infamous and ſeditious libel, tending 'to inflame the minds, and alienate the affections 'of the people from his majeſty, and excite them 'to traiterous inſurrections againſt his government.' It is alſo univerſally known, that they have farther declared their opinions to be, 'that the publica-

'tion of a libel, being a breach of the peace is 'not a caſe of *privilege*; and that J. W. might 'be committed to Newgate, or any other priſon, for 'the ſame upon the evidence laid before the ſecre-'taries of ſtate.'

Quere. Whether before a late determination the attorney and ſolicitor general were deemed blunderers and ignorant of the law, and their opinions not ſufficient authorities to warrant a common courſe of legal proceedings?

Pertinent obſervations on the foregoing opinions.

DOES the writer, who has furniſhed the public with a literal copy (as it ſeems intended it ſhould appear to be) of the opinion of the attorney and ſolicitor general, to the commitment of Mr. Wilkes, imagine, that a mere aſſertion of any two lawyers, however learned, or the authority of any two ſecretaries of ſtate, however able and impartial, he will choke the liberty of this country, or blind the underſtandings of people who have as good a right, and may, without being lawyers, be as capable to judge of ſome things, as the greateſt men of the profeſſion? Or does he expect, with an opinion of any lawyer, or number of lawyers, to foreſtal the judgment of a free and intelligent jury? A lawyer may know better than one that is not one, who is an heir at law, or what is the nature and title of an eſtate; or any thing of that kind, which ſtands upon certain, known, and invariable rules and forms: but does not every body know how inconſiſtent, contradictory, and uncertain, and therefore how little to be depended upon, the opinions of lawyers are, upon arbitrary, unſettled, new and nice queſtions of a mere legal nature? Does not both the bench and bar differ every day among themſelves, and with one another, on points of conſtruction and interpretation?

nion? Thoſe who have had the misfortune to have law ſuits know that to their coſt. There's not a point of law, which it is poſſible to have two opinions about, but you'll get oppoſite ones upon it, from the ableſt and the honeſteſt men at the bar: and ſometimes the judge differs from both. Shall the opinion then of an attorney and ſolicitor general, however reſpectable (and the gentlemen who now fill theſe offices are both very much ſo) be binding upon the people of England in a great conſtitutional matter, much connected with LIBERTY, and very little depending upon LAW. What law does belong to it, is law that plain men, of honeſt principles, and good ſenſe, are much better judges of than lawyers, whoſe profeſſion warps their ideas, and cramps their faculties in ſome meaſure, as their occupation confines the reach of their knowledge. And it is remarkable in general, that lawyers of all others are the worſt politicians. Upon a political queſtion therefore, or any thing that is connected with politics, they promiſe leaſt to be the beſt judges. There is a *bias of calling*, as the M. of Halifax calls it, that is unfavourable to that freedom and ingenuity of ideas, which matters of that ſort particularly require, to the right diſcuſſion of them. For my own part I ſhall freely own, they are the laſt counſellors I ſhould conſult upon ſuch an affair, as that the opinion alluded to is upon. And though in other things I ſhould pay great deference for theſe two learned gentlemen, as well as to others of eminence in the profeſſion, I ſhould really pay none at all to their opinion, as to that matter upon which the nameleſs writer, with an air of authority, ſays, they have given one in the terms he mentions. Nor can I help obſerving upon this occaſion, that there is nothing more generally remarked than this, that the ſervants of the crown have always a bias to the crown. I do not ſpeak of ſuch ſervants as have diſ-

graced

graced the profeſſion in days when the ſervice itſelf was but a diſhonour. Honeſt men, and good men, and in the beſt of times, have diſcovered a great deal of this. While at the bar it ſticks to them. It is very well if they can quit when they go to the bench. The opinion therefore of the attorney and ſolicitor general, is the moſt exceptionable, and (without meaning any offence to thoſe gentlemen) the leaſt proper to have been prematurely and unſeaſonably publiſhed, I am certain they never intended it ſhould. And thoſe who have taken upon them to do it, have done them no favour. If it has any impreſſion to prejudice mankind, it is an unfair uſe of it. The practice is unconſtitutional and dangerous: ſuch as I am confident no ſervant of the crown could countenance or can approve. If it has no other influence with others than it has with me, which is only to put me more upon my guard, and to ſummon a greater degree of attention, it will not do harm indeed; but it is then uſeleſs. And with many it may give unfavourable notions of thoſe who have the conduct of the crown's buſineſs, as if they meant to prejudice and prevent a fair trial.

After all, what is this opinion? An opinion which gives a certain deſcription, and affixes a certain tendency to a printed paper, from which an offence, defined by no ſtatute, and in its nature the moſt uncertain that can be, and dependant upon almoſt an infinity of circumſtances, is to be raiſed. A thing that the beſt judge, and honeſteſt man on earth, may think differently of at different times; and will always think of, more or leſs, according to his own paſſions, inclinations, circumſtances, and natural temper, as well as habits, as much as according to the object itſelf. It is hardly poſſible but men muſt be differently affected with the ſame thing, when it is of ſuch a nature. So that though any man may have a preſent opinion of it, his opinion can never be an authority

thority with another, and will not even guide himſelf on a ſecond conſideration of the ſubject, when numberleſs new ideas, both ways, may, and probably will, caſt up to his mind. But it would be endleſs to expatiate upon a ſubject ſo fruitful of matter. Every man that has his ſenſes about him, muſt ſee reaſons innumerable why no opinion, not even of the beſt, moſt impartial, and ableſt lawyer, ought to have a deciſive weight with him; and how dangerous it is even to give the leaſt influence, ſo as to produce the idea of a leaning.—The perſon whoſe correſpondence has produced theſe reflections, has given us one pregnant proof of the uncertainty of, and hazard of truſting to the opinion of lawyers. He ſays the crown lawyers were of an opinion as to privilege different to that of the court of common pleas. Nor does any man living think, that a mere *dictum* of two gentlemen, probably without much or any ſtudy, or uſe of ſuch helps as books or authorities could give, and without the aſſiſtance of an argument, ſuch as the court I ſuppoſe had from the bar, is to be put on the level with the opinion of judges, with whom, in point of ability, ſurely the king's council will not think it any diſparagement to be compared, formed after great deliberation, and explained and inforced, as I dare ſay it was, with that ſtrength and perſpicuity, which is the diſtinguiſhed ornament of every ſpeech which that great judge makes who gave the judgment of the court of common pleas in this caſe? Do we not ſee lawyers alter their opinions every day, and hear them expreſs their ſatisfaction with judgments given in oppoſition to them? I think it is certain, that if the attorney and ſolicitor general gave any opinion, ſuch as the anonymous writer ſays they did, they muſt now be doubtful of it themſelves, when ſo great an authority ſtands againſt it. But it is not unlikely, that they have even altered their opinion, if it was at firſt

what

what it is ſaid to have been. And whether it is ſo or no, I am ſure none of them will thank this volunteer, who has thought it his duty to defend their opinion, and to try to cram it down the throats of the public, as well as in the point that has been decided againſt it, as that which is yet to be judged of in its proper place, and in the legal manner; I ſay they will not thank him for the manner in which he gives his officious help. His quere is ſo rude that it ſhocks one: 'whether, before a late determination, the attorney and ſolicitor general were 'deemed blunderers and ignorant of the law; 'and their opinions not ſufficient authorities to 'warrant a common courſe of legal proceedings?' Might not one reply, is lord chief juſtice Pratt, and the other judges of the common pleas, to be deemed blunderers, becauſe they have differed from the attorney and ſolicitor general, upon a queſtion which they have had better aſſiſtance, and taken more pains to conſider of, than theſe gentlemen had opportunity or leiſure to do? I ſay ſo, ſuppoſing the attorney and ſolicitor general yet to differ from the judges, which I doubt, not from any knowledge of my own of the ſubject, for I profeſs not to underſtand it, but merely from a juſt deference to judges every way worthy of confidence and reſpect. And ſuppoſing the opinion of the attorney and ſolicitor general to be (as I verily think it is in its own place) a very high authority, muſt it overcome and weigh down a legal determination of very able judges; or be the ſole teſt of the legality or illegality of proceedings? God forbid! Proceedings may be *directed* by the opinion of the attorney and ſolicitor general; but as it is the law that muſt *warrant* them, it is the judges of the law who are to decide whether they are *legal* or not: and a legal judgment will ſtamp a quality upon proceedings, which the opinion of no lawyer can

can take off. This gentleman's quere therefore, muſt appear to every body to be highly improper and indecent; it is diſreſpectful to judges of the moſt eminent abilities and greateſt worth; and derogatory to the honour which the perſon who is the author of it, I dare ſay, meant to do to the gentlemen who have the honour, very deſervedly, to ſerve the crown in thoſe high ſtations. It is not neceſſary, and I rather chuſe to avoid ſaying any thing as to the manner in which the gentleman introduces his account of the attorney and ſolicitor-general's opinion; which is not, I think, very delicate, in regard to the ſecretaries of ſtate. But one thing I cannot help obſerving: he ſays, no ſtep relative to Mr. Wilkes's *commitment* was taken without the advice of the attorney and ſolicitor-general. But was every ſtep relative to the *apprehenſion* of Mr. Wilkes regulated by ſuch able advice? I am ſure not. For, to be moderate, if the warrant and circumſtances which have been publiſhed, and not contradicted, under which he was firſt ſeized, be as repreſented, they are ſuch that I, for one, ſhall not believe any lawyer capable of adviſing ſuch proceedings. The ſecretaries of ſtate can, I doubt not, anſwer for themſelves. They need not, it is true, be lawyers, and it is not impoſſible for them to err in a point of law; but they may be ſuppoſed to have other advantages ſufficient to guard them againſt very egregious errors; or ſuch as are not eaſily to be reconciled with the moſt ſimple rules of regular procedure. All, however, that the public have to do with is, that the law ſhould have its fair courſe, and if that is allowed, the iſſue will be juſt. And the public, if it don't hurt its own cauſe, as it has as good a right, ſo it has no leſs chance of getting juſtice, than any private perſon has. I hope power will never protect oppreſſion;

oppreſſion; and I truſt the paſſions whether of many or few never will pervert juſtice.

PHILO THEMIS.

General Obſervations

THOSE who have any love and reſpect for his majeſty *perſonally*, and are influenced by affection and duty to him, as their ſovereign, cannot but be uneaſy when they obſerve any thing that malice itſelf could conſtrue into a reſemblance, though not a paralel of the practice of bad times. Not a few have, on that account, felt a good deal of pain from ſome very indecent (as they think) hints in the papers, as to the opinions of certain great judges, which one may be confident have no authority, though they are publiſhed with great aſſurance, but are the work of *ill-deſigning*, or *ill-judging* perſons of a low character, and tend to bring a reflection upon his majeſty's ſervice, very contrary to the true character of thoſe reſpectable perſons who have the honour to be, or to have been employed in it. There is a paragraph or two in an excellent book of a moſt eminent and worthy judge, lately publiſhed, which is much commended by thoſe who do not belong to the profeſſion, as a collection of good principles; and if any thing could be a warning to the intemperate zeal of party writers, perhaps ſome advantage might redound from laying the words of that able and honeſt judge before the authors of ſome late paragraphs that have been ſent to the papers. Mr. juſtice Foſter, in his diſcourſe upon high treaſon, has the following paſſage, which may be uſefully read by any perſon, and at any time, without regard to the particular ſubject and occaſion of it. P. 199, 'This caſe 'therefore weigheth very little, and no great regard 'hath been paid to it ever ſince.'

'And

'And perhaps ſtill leſs regard will be paid to it, 'if it be conſidered that the king, who appeareth 'to have had the ſucceſs of the proſecution much 'at heart, and took a part in it unbecom-'ing the majeſty of the crown, condeſcended to 'inſtruct his attorney-general with regard to the 'proper meaſures to be taken in the examination 'of the defendant. That the attorney, at his ma-'jeſty's command, ſubmitted to the drudgery of 'SOUNDING THE OPINIONS OF THE JUDGES, upon 'the point of law, before it was thought adviſe-'able to riſque it at an open trial. That the judges 'were to be ſifted ſeparately and ſoon, before they 'could have an opporiunity of conferring together. 'And that for this purpoſe four gentlemen of the 'profeſſion, in the ſervice of the crown, were im-'mediately diſpatched, one to each of the judges; 'Mr. Attorney himſelf undertaking to practice 'upon the chief juſtice, of whom ſome doubt was 'then entertained.

'Is it poſſible that a gentleman of Bacon's great 'talents could ſubmit to a ſervice ſo much below 'his rank and character! But he did ſubmit to it, 'and acquitted himſelf notably in it.

'AVARICE, I think, was not his ruling paſſion. 'But whenever a falſe ambition, ever reſtleſs and 'craving, overheated in purſuit of the honours 'which the crown alone can confer, happeneth to 'ſtimulate an heart otherwiſe formed for great and 'noble purſuits, it hath frequently betrayed it into 'meaſures, full as mean as avarice itſelf could have 'ſuggeſted to the wretched animals who live and 'die under her dominion. For theſe paſſions, how-'ever they may ſeem to be at variance, have ordi-'narily produced the ſame effects. Both degrade 'the man; both contract his views into the *little* 'point of ſelf-intereſt, and equally ſteel the heart

'againſt

'against the rebukes of conſcience, or the ſenſe of 'true honour.

'BACON having undertaken the ſervice, in-'formeth his majeſty, in a letter addreſſed to him, 'that with regard to three of the judges whom he 'nameth, he had ſmall doubt of their concurrence. "Neither, ſayeth he, am I wholly out of hope that "my lord Coke himſelf, when I have in ſome dark "manner put him in doubt that he ſhall be left "alone, will not continue ſingular." Theſe are plain, 'naked facts; they need no comment*. Every 'reader will make his own reflections upon them. 'I have but one to make in this place. This me-'thod of FORESTALLING THE JUDGMENT OF A COURT '*in a caſe* of *blood*, THEN DEPENDING, at a time 'too when the judges were removable at the plea-'ſure of the crown, doth no honour to the me-'mory of the perſons concerned in a tranſaction ſo 'inſidious and unconſtitutional; and at the ſame 'time greatly weakeneth the authority of the 'judgment.'

On Privileges of Parliament.

THE privilege of parliament, which a late affair has brought into diſpute, is in itſelf a matter of great moment; and as it is really no leſs ſo, than that the people in general ſhould not be miſled to reckon that either an invidious diſtinction, or a

* 'See Bacon's letters in the 4to edition of his works '1740, Lett. 111, 112, 114, 116, 117. Others of his let-'ters ſhew that the ſame kind of intercourſe was kept up be-'tween the king and his attorney-general with regard to 'many caſes then depending in judgment; particularly in 'the caſe of one *Owen* executed for treaſonable words: in 'that of Mr. *Oliver St. John* touching the benevolence, in 'the diſputes between the courts of king's bench and chan-'cery in the caſe of the *præmunire*: and in the proceedings 'againſt the counteſs of Somerſet.'

dangerous

dangerous licence, which the wiſdom of the conſtitution has judged, and experience has proved to be in truth one of the greateſt ſecurities they have of their valuable right and liberties; I think it may be worth while to add this one obſervation upon the ſubject. Treaſon, and all other capital offences, exclude the privilege of parliament in common caſes; ſubject to the remedy by forcing a trial, which the Habeas Corpus act gives. But ſo jealous has the legiſlature always been of a power, which, if abuſed, might prove a terrible engine to garble parliament, that when it has been thought neceſſary to ſuſpend the *Habeas Corpus* act, which is never done but in ſo far as concerns impriſonments for ſuſpicion of high treaſon, or treaſonable practices, even in that caſe the meaſure which the ſafety of the ſtate makes neceſſary, is ſo far tempered with a due regard to the freedom of parliament, that there is a clauſe in the act which ſuſpends the *Habeas Corpus* act; 'That nothing 'therein ſhall be conſtrued to extend to invalidate 'the ancient rights and privileges of parliament, or 'to the impriſonment or detaining of any Member 'of either houſe of parliament, during the ſetting 'of ſuch parliament, until the matter of which he 'ſtands ſuſpected be firſt communicated to the 'houſe of which he is a member, and THE CONSENT 'OF THE SAID HOUSE OBTAINED for his commit-'ment or detaining.' This is as ſtrong a proof as can be of the legiſlature's opinion of the importance of the ſecurity of the perſons of members of parliament, *not* on their own account, *but* as neceſſary to the freedom of parliament, and eſſential to the preſervation of the rights of the people. It ſhews that it is not the privilege of the members, ſo much as it is the right of the people of England; and that the people have a right to the ſervice of the perſons they entruſt with their liberties; which

'That his majeſty, having received information, 'that his late embaſſador in France, Mr. Montagu, 'a member of this houſe, had held ſeveral private 'conferences with the Pope's nuncio there, to the 'end that he may diſcover the truth of the matter, 'has given order for the ſeizing Mr. Montagu's 'papers.'

Mr. Powle.] No man can defend an embaſſador's having correſpondences or conferences with the Pope's nuncio. Montagu is a member of parliament; and it is an old rule, that, in treaſon, no private man, nor member's perſon, can be ſeized, before the accuſation be given in upon oath; if not, any member may be taken from parliament. I would know whether any legal information has been given againſt your member. This was a fatal caſe in the laſt king's time of ſeizing members and their papers; I hope never to ſee the like again. If a great miniſter has a quarrel againſt a gentleman, and one go and tell the king a ſtory of him to his prejudice, and his papers thereupon muſt be ſeized, I know not whether that will go. In the firſt place I would be inſtructed from Ernly, who brought the meſſage, whether there be any *legal information* againſt your member? and if there be not, then you may conſider what to do.

Sir J. Ernly] I have told you the meſſage as I received it.

Mr. Bennet] If his papers are ſeized, papers may be put into his cabinet as well as taken out.

Col. Birch] This is a mighty myſtery and the greateſt buſineſs I have heard here. I have always taken it for granted, that no member's papers can be ſeized. Forty more members papers may be ſeized at this rate and the houſe garbled, and then the game is up.

Sir Tho. Lee] I ſee there is no harm in making an addreſs to the king about this matter, 'that he 'may let the houſe know whether there is any *in-*

'*formation*

'*formation upon oath* againſt Mr. Montagu.' If there be ſuch information as the law warrants, I would ſit down under it; if not, I would look to our privileges.

Col. Titus.[I ſecond that motion; if there be no *information upon oath*, then it is a breach of privilege.

Sir Wm. Coventry] An embaſſador has nothing for his juſtification but his papers; and his neck may go for it, if he has not his papers to juſtify himſelf. I ſhould be loth to have my papers ſeized, though but for matter of reputation. I had rather have my ſhirt, than my papers taken from me.

Mr. Powle] I purſue the firſt motion to ſend to the king to know, whether the 'information be 'upon oath; and when you have this anſwer, then to conſider, whether the papers ſhall be ſeized. Elſe you give up your rights to fatal conſequences.

Mr. Vaughan] If papers are ſeized *at this rate*, a great many of your members papers may be ſeized, becauſe *ſome men* are guilty of high-treaſon.

Mr. Williams] I cannot give my opinion whether it is a breach of privilege or not, till you have the thing entirely before you. I would know what this information is againſt your member. I know by the law of England there is no diſtinction of ſtate-treaſon, felony, or breach of the peace, againſt which there is no privilege. It is not every breach of the peace a member may be ſeized upon, &c. where there is no more required than ſecurity, &c. and he ought to have the privilege of an Engliſhman. He that will be ridden, ſhall be ridden; therefore I would addreſs.

Col. Titus] If the information be upon oath, and it be neither treaſon, felony nor breach of the peace, your privilege is violated.

Sir Wm. Coventry] I am againſt the whole thing, either ſending to the king to know what the crimes

are, or whether upon oath. He may be guilty, he may be innocent; poſſibly the thing will be put farther. But to take away his armour that muſt defend him, a little thruſt will deſtroy him. The very law gives him his papers for his defence to juſtify himſelf by; his papers to be delivered out of his hands clearly away, is a very dangerous thing.

Mr. Montagu] I believe that the ſeizing my cabinet and papers was to get into their hands, ſome letters of great conſequence, that I have to produce of the deſigns of *a great miniſter of ſtate.*

Col. Titus] To ſeize papers thus is very illegal. Any man's may be ſeized at this rate. I look upon this, as one of the wiſeſt actions the miniſters have done. Were I one of them, right or wrong, I would have ſeized Mr. Montagu's papers.

Sir John Lowther] I am of opinion that we ſhall not ſit here to-morrow; I move, therefore, to have the papers ſent for now.

Sir Henry Capel] I ſecond that motion. We know what practices have been in the late times, &c. how papers of members have been ſeized. The king has power on his ſubjects, but it is according to law. I know not what may become of us to-morrow; therefore I would have Montagu's papers brought to night.

Lord Cavendiſh and lord Ruſſel cloſed the debate for ſending for the papers; they were ſent for immediately, and among them two letters from lord Danby to Mr. Montagu were found and read to the houſe; and upon them, the houſe immediately reſolved, that there was ſufficient matter of impeachment againſt the lord treaſurer; and he was accordingly impeached.

Remarks

Remarks on the North Briton.

BEING at a friend's houſe the other day, I had the pleaſure of reading No 45. of the North Briton which has occaſioned ſo much noiſe, and brought on a moſt alarming attack on the common rights of the ſubject, as well as a violation of the privileges of parliament.

After peruſing this famous paper ſeveral times with the utmoſt attention, I could not help being aſtoniſhed at the proceedings which have happened in conſequence of its publication. When my friend put it into my hands, I expected to find the moſt outrageous inſult upon majeſty; but judge of my ſurprize, judge, every honeſt Engliſhman, when I ſaw nothing of the kind. Inſtead of finding the lie given to my ſovereign, as the tools of the preſent miniſtry are in every news-paper aſſerting, I found him ſpoken of and treated with that reſpect and reverence which is due from a good ſubject to a good prince. Nor am I aſhamed to ſay in the midſt of the torrent, with which the miniſtry ſeem endeavouring to overwhelm the public, that I ſee nothing in that North Brition which is either treaſonable or ſeditious. I deliver my opinion in this free manner, becauſe it is the birthright of every Engliſhman to do ſo. This nation is a free nation, and I hope ever will be, in ſpite of the principles of Scotchmen and Scottiſh ariſtocracy, and every deſign of wicked miniſters, whoſe aim has been to trample on the liberty of the preſs, to prevent the people being acquainted with their meaſures.

There are two ways in which a king of England is to be looked at. In an individual ſenſe, if he is a good king (and I believe we never had one poſſeſſed of ſo many virtues as the preſent) he ought to be

ſpoke of with that truth and juſtice which are due to his perſonal merit. In two very ſtrong paſſages the North Briton has obſerved this. The words charmed me; nor is the ſentiment finer than juſt.

When we conſider the king of England in his regal capacity, we cannot, if we have any regard for our excellent conſtitution, imagine him as acting *alone*, like a deſpotic monarch, becauſe it is known, that in all the royal functions he is obliged to act by the advice of his miniſters, and in conſequence of their advice they become reſponſible to his people, if any wrongs are committed; hence ariſes the liberty of the ſubject to expreſs his abhorrence of any meaſure, becauſe it is the meaſure of the miniſter, not the ſovereign. It is likewiſe known that the ſpeech which the king pronounces to his parliament is previouſly made by the miniſter, therefore the miniſter becomes anſwerable for whatever that ſpeech contains; and it is in parliament called the ſpeech of the miniſter, and treated accordingly, not as conveying the ſentiments of the ſovereign, but the miniſtry. It therefore ought not, nay it cannot be deemed an inſult upon majeſty, to treat the ſpeech at any time as it deſerves; for if it was, it would not be ſuffered to undergo ſo many ſevere animadverſions as it frequently does, in the houſe of commons.

A freedom ſimilar to this is even allowed in deſpotic countries. How often do we ſee in the remonſtrances of the French parliament to their grand monarque, mention made of his having been *ſurprized* into ſuch a thing, which in plain Engliſh is nothing more than his having been *impoſed upon*.

On the evaſion of the writ of Habeas Corpus.

I AM ſure the notes from which the account given of lord chief juſtice Pratt's ſpeech in the affair of Mr. Wilkes, muſt not have done juſtice to that learned judge, who is remarkable for the perſpicuity with which he expreſſes himſelf on all occaſions. At leaſt I muſt own what is there ſet down, conveys no diſtinct idea to me, of the moſt intereſting part of the ſubject. Privilege of parliament concerns but a few, and it is in no great hazard of being much hurt, while the protection of it is in the hands of thoſe to whom it belongs. But liberty in general is the cauſe of every man, and the ſecurity of it cannot be too great nor too well underſtood. I wiſh, therefore, ſome of the gentlemen of the law would be ſo obliging to the public, as to give us a more perfect account of the determination upon the firſt point, which ſeems to have been agitated in the late debate. I take the liberty to make it my humble requeſt, through the channel of your paper, becauſe I have frequently obſerved very ſatisfactory ſolutions given in it of queſtions of law that are of general concern, which, in my opinion, does great honour to the generoſity and public ſpirit of the profeſſion.

I ſhould be glad to be informed if it is certainly held to be law in all caſes, that a juſtice, or any magiſtrate of the peace (and it ſeems a ſecretary of ſtate is conſidered to be no more) can, without information upon oath, or other ground, in its own nature tantamount or ſuperior, *charge* a perſon as guilty of an offence, and commit him to priſon; barely mentioning the offence in the warrant, and making what is called the *charge*, which, from what is in your paper, I underſtand to be no more than the *affirmation of the magiſtrate*, that the perſon is guilty of that particular offence named in the warrant, or the act of commitment on that account, for

for it ſeems it don't mean the *accuſation* of any other perſon, which is ſet forth in the warrant, as the ground upon which the magiſtrate proceeds. If that be law, I cannot help apprehending the liberty of the ſubject is not ſo well ſecured, as moſt people imagine, when they talk of the Habeas Corpus act as the great bulwark of it. They tell me there is hardly any thing done, not a motion of the ſimpleſt nature heard, in any of the courts in Weſtminſter-hall, but upon an affidavit of the fact upon which it is grounded.—That one cannot have a warrant to ſearch for ſtolen goods, nor an officer of the revenue (as I am informed) a warrant to ſearch for run goods, without an information upon oath.—Nay, if an Habeas Corpus is moved for, there muſt be a copy of warrant of commitment produced, or affidavit to ſhew that it has been refuſed, and a requeſt by, or on behalf of the perſon confined, atteſted by two witneſſes. I cannot help thinking it ſtrange, if leſs be neceſſary to *reſtrain* than is required to *reſtore* liberty; or that a man's perſon ſhould be liable to be invaded, with an inferior degree of caution or formality, than is neceſſary to get acceſs to ſearch his *houſe*. I ſee it is mentioned, in theſe imperfect ſcraps put into the Gazetteer, to have been ſaid, that no magiſtrate had a right, *ex officio*, to apprehend any perſon; and I have been informed by ſome who were preſent, that my lord chief juſtice did expreſs himſelf ſomething to that purpoſe; and that he even went ſo far as to ſay, that, ſuppoſing (which he thought the ſtrongeſt caſe that could be put) that a magiſtrate knew, of his own proper knowledge, that a perſon had been guilty of an offence, he did not think it was ſufficient ground for him to commit the criminal, but that he ought rather to go and make oath of the fact before another magiſtrate, who ſhould thereupon act the *official* part, by granting a warrant to apprehend the offender, it being more

more fit that the *accuſer*, in that caſe, ſhould appear as a *witneſs*, than act as a magiſtrate. I ſhould have been apt from thence to conclude, that there was always ſomething *extrinſic* to the warrant of the magiſtrate, neceſſary to be as a legal ground for it; and of conſequence, that the magiſtrate who committed with a mere charge, ſuch as the lord chief juſtice (according to the notes in the papers) explained that word to ſignify, that is his own affirmation, that the perſon committed was guilty, acted illegally, and that his warrant was not a legal warrant. For it appears to be ſo like a commitment merely *ex officio*, that one cannot, I think, eaſily diſcover the difference, at leaſt from any thing that appears upon the face of ſuch a warrant as is ſuppoſed. But it ſeems it is otherwiſe; and there muſt be ſome diſtinction, which is not ſufficiently explained by any thing I have ſeen or heard of the argument, to make it to be underſtood by thoſe, who know as little of the law as I pretend to do, which is nothing at all. And I am certain the great and learned judge would not leave a matter of that conſequence in the dark, when pronouncing an opinion to which it was fundamental and eſſential, ſo far as I am able to judge from the nature of the queſtion in debate, and the train of the argument upon it. I dare ſay it would be very ſatisfactory to a great many, who are in the ſame ſituation with me, that is, thoſe who have no particular concern in the affair which brought on this queſtion, but are deſirous to know the real ſtate of a matter in which every man is concerned. I would therefore hope ſome kind perſon or other, will have ſo much goodneſs as to favour the public with a juſt account of it, as little mixed as poſſible with profeſſional terms or modes of ſpeech, that it may be of the general uſe it ought to be deſigned for.

I may venture to trouble you with a few other reflections upon this ſubject: but not to take too much

much of your uſeful paper from correſpondents of greater value, I conclude for the preſent.

LIBERTAS LÆSA NULLA REPARABILIS ARTE.

The ſame ſubject continued.

THE deſign of the reflections in my laſt, was to get ſuch information of the law, as might lead gentlemen to conſider how far the liberty of the ſubject is ſufficiently ſecure againſt illegal impriſonment, as the law now ſtands; and in further purſuit of the ſubject, with the ſame view I would now beg leave to obſerve, that I can very well conceive that an information upon oath ſhould not always be required in order to a commitment, for it certainly is not the only ſatisfactory and juſt ground for a warrant, and therefore I ſhould imagine cannot be the only legal one; as I hope the law agrees with common ſenſe. Evidence by writing, where the fact is capable of ſuch proof; or by examinations of witneſſes upon a general ſuſpicion; or public and immediate view, in ſome caſes, may, I ſhould take it, be a very ſufficient ground for a magiſtrate to proceed to apprehend and commit: and ſuch a commitment could not be ſaid to be merely *ex officio*, becauſe there is a ground of fact, extrinſic to the act of the magiſtrate, which puts his office into motion, and is properly the foundation of the warrant he iſſues. But I do think the office of a magiſtrate of the peace is a thing that ought to be, as it is in its nature, dormant, till it is moved by a fact, ſome how or other legally brought under the cognizance of that juriſdiction which belongs to the office. Every legal act of office ſhould require to ſupport it a party (diſtinct from the magiſtrate) to appear as the perſon who ſeeks the interpoſition of his power, or at leaſt ſomething that in its own nature can ſtand in the

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ſtead of ſuch a party; I have ſuppoſed that evidence by writing, or by examinations of witneſſes, in a caſe of general ſuſpicion, or public and immediate view, may anſwer that purpoſe, being like the demand of every body, and of the public ſecurity, the cries of which no magiſtrate ought to be deaf to, as his very office is appointed to watch over it.

I don't know how lawyers may conſider this: but to plain ſenſe I think it is pretty clear, that ſuch a *prerequiſite*, to warrant the interpoſition of a magiſtrate, by an act that reſtrains the perſonal liberty of the ſubject, which is in truth inflicting a very ſevere puniſhment of itſelf, ought to be neceſſary; becauſe it is, and muſt be, a ſecurity againſt acts of *mere power*, which will moſt likely be found to be nothing elſe than inſtances of *tyranny*. Power is enough to be in one hand; there ſhould be ſome extraneous ſpring to ſet it a going. For as tyranny is the degeneracy of power, we know from experience that nothing is more apt to degenerate than power. There is a certain love of dominion natural to mankind, which leads them to graſp at power; and the love of power gratifies itſelf by exerciſing it, which renders it very fit that reaſonable checks ſhould always controul power, to prevent an undue exerciſe of it. Upon ſuch ideas as theſe I wiſh, if it is not, that it was law, that to make an impriſonment legal, there ſhould always be ſomething beſides the warrant of commitment, and the office of the magiſtrate who grants it; ſomething upon which the warrant ſhould ſtand as its foundation. And if that was ſo, I ſhould alſo imagine that the foundation, whatever it is, ought to appear upon the face of the warrant itſelf; unleſs there is ſome good reaſon againſt it; which may be known to the gentlemen of the law, though I am ignorant of it. My reaſon for imagining it ſhould appear, is this, that if it do not (ſuppoſing it really to exiſt and to have been the cauſe of the warrants being granted) it is ſtill ſo like a commitment merely *ex officio*, which it ſeems is not

not allowed to be legal, that I am at ſome loſs to ſee what it is that diſtinguiſhes it from one. *To be*, and *not to appear to be*, are ſo much a-kin to one another, that I would not chooſe to truſt *liberty* to all the diſtinction there is between them. It may be (and I have heard it has been) ſaid, that this would in fact be a very inſignificant check upon an arbitrary magiſtrate, becauſe, if he was diſpoſed to make an illegal commitment, he would not ſcruple to ſet forth in his warrant a ground which did not in truth exiſt, if he was not alſo obliged to ſhew it, which, it is alledged ought not be required, becauſe it might frequently be attended with inconveniences. But I muſt beg pardon not to be ſatisfied with the anſwer. A check, which has not all the force or effect one would wiſh, is ſtill better than none at all; and if a better cannot be had, it is the beſt reaſon in the world for uſing *that* you can have. I do not however ſee, that it is ſo very ineffectual a reſtraint. There are many men who will do a thing that is not legal, when the power of office is, without more, enough for the purpoſe; and yet would boggle to go that ſtep farther, however ſmall a ſtretch it may appear to be, to ſet forth the ground of the act; a mere falſity which would eaſily detect itſelf. For as the detection of the falſhood would deſtroy any pretence of excuſe to juſtify the abuſe of power; it would alſo prove the reaſon capable of it to be of ſo infamous a character, as to merit no compaſſion, nor any mitigation of the ſeveral conſequences of his oppreſſion. At the ſame time I muſt own, I do not ſee the very bad conſequences that would follow, if it was abſolutely neceſſary that the foundation of every warrant of commitment that can be produced ſhould appear with it, whether it be information upon oath, or whatever elſe it is, if it is really neceſſary to have ſuch a foundation for it. But that I will not go far into,

becauſe

becauſe I am ſenſible how little I may know of all the conſiderations proper to be had in forming a juſt opinion upon that matter. This only I ſhould obſerve, that no man ought to be an informer who is not willing to be a witneſs; and as he muſt be known when he appears at the trial, why ſhould he be hid till then? If concealment of a witneſs is the only ſecurity againſt his corruption, it is but a poor teſtimony in favour of the firſt information he gave. Honeſty is above temptation; but he that will be corrupted by one ſide, may have been by the other; and ſecreſy is more like to cover roguery, than to protect truth. Neither can proof by writings ſuffer by being diſcovered. And the law might, I ſhould hope, be ſufficient to prevent every bad conſequence that can be ſuppoſed to attend ſuch a publication of the grounds of any impriſonment, as would be ſufficient to give ſome reaſonable ſecurity that there ſhould be none altogether without cauſe. To prevent this is to favour liberty; and liberty cannot be too much favoured..

I have ſome obſervations yet left, which may take up part of another paper, if they derive as much merit to deſerve a place from the ſubject, which is ſurely worthy of the attention of the public, as nothing can be ſaid with more juſtice than,

LIBERTAS LÆSA NULLA REPARABILIS ARTE.

That ſubject concluded.

IN the two former letters, which you have laid before the public, I took the liberty to make ſome impartial and uninflamed obſervations, which I thought might lead the attention of gentlemen, who are not heated with the violence of party, to conſider how far the perſonal liberty of the ſubject

is

is at preſent ſufficiently ſecured by the law as it ſtands, and groundleſs and vexatious impriſonments prevented by the checks attending commitments. I ſhall now add, that I had no doubt till lately, that an information upon oath, or ſomething equal to it, was neceſſary to ground a warrant of commitment; and one thing that led me into the error, if it is one, was my reading every day in ſome news-paper or another, of perſons being committed to priſon, by the warrants of the magiſtrates, both in town and country, as *being charged by the oath* of ſome body, with robbing, ſtealing, and ſuch like offences. This daily intelligence, which all the papers circulate, has, I dare ſay, made the ſame impreſſion upon many others that it did upon me. I hope the public in general, and the magiſtrates in particular, will now be inſtructed, with ſome degree of certainty, what is the law, or what the diſtinctions of it, if there are any, as to this matter. And if it is not ſufficiently clear what it is, or that it is what it ought not to be, I ſhall entertain hopes that gentlemen will conſider of having it amended. For as it is particular caſes that bring general laws under conſideration, it will be no novelty, if even in ſo great a matter as the ſecurity of the liberty of the ſubject, a flaw be diſcovered, when every body thought it was ſecured beyond poſſibility of danger. I have heard from thoſe who were preſent, that my lord chief juſtice Pratt, in delivering the opinion of the court upon Mr. Wilkes's caſe, ſaid, that the objection taken to the warrant of commitment that it did not bear, that it proceeded upon an information on oath, or ſome other ground of that nature, appeared to his lordſhip to have great weight, if it had been new, and the matter intire: but that it had been determined in point, in the caſe of the warrant for committing Sir William Wyndham

to

to the Tower for high treaſon; and they muſt follow that precedent. It is, at the ſame time, the only one, ſo far as I have been informed, that was mentioned to that point, upon the occaſion.

It would be in vain for me, who underſtand nothing of law, to look into that caſe: And therefore I ſhall content myſelf with believing, from what I have heard of it, that it is an authority which goes to prove, that a magiſtrate need not ſet forth in his warrant of commitment, what, or whether it proceeds upon any information, or other ground of that nature. And if this be the law, as explained in Weſtminſter-Hall, and confirmed by the late deciſion, it ſhould be conſidered, if laying authorities out of the caſe, there are found principles to ſupport it; or if it were not better to amend the law. And as I hope gentlemen, eſpecially thoſe of the legiſlature, will think of it, I ſhould be the more deſirous to hear what the gentlemen of the profeſſion have to ſay upon the ſubject, in the way of reaſon, independent of precedents; and particularly, I ſhould wiſh for a better account of the late debate and opinion upon this point, than that which was in the news-papers. I cannot however help ſaying, that if there was no other precedent than that of Sir William Wyndham's caſe, it was paying a very high deference to one ſingle deciſion, to follow it, if the principles of it were in any degree doubtful in the minds of the judges before whom the late queſtion was. I don't know what was the court, or who were the judges, that pronounced the deciſion in Sir William Wyndham's caſe; but I cannot think it would have been any indignity to them, to have had a ſingle ſolitary precedent, upon a great conſtitutional point, reviewed, or even reverſed, if found, upon getting better lights, to have been erroneous, by ſucceſſors as eminent for their learning and abilities, as diſtin-

guiſhed by their modeſty, and reſpect for thoſe who had been before them; which, perhaps, in this inſtance, was not ſo uſeful to the public, as it was ornamental to themſelves. I think queſtions of ſuch importance might well bear repeated diſcuſſions, before they came to be thoroughly ſettled. And though I have always heard that precedents make law, yet I did not imagine ſingle ones were of ſuch force. But if it is ſo, I ſhall hereafter have a greater reverence than I have ſometimes expreſſed for a doctrine which I have heard much ridiculed and complained of, that nothing ſhould be done without a precedent: a maxim that is ſometimes very troubleſome even in parliament, where precedents are not always ſo binding. Before now I thought it abſurd enough to require a precedent for what perhaps never had an example; or to give ſuch a weight to want of precedents, as would for ever have prevented any from having been made, if the rule had always been obſerved. But if one precedent is to exclude all future inveſtigation of principles, I own too much care cannot be had in making any. And to prevent further bad conſequences of the precedent of late relied upon and allowed, if it appears to be of a dangerous tendency, the legiſlature, it is to be hoped, will review the Habeas Corpus act. I own I was ſurpriſed the firſt time I read that act with attention, to find, that the ſole object of it was to give a more ſpeedy and effectual remedy for obtaining a diſcharge from illegal impriſonment, and that it did not eſtabliſh any cautions or reſtraints to prevent groundleſs and illegal commitments, which did not to me appear to come up to the rubric of the act. Prevention is in all caſes better than remedy; but eſpecially when the caſe is of that kind that no remedy can fully repair the wrong; which is certainly true as to liberty. Finding therefore

fore nothing of that ſort in the act, I concluded that the common law, or former ſtatutes, had ſufficiently ſecured againſt impriſonment, at leaſt ſo far as a proper caution in the manner and cauſe of commitment could go. In this I was daily confirmed, by what I have already mentioned, of the practice of magiſtrates requeſting information upon oath to ground warrants of commitment. And there I reſted content, having never had occaſion, on any particular account, to make further inquiry, or to get better information. What has lately happened excited my attention, and I am afraid has given me reaſon to believe the Habeas Corpus act is really defective in the particular in which it appeared to me at firſt reading to be lame, if the objection which then occured to me was not, as I thought it certainly muſt have been, obviated or removed by ſome other ſtatute, or by the courſe and practice of the law. If the thing ſtrikes others in the ſame light, it will not, I hope, paſs longer unattended to. When it is conſidered in how many, and what ſort of hands the power of commitment is lodged in this country, and the tediouſneſs even of the remedy by Habeas Corpus, for returning which for a diſtance above 100 miles the ſtatute allows twenty days, with the expence of the journey of the priſoner, which muſt be paid, and ſecurity given for the charges of the journey back, if he is remanded, and which is not the leaſt of all, the difficulty there may be to recover damages from ſome who may be guilty of falſe impriſonment: it may appear not to be unreaſonable, that as much caution ſhould be had to prevent illegal or groundleſs commitments as the public ſafety can admit of. And whether that is the caſe, if any inferior magiſtrate and juſtice of the peace has a power to commit his fellow ſubject, by a warrant bearing nothing but the magiſtrate's own

affirmation, or charge, that the perſon is guilty, is ſubmitted to the cool, the ſober, and the ſage, who will always feel this truth,

LIBERTAS LÆSA NULLA REPARABILIS ARTE.

Queries, with their anſwers, on the conſtitutional office of king, confined to his ſpeeches to parliament.

I Imagine the reaſon why an anſwer was not given immediately to the queries which formerly appeared in the papers, and to which, as deſired, the printers have once more afforded a place, is *not* that they are *unanſwerable*, but that it has been thought, that, to all who know any thing of the conſtitution, *they anſwered themſelves*: and that in *that* view they certainly *put the affair* alluded to *in the ſtrongeſt light*. But in *condeſcenſion* to the author of them, you may *again* reprint them with theſe anſwers.

Q. 1. Whether the king perſonally preſent and ſpeaking to both houſes aſſembled in the high court of parliament, is not as fully in the exerciſe of his kingly office as when he is repreſented by a judge in Weſtminſter-Hall.

Anſwer to quere 1. The king perſonally preſent and ſpeaking to both houſes aſſembled in the high court of parliament, is *fully* in the exerciſe of his kingly office; but HE is not at all in it when he is repreſented by a judge in Weſtminſter-hall. The *conſtitutional* GOVERNMENT of the kingdom is executing itſelf, when the king's courts, not only in Weſtminſter-hall, but in the loweſt judicature in the kingdom, are diſpenſing juſtice, in the proper form and according to the laws of the land. The judges *repreſent* the king's perſon; they are veſted with *his* authority, and act in *his* name; but may act in their *own proper* perſon, and are *perſonally* and *individually* reſponſible for what they ſay or do. When the king

perſonally

perſonally preſent in *parliament*, pronounces a ſpeech with his own royal mouth from the throne; or when *any where elſe* he does the *perſonal act* of uſing his own royal hand, in the royal ſignature, or any other writing in execution of the *royal functions*, he is certainly in the exerciſe of his *kingly office*. But, by the wiſdom of *this* conſtitution, no act of the *kingly office*, whether *oral* or *graphical*, is conſidered as the *perſonal act* of the *ſovereign*; nor is or can be imputed to his majeſty *perſonally* and *individually*. All *regal* acts of *whatever kind* are the acts of the *miniſters* of the crown, by whoſe advice the king is *conſtitutionally* bound to act, and *only* can act *legally*; and *they* are *perſonally* and *individually* reſponſible for them. Nor can they protect themſelves from the conſequences of the imputation, by ſheltering themſelves under the perſonality of the king's act. The conſtitution rejects that defence. Expreſs and poſitive diſſent, and quitting the ſervice, is the only *legal* cover againſt the imputation. *Reſponſibility* is the neceſſary attendant of the *ſervice* which gives the capacity to *adviſe*. Individual ſubjects may have *political characters*, but they have no *perſon* but their *natural* one. To *that* every act which is imputable to them is aſcribed. In *that* they muſt bear the conſequences. The king, as well as other men, has his *natural* perſon; but he has a *political* one too; and in the exerciſe of the *royal functions* the *latter* abſorbs the *former*. The king's *natural* perſon the *conſtitution* hardly knows; inſomuch, that the *king* never dies, though the *ſovereign*, as well as the ſubject, obeys the laws of *mortality*. To the king's *political* perſon *only* all *regal* acts are aſcribed; and the miniſters of the crown compoſe that political perſon, much in the ſame manner, and to the ſame effect, that the individual members of a *corporation* make up the political perſon of it, which appears no where but in

the ſeal of the corporation. The lawyers ſay, the crown is a *corporation*; in the language of the conſtitution IT is a *political perſon*, ſeveral and diſtinct from the *natural* perſon of the *ſovereign*; a *real* but a ſort of *inviſible entity*, which appears no where but in the *miniſters of government*. It *acts* in the exerciſe of the *royal functions*, and moſt uſually ſpeaks by the *ſeals*. Hence it is the *maxim* of the conſtitution, that the king is not allowed to *do any thing* in his *own perſon*; nay not ſo much as to draw and ſeal the commiſſions of thoſe that are to act in his name, and under his authority. The royal ſignature *alone* does not perfect or compleat any regal act. They muſt all be counterſigned by a proper officer of ſtate, in the department to which the buſineſs they relate to belongs. It is as a neceſſary conſequence of this principle of the conſtitution, that the well known (but perhaps very generally miſunderſtood) *adage* has been received, *that the king can do no wrong*. The diſtinction is the *true* foundation of the *conſtitutional* freedom of DEBATE IN PARLIAMENT; to which nothing is more ſubject than the ſpeeches from the throne. And it is no leſs remarkable, than it is firmly eſtabliſhed, that in debating upon the king's ſpeeches, it is againſt ORDER ſo much as to mention the crown, or the name of the king, or to aſcribe the ſpeech to the king *perſonally*. The reaſon is, that the members may not be ſhackled with a falſe reſpect for the perſon of the king, or awed from ſpeaking their mind upon the ſpeech from the throne, with as much freedom as they would upon any *other miniſterial act* whatever. The diſtinction is alſo one of the chief pillars of the LIBERTY OF SPEECH without doors, and of the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS. All theſe, every one will admit, are eſſential to the preſervation of the conſtitution, and of all thoſe valuable rights and privileges which depend upon it. If the diſtinction

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is deſtroyed, or the principle of it weakened, the conſtitution is diſſolved. There is an end of our LIBERTY; and the *moſt ſacred* guard is removed, which the wiſdom of the conſtitution has placed about the throne, to reſcue and protect the *perſon* of the *ſovereign* from, and to ſecure his enjoyment of the crown, againſt the dangerous conſequences of *illegal* acts of *power*, the exerciſe of the *royal functions*. This is effectually done, by imputing thoſe acts to *miniſters*, and levelling their effects, *not* againſt the *king but* againſt his *miniſters*, who are the truſtees of the *conſtitution*, and reſponſible for the due execution of the *regal office*. Of theſe principles this very ſhort illuſtration may be added, that, ſo far as the conſtitution can inſtruct us, there cannot be the leaſt doubt, but that the moment after the king has pronounced a ſpeech from the throne, any member of either houſe of parliament may, if the caſe deſerves it, move to addreſs the crown, deſiring his majeſty to inform them *who* adviſed him to make that ſpeech. Or, if they know the miniſter who did it, they may directly move to IMPEACH him for adviſing his majeſty to make ſuch a ſpeech. And as the ſpeech itſelf would be matter of the charge, the higheſt aggravation of it would be, that the miniſter had abuſed his ſovereign, by making the royal lips convey to the parliament and to the people of the realm, things that ought not to have come from the throne, or proceeded from the crown. There is the higheſt reaſon to believe that thoſe who know the moſt of the conſtitution, and are beſt acquainted with the hiſtory and proceedings of parliament, will aſſent to this poſition: and if it is a true one, it is thought it fully proves all that has been advanced.

Q. 2. Whether the ſpeech delivered by his majeſty from the throne, is not as much his own

ſpeech as that of the right hon. lord chief juſtice Pratt, delivering the opinion of the court of common pleas?

Anſwer to Q. 2. Agreeable to the principles mentioned, and, it is hoped, eſtabliſhed, in the anſwer to the firſt quere, and in the ſenſe and meaning thereof (but no otherwiſe) the ſpeech delivered by his majeſty from the throne, is *not at all* his *own* ſpeech. *That* of the right hon. lord chief juſtice Pratt, delivering the opinion of the court of common pleas, is his *own*, and his *only*. He is anſwerable for his ſpeech, as the whole court is for the opinion pronounced by them, to which they aſſent; and no other *is* or *can be* anſwerable, either for the opinion, or the ſpeech in which it is delivered. For every ſubject acts in his *own proper perſon*, and is *perſonally* and *individually* reſponſible for what he ſays and does. The king acts, as by nature he muſt, in his *natural* perſon; but the acts of the *royal functions* are aſcribed to his *political* perſon *only*; and his miniſtry, not himſelf, is reſponſible for *all*, even the *moſt perſonal* acts of the crown, in the *kingly office*.

Q. 3. Whether if Mr. Wilkes had told lord chief juſtice Pratt that he had proſtituted the honour of his court, that he was guilty of an infamous fallacy, and that he had endeavoured to corrupt him, his lordſhip would not have committed him to Newgate for that contempt, notwithſtanding any privilege?

Anſwer to Q. 3. If any body was to tell a lord chief juſtice, or any judge, ſitting in judgment, that he had proſtituted the honour of his court, that he was guilty of an infamous fallacy, and that he had endeavoured to corrupt him; his lordſhip, or that other judge, would, *if he did what was right*, certainly proceed *according to law*, to cenſure ſuch an indecent and criminal impertinence, and indignity

indignity to the court. But if a perſon was to tell, and to prove to any judge, that a ſervant or officer of the court, or any other perſon, had proſtituted the honour of his court, and had impoſed upon him an infamous fallacy, in itſelf very culpable, and doubly ſo for making the judge, by deception and impoſition, utter it; and that the ſame perſon had endeavoured to corrupt him, the judge would puniſh thē perſon really guilty of the wrong, and thank the perſon who detected and proved it.

Q. 4. Whether the king, lords, and commons, are the only part of magiſtracy that may be vilified, inſulted, and libelled with impunity?

Anſwer to Quere 4. The king, lords, and commons (if they were all *magiſtrates*, which they are *not*, though they be *governors*) are *not* the *only*, becauſe there is not *any* part of *magiſtracy* that may be vilified, inſulted, and libelled with impunity. But *according to the laws of this country*, no perſon can be puniſhed but for *an offence* of which he is *convicted*. The *law*, and not an *hue* and *cry*, founded in great *ignorance*, and propagated with much *malice*, determines what is *an offence*. A *legal trial* is the *only* thing that can produce *conviction*; and after *that* is the time for *puniſhment* to follow. That a trial may be *fair*, it ought to be *impartial* and *unprejudiced*. But if a man is *prejudiced* and *condemned*, before he is *judicially accuſed*, there is an end of juſtice; and all writings and ſpeeches that tend to produce that effect are dangerous and illegal, not inferior in criminality and miſchief to any offence againſt which they can be pretended to be pointed. No honeſt or humane man will be concerned in ſuch practices; and *government*, not only if it is *juſt*, but if it is *wiſe*, will be ſo far from uſing, countenancing, or encouraging them, that *it* will, to the utmoſt of its power, check, ſuppreſs, and prevent them. The *law* requires that

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it *ſhould*, and the *honour of government* is concerned that it *do*.

THE KING HAS ABOVE HIM THE LAW (BY WHICH HE IS CONSTITUTED KING) AND THE PARLIAMENT.

An anſwer to the four fooliſh queries twice publiſhed in the papers.

1ſt. THE king ſpeaking to both houſes of parliament is fully in the exerciſe of his kingly office. Agreed?

2d. The ſpeech delivered by his majeſty is the ſpeech of the miniſter, adviſed and made by him, for which he is reſponſible; whereas lord C. J. Pratt delivering the opinion of the court of common pleas, ſtands himſelf, and all his brethren, reſponſible for that opinion?

3d. Miniſters may proſtitute the honour of royalty *contrary to the opinion of royalty itſelf.*

4th. The lords and commons, or one member of either houſe may, and *if true*, ought to declare that a king's ſpeech contains fallacy, and an addreſs may be moved to his majeſty, in conſequence, to know who adviſed it. If ſuch an aſſertion could be deemed a libel on the ſacred perſon of majeſty, it could not be advanced with impunity in either houſe, any more than it could out of parliament.

Opinion of the Craftſman concerning the king's ſpeech.

THE Craftſman, the advocate and champion formerly of thoſe who now conſtitute almoſt wholly the adminiſtration, in his No. 205. Vol. 6. has theſe words: 'as princes never ſpeak to their peo-'ple but in *form* (that is, in *royal proclamations, de-*'*clarations*,

'*clarations*, and *ſpeeches* from the *throne*) ſo they 'ought always to calculate them in ſuch a manner, 'as to bear the *ſtricteſt examination*, and to take 'the utmoſt care, that *nothing repugnant to truth* 'be contained in them; for, otherwiſe, no com-'munications from the *throne* will have any weight 'with the *people*.' He then proceeds to quote the preamble to the 15th article of impeachment againſt the earl of Oxford, which runs thus:

'That whereas the dignity and ſupport of the '*imperial crown* of theſe realms, has, in all ages, 'greatly depended on the *wiſdom* and *truth* of the 'communications made from the *throne*, eſpecially 'in *parliament*, as the ſure and only means where-'by the kings and queens of this realm can receive 'the ſincere and faithful advice of their *people*, in 'matters of the higheſt importance, and which, by 'the fundamental laws and conſtitution of this go-'vernment, ought to be inviolably obſerved as the 'ſacred band of the duty and affection of ſubjects 'to their ſovereign. And whereas by the moſt 'antient and known laws of this kingdom, it is in-'diſpenſibly incumbent on the *great officers of the* '*ſtate*, that ſurround the *throne*, to maintain, as far 'as in them lies, the ſacredneſs of the *royal word* 'on all occaſions, it being moſt apparent, that the 'greateſt *diſhonour* to the throne, and the greateſt '*danger* to theſe kingdoms, muſt inevitably enſue, 'whenever *that fountain of truth, by wicked coun-*'*ſels*, ſhall be in any degree *corrupted*, and thereby 'loſe its *juſt* influence and *neceſſary* authority, &c. '&c. &c.'

Then follows, as I have extracted it from the article itſelf, that, 'He the ſaid Robert, &c. was 'not only wanting in the diſcharge of that duty to 'his ſovereign which became his high ſtation, by not 'adviſing againſt, and, as far as in him lay, in all 'events, by not preventing even any intimation

'from

'from the throne to the parliament, which was not 'conformable to the exacteſt truth and impartia- 'lity, but *taking advantage of his ready acceſs to her* 'majeſty, *and his exorbitant influence in her councils*, 'did *prepare*, *form*, *and concert*, *together with other* 'falſe *and evil counſellors*, *ſeveral ſpeeches and decla-* 'rations *to be made by her majeſty from the throne to* 'her *parliament*, *on the ſubject of the ſaid negociation* 'of *peace*, *and did adviſe her majeſty to make the* 'ſame *to her parliament*, &c. &c. &c.'

'By all *which wicked*, *treacherous and unexampled* 'evil *councils*, he the ſaid Robert, &c. did *moſt* 'baſely, *ungratefully*, *and ſcandalouſly abuſe the fa-* 'vour *of his royal miſtreſs*, *and by means of autho-* 'rity *did miſlead her parliament into groundleſs and* 'fatal *reſolutions*, &c. &c. &c.'

The principal managers of this impeachment, and who had the reputation of having drawn up the articles of it, were the late earl of Orford, then Mr. Walpole, and the preſent earl of Bath, then Mr. Pulteney. The authority of two ſuch eminent perſonages muſt be prevalent to convince the impartial, that it was ſo far from being then eſteemed an high miſdemeanor, or even any diſreſpect to the crown, that it was moſt warrantable and conſtitutional to conclude, and publicly declare, that the miniſters were always to be regarded as the authors or adviſers of the *ſpeeches* delivered from the *throne*; that the earl of Oxford was accordingly reſponſible to the *people* for making his ſovereign the publiſher of *falſehood* and *prevarication*, in the *formal exerciſe of her office*, from the throne; and that it was a proper charge of *high treaſon* to be brought againſt a miniſter, that he had endeavoured to cover his own miſmanagements, and to ſcreen himſelf, by involving his royal miſtreſs in ſuch a guilt.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that *miniſters* will never again have the inſolence to make the *regal character*

character ſubſervient to their ſelfiſh reſentments, to their ſecurity and intereſts. Whatever *meaſures*, and whatever *conduct* they ſhall find it neceſſary to approve, let it be no more their mean and paltry artifice, to ſanctify them, by pretending that they are the *king's meaſures* and the *king's conduct*. Can they be ſo infatuated as to flatter themſelves, that the nation has forgotten how formerly, when they (being patriots) oppoſed the meaſures of the adminiſtration, right or wrong, for twenty years together, with the ſon of their king profeſſedly at their head; it was then their neceſſary and only plea for their juſtification, that they did not, nor ought to be underſtood to intend to oppoſe the crown, but the miniſter alone? They cannot ſurely, with any colour of juſtice, and with conſiſtency, refuſe to admit from the North Briton the ſame explanation of his oppoſition to the preſent miniſters, that they profeſſed and laid claim to heretofore, to palliate their own: and they muſt be forced to allow, from the quotation of the article of impeachment abovementioned, that it is no new doctrine to inſiſt that the *miniſter* is anſwerable to the *people* for the veracity of all the facts declared *officially from the throne*; and conſequently, that when the *ſpeech* ſhall depart ever ſo little from the ſtricteſt adherence to truth, it may be argued upon and expoſed, *conſtitutionally*, towards the condemnation of the miniſter, without any diminution of that reſpect, which always ſhould be paid to the crown itſelf, and which more particularly is due to the perſon of the moſt virtuous and amiable prince who now wears it.

The Craftſman, that zealous ſupporter of liberty, with whom I began, concludes another of his papers in the following words, moſt applicable to the preſent times: 'Every Engliſhman has a right, by 'our laws, to judge and debate theſe affairs; and 'I am ſure his majeſty will abhor the thoughts of

'abridging

'abridging this liberty, though *weak* and *wicked* 'men endeavour to ſcreen themſelves under the 'protection of his ſacred name,'

A LOVER OF TRUTH.

Further ſtrictures on the king's ſpeech.

DURING the adminiſtration of Sir Robert Walpole, there were ſtrong debates in the houſe of commons, on the ſubject of keeping up a large ſtanding army in time of peace. Sir Robert was in no humour of thinking to reduce the army, becauſe he very well knew the larger it was, the more commiſſions he ſhould have at his diſpoſal, and conſequently the more friends to ſupport him.

But as ſome plauſible pretext was neceſſary to ſet a face on the affair, he trumped up a ſtory which he put into the king's ſpeech, and his majeſty very gravely and unknowingly delivered it to both houſes of parliament.

His majeſty, among other things, acquainted them, he had received certain intelligence that the emperor of Germany, and the king of Spain, had concerted to invade theſe kingdoms in favour of the pretender.

As ſoon as ever the emperor's ambaſſador at our court heard of it, he wrote directly an account of it to his maſter, who very ſoon ſent him back an order to repair immediately to court, and deſire audience to the king, and to aſſure him, upon the faith and honour of a crowned head, he never had ſuch a thought or deſign.

Several leading men in the houſe, ſome of whom are ſtill living, made no ſcruple of accuſing Sir Robert with having been the occaſion of the king's uttering a falſehood; and yet neither themſelves or their papers were ever ſeized upon; nor did the king think it an inſult offered to himſelf, that they charged

charged his minister with having misinformed him; for it was thought, his majesty was afterwards convinced of the falsehood

W. W.

The same subject continued.

IT is an established doctrine in our government that the K. can do no wrong. Why should it not also be understood, that the K. cannot speak wrong? K—s have sometimes been over-persuaded by their ministers and favourites, to take the blame of their misconduct; but the English parliament and people have always disregarded that subterfuge, and asserted it to be their right, to examine and to punish the minister's misconduct. Sir R. Walpole, under all the censure he lay for corruption, and for the convention, and other parts of his ministry, constitutionally and nobly said, 'he scorned to sculk 'behind the throne, and held himself to be respon-'sible for what was done and spoke in his admi-'nistration.' The great statesman of this age adopted the same sentiment, and much is he to be commended for it; though a few sycophants, or rather enemies to their country, endeavoured to misrepresent his words and his meaning.

The houses of parliament have established the doctrine of the speeches from the throne, being the minister's; and a right view of the parliamentary debates will plainly shew the parliament's assertion and use of this doctrine. I would not be understood to aim at justifying indecent reflections, or any sort of abuse of this doctrine; but while we do enjoy the liberty of speaking and writing what we think about our religion, laws, and government, (subject only to the judgment of the law when we exceed our bounds) to which liberty our present religion, laws, and government are in a great measure

ſure owing. I would be glad to be informed whether the people of England and Wales are bound to receive all that is delivered from the throne, or declared by proclamation, with ſilent reverence, implicit faith, approbation and ſubmiſſion? and whether it is abſolutely unlawful for individuals to talk, or to write about things which are repreſented and declared (as it is humbly underſtood) to the parliament and people, by ſpeech or proclamation? If it is not abſolutely unlawful, how far may individuals go, and no further? Where is the line to be laid? Perhaps it may, at laſt, after much diſcuſſion, be ſaid, our courts of juſtice are to judge of the propriety and impropriety of all acts, writings and ſpeeches, that concern any part or branch of the government; and to them and our juries may it ever belong.

It is a great misfortune and hardſhip upon the people to have their repreſentatives taken perſonally, and high reſentment ſhewn for their pointing out apparent defects or faults in the miniſtry or adminiſtration. If the K. though he acts directly according to the council and advice of the miniſters of the ſtate, is not to be blamed for their advice and their actions (as they are properly termed); when they are wrong, why is he to take and bear the blame of their words, as the ſpeeches and proclamations are univerſally underſtood to be ſettled by, and to be the public declarations of the council and miniſters of the ſtate, of what has been done, or is to be done, with reſpect to theſe kingdoms?

It is much to be feared, that a haughty inconſiderate favourite abuſed the confidence he was honoured with, and uſed his endeavours to ſpread ſome unconſtitutional notions of prerogative and government, where his duty to his k—g and country required far other councils; endeavours which have occaſioned the preſent miſunderſtandings, and

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have always made a principal part of the high charges againſt former preſumptuous miniſters and favourites.

Inſtead of inſtilling ſuch notions, it was his duty to have recommended the hiſtory of our laws and government, and the writings of perſons well verſed in our conſtitution; ſuch as Cotton's treatiſe upon conſultations with reſpect to marriage, peace and war; even Hale's pleas of the crown, p. 159. Part of the good lord Clarendon's life from p. 178 to 182 of the 2d vol. Lord Bacon, Locke, Acherley's Britannic Conſtitution; and from p. 402 to 405 of the diſcourſes of a learned and good judge, who is a living honour to his country and to mankind. *For* theſe and other writers upon our government are thought to have ſhown ſufficiently;

That our government was inſtituted for the good of the governed.

That the prerogatives are only to reſpect the people, as obſerved in Shower's parliament caſes, and elſewhere; and particularly as to the prerogatives of making peace and war; that war cannot now be carried on, without the people's conſent and aſſiſtance; nor a peace made againſt their intereſt and approbation, without the miniſters being made to atone for it; of which many recent inſtances are to be found in the times of Charles II. William III. and George I. that the crown of England is a *truſt*, and the principle upon which it was created was, the—*Salus Populi.*

That the officers of the ſtate, though nominated by the crown, are the ſervants of their country, as well as of the crown, and reſponſible to their country as well as to the crown.

That the good and happy kings of England reign only in the hearts of the people,

The Godlike empire of an Engliſh king.

For what Leland wrote of the old Britiſh, (the preſent Welch language) may be ſaid of the Eng-

liſh — *amor libertatis—hæſit in linguâ, in fibris, in animo.* And when we ſpeak of the K. and people, inſtead of prerogative and ſubjection, we may with more propriety uſe the expreſſions, The power and dignity of the crown, and rights and liberties of the people, according to the titles of—our 'petition of right,' and—'bill of rights.' For our government is founded upon old northern, natural reaſons and rules,—*de minoribus, principes conſultant, de majoribus omnes*—and—*quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus tractari.*

A. Z.

The ſame ſubject continued.

THE king's ſpeech being addreſſed to the lords and commons in parliament aſſembled, theſe lords and commons in parliament aſſembled, muſt, in common ſenſe, be allowed to be the beſt, if not the only judges, of the point at preſent ſo much agitated, whether the king's ſpeech is the king's ſpeech, or his miniſter's.

Whoever looks into the parliamentary debates, will find, as often as the king's ſpeech has been debated, juſt as often the doctrine was advanced and admitted without contradiction by the members of both houſes, that the king's ſpeech was not the king's, but the miniſter's; and this not as a *fictio juris*, a fiction of law, to give freedom to the debate, but as a fundamental conſtitutional principle. The miniſter may be impeached for what the king ſays, as well as for what he does; which ſhews it not a fiction but a reality. See the following extracts from the collection of the parliamentary debates.

Extract

Extract from the late John Duke of Argyle's ſpeech, upon a motion for an addreſs to the king's ſpeech. Seſſions 4th, ſeptennial parliament, 1740.

'The king's ſpeech is always in this houſe conſidered as the ſpeech of the miniſters; and as it has generally been, we may expect it always will be, a ſhort narrative of the meaſures they have purſued, and a ſort of panegyrick upon every thing they have done; therefore we ought to be extremely cautious of ſaying any thing that may imply a tacit approbation of any thing they have done, or adviſed to be done.'

From lord Carteret's ſpeech on the ſame motion.

'My Lords,

'In this debate, as well as in a great many others, I find ſome lords are mighty apt to run into a miſtake, which is of the moſt miſchievous conſequence in all parliamentary inquiries. They cannot, or will not, diſtinguiſh between his majeſty and his miniſters, but call all public meaſures his majeſty's meaſures; and from thence ſuppoſe, that thoſe who find fault with any public meaſure, are blaming his majeſty's conduct, and treſpaſſing againſt that duty and affection they owe to their ſovereign. This, my lords, is a moſt unparliamentary method of proceeding, for it is well known, that his majeſty's name ought never to be brought into any of our debates. When we take his majeſty's ſpeech into conſideration, though we have heard it from his own mouth, yet we do not conſider it as his majeſty's ſpeech, but as the ſpeech of his miniſters. Though we were in our private capacity convinced, that his majeſty had ſpoke off hand, and without premeditation or adviſing with any of

'his miniſters, yet when we come to conſider that 'ſpeech as members of this houſe, we are to con- 'ſider it as the ſpeech of his miniſters, for while 'they continue, they are anſwerable to parliament 'for every thing the king does or ſays; and if they 'think this a hardſhip, they may eaſily avoid it, 'or get off on't, by refuſing to accept of, or by 'throwing up their employments.'

From lord T——'s ſpeech upon the motion of an addreſs to the king's ſpeech, 6 ſeſſion, 4 parliament.

'As his majeſty's ſpeech from the throne is al- 'ways in this houſe underſtood to be a ſpeech from 'the miniſters, and as our addreſs by way of anſwer 'to that ſpeech muſt conſequently be ſuppoſed an 'anſwer to the miniſters.'

From lord W——'s on the ſame motion.

'My Lords.

'If I were to conſider his majeſty's ſpeech as a 'ſpeech really framed by himſelf, and without the 'advice of any of his miniſters; but it is well 'known that in this houſe we always do, nay we 'ought to conſider his majeſty's ſpeech as the ſpeech 'of his miniſters.'

From the duke of Argyle's on the ſame motion.

'As a great man, my lords, and as good a 'judge of our conſtitution as ever ſet in this houſe, 'often gave it as his opinion, that if miniſters were 'not, they ought to be, the adviſers of every ſpeech 'the king makes from the throne, and were anſwer- 'able for every expreſſion made uſe of upon ſuch 'occaſions. Who was the author or drawer up of 'the ſpeech now under our conſideration I do not 'pretend to know; but in this houſe, my lords, 'we are not to ſay the king, we muſt ſuppoſe it his 'miniſters.'

From

From Mr. P——y's, now E. of B. on the ſame motion.

'Having ſaid thus much, I am naturally led to 'conſider ſome expreſſions, both in the ſpeech and 'motion, which I muſt own I did not at firſt hear 'without concern, and to which longer conſidera-'tion has not yet reconciled me. His majeſty 'mentions heats and animoſities: Sir, I don't know 'who drew his ſpeech up, but whoever he was, he 'ſhould have ſpared that expreſſion. I wiſh he 'had drawn a veil over the heats and animoſities 'that muſt be owned once ſubſiſted upon this head, 'for I am ſure none now ſubſiſt. Therefore, Sir, 'whoever drew up this ſpeech ſhould have ſpared 'this expreſſion.'

N. B. Here is a plain and poſitive contradiction in point of fact.

Theſe few extracts, without adding more, prove beyond a doubt, that the king's ſpeech is by parliament always conſidered as the miniſters ſpeech. On no point whatever has the ſenſe of parliament been more frequently and more explicitly declared: and the ſpeech from the throne (this foundation once laid) has been treated with all poſſible freedom, charged with all facts, as well as with falſe reaſoning. Can this be legal, conſtitutional, and decent in parliament, and every where elſe illegal, unconſtitutional, and ſeditious? Surely not. Is it the privilege of members of parliament, in parliament aſſembled, to give the lie to the ſovereign, or firſt magiſtrate, in the exerciſe of his office? Surely not. Can it be neceſſary for the freedom of debate, or can it promote the diſcovery of truth in argument, to conſider things different from what they are? Surely not. The ſpeech from the throne, therefore, is out of parliament, as well as in parliament, to all intents and purpoſes the miniſters ſpeech; and by every ſubject, until (there is a law declarative of the con-

trary) may be legally and decently treated as ſuch. Upon the ſame principle, though the king declares war, and the king makes peace, yet both are the common topics of diſcourſe; and every one, without the leaſt ceremony, applies the epithet he thinks they deſerve. One damns the war, another curſes the peace; and in all this, no indignity is ſuſpected, much leſs intended, to be offered to the crown. By virtue of a political hocus-pocus in our moſt excellent conſtitution, the ſ——n is tranſubſtantiated into his m——r; his natural functions, it is true, I think are allowed to be his own, but for the political, *vox & preterea nihil.* Long were my poor brains puzzled to find a meaning to the eſtabliſhed univerſal received maxim, the great bulwark of the Britiſh conſtitution, THE KING CAN DO NO WRONG. But the wonderful powers of tranſubſtantiation make it all plain and eaſy. When this diſcovery was made by our great ſtateſmen I know not, I think it muſt be ſince the year 1688, for before that bleſſed æra, it is allowed on all hands our kings could do wrong, as well as the meaneſt of their ſubjects. But, however that may be, ſorry, very ſorry I am, to be obliged to adopt tranſubſtantiation into the ſtate, when we have got ſo well rid of the monſter in the church. As a good zealous proteſtant, I ſhould rejoice to be better inſtructed, and to know upon what baſis I am to reſt my belief, that the britiſh monarch is ever infallible in word and deed.

Reader, do not miſtake me for a friend to the North Briton; I abhor him, I abhor his writings; burn him I ſay and his writings, if the law will permit; and to add to the flame, toſs in the Briton and Auditor, with their hum-drum performances. But let not one jot, or one tittle of the law paſs away, that theſe wretches may be puniſhed. Till the conſtitution admits of a dictator, above all laws, e'en

ſuffer

ſuffer them to be wretched in their own worthleſsneſs. *Pro lege ſemper.*

C. D.

Ruſhworth's Collection, vol. I. page 365, anno 1626.

A remonſtrance and petition of the peers, in behalf of the earl of Arundel.

May it pleaſe your majeſty,

WE the peers of this your realm aſſembled in parliament, finding the earl of Arundel abſent from his place, that ſometimes in this parliament ſate among us, his preſence was therefore called for; but thereupon a meſſage was delivered unto us from your majeſty by the lord keeper, that the earl of Arundel was reſtrained *for a miſdemeanor which was perſonal to your majeſty*, and had no relation to matters of parliament. This meſſage occaſioned us to inquire into the acts of our anceſtors, and what in like caſes they had done, that ſo we might not err *in our dutyful reſpect to your majeſty*, and yet preſerve our right and privilege of parliament; and after diligent ſearch of all ſtories, ſtatutes and records that might inform us in this caſe, we find it to be *an undoubted right and conſtant privilege of* PARLIAMENT, that no lord of parliament, the parliament ſitting, or within the uſual times of privilege of parliament, is to be impriſoned or reſtrained, without ſentence or order of the houſe, unleſs it be for treaſon or felony, or *for refuſing to give ſurety for the peace*; and to ſatisfy ourſelves the better, we have heard all that could be alledged *by your majeſty's council learned at the law* that might any way weaken or infringe this claim of the peers: and to all that can be ſhewed or alledged, ſo full ſatisfaction

hath been given, as that ALL *the peers of parliament*, upon the queſtion made of this privilege, have *una voce*, conſented that *this is the undoubted* RIGHT *of the peers, and hath* INVIOLABLY *been enjoyed by them.*

Is this a doubt on the behalf of the commons in the reign of George the third?

Remarks on the ſcurrility thrown upon Mr. Wilkes's *private character.*

I OBSERVE that nothing has entered deeper into the late altercation about Mr. W——, than his private moral character. I am always ſorry to hear of vice and immorality, and regret much that it is ſo common amongſt fine gentlemen and people of faſhion, that I am afraid it cannot be eſteemed any great reproach among them. I have the misfortune however to follow this rule, which is certainly a very unreaſonable one, not to believe ill of any man without ſufficient evidence: and I have ſeen none offered to the public to ſupport the accuſation of ſingular immorality made in the papers againſt Mr. W——, that would not eſtabliſh the ſame charge againſt a chancellor of the exchequer, or any other gentleman of worth and honour; nor indeed am I quite ſatisfied of the right of anonymous writers to ſpread, or of news-papers to be the licenſed vehicles of private ſcandal; I even queſtion the title and powers of the public, to erect itſelf into a tribunal for ſuch a trial, or how it can give a fair one. Beſides all this, I have always a violent ſuſpicion of reports raiſed and propagated at critical ſeaſons, and for particular purpoſes; and I cannot put the higheſt value on thoſe ſcruples of virtue, which are offended with the vices of *one* man, in *particular* circumſtances, and make no complaint of

of the faults of others, equally, if not more conſpicuous, and not inferior in kind or quality.

For all theſe reaſons, I own, what has been ſaid as to Mr. W——'s moral character, on the preſent occaſion, has made no impreſſion on me. But be it what it may, I cannot help thinking it is very foreign to the ſubject of the diſpute which he has been the occaſion of. It is, in my poor opinion, not conſiſtent with the rules of juſtice, nor even of humanity, to endeavour to create prejudices againſt a perſon, who is to be brought upon his trial for a crime he is charged with. The miſchief of impreſſions of that ſort may be very fatal, and ſo far as they have influence, thoſe who are at pains to inſtill them are certainly anſwerable for the conſequences. I have known men hanged and *ſhot*, before now, more from the effects of prejudice, and a bad opinion of their general character, than upon any proof of the particular crime they were accuſed of. But I always looked upon ſuch inſtances as very criminal murders, and that every one concerned in them had much to anſwer for.

To ſay the truth, nothing can be more abſurd, I ſhould think, than to talk of a man's *amours*, when his *politics* are in queſtion; or when he is accuſed of ſedition, to object againſt him the *genteel* vices of gallantry and ſwearing. I ſhould therefore, as one indifferent to every thing but juſtice, in what concerns the accuſation or proſecution of Mr. W——, wiſh that all that ſort of inflammatory defamation was dropt.

At the ſame time, if any good could be drawn out of the evil which I complain of, becauſe I really think it is itſelf a very great immorality, it would compenſate, in ſome degree, the miſchievous tendency of it. There has not been an act of his preſent majeſty's government more like himſelf, than the uſual proclamation he iſſued immediately upon his acceſſion,

acceſſion, againſt vice and immorality; in which he declared his royal purpoſe to diſcountenance it in all perſons, and in all ſorts, and to diſtinguiſh with the marks of his favour thoſe who ſhewed a regard to piety and virtue; and particularly expreſſed his reſolution to ſuffer none to be about his royal perſon, that were not of untainted character in that reſpect. I love the king as a pious prince, and becauſe of his ſenſe of religion, and the great regard he ſhews to decency in his own conduct. If his example was to have the influence that its own merit, independent of the authority of it, ought to give it, it would be a very happy thing for the nation. But bad as the world is, that ſame old faſhioned thing called religion, has not entirely loſt its value. One of the eminent ſervices done to his majeſty by the late miniſter, the merit of which is much inſiſted upon by the advocates for him (and with great reaſon, I think, if the fact ſupports the claim) is his care to imbibe the king with principles of religion.

I know it was expected that the effects of thoſe good principles, and of the ſame noble perſon's influence with his majeſty, would have been ſeen amongſt all ranks, in a very exact conformity to the end and deſign of the royal declaration I have alluded to. The king's loving and chriſtian ſubjects would be very ſorry, if they ſaw (a thing that can never happen in this reign) the places neareſt to his majeſty's perſon filled with men, who, if they were obliged to bring a character with them (as the ſervants of private people are expected to do) muſt have it from Arthur's or New-market, or perhaps a worſe place than either, becauſe their talents, and their merit, are beſt known in thoſe *temples of virtue.*

It is not my inclination to rake into ſcandal, nor to retail calumny, if there was room for it. But it is with pleaſure that I can deſire any body to look

up

up to the higheſt offices in the kingdom, in all departments, domeſtic and political, that he may be ſatisfied with his own eyes how entirely vice and immorality is proſcribed from the uppermoſt forms of the ſtate. No promotions, no elevations to dignities or employments, have been made in this reign, that reflect on his majeſty's amiable character for piety, for which all good men ſincerely love and honour him; none that are diſgraceful to the court, or derogatory to their profeſſions of regard for virtue, who have the greateſt ſhare of influence with his majeſty. Some remarkable inſtances of the contrary kind occurred very early after the acceſſion; and others have taken place on latter occaſions, to ſhew the *uniformity* there is, in that reſpect, in the conduct of thoſe who have had the nomination to all thoſe places. If it were otherwiſe, the appearances would be ſo contrary to the profeſſions of thoſe who have had the honour to adviſe his majeſty, and ſo oppoſite to the king's own principles, of which there can be no doubt, that no other account could have been given of it but one, which, if true, would have indeed been a moſt lamentable one; ſuch an one as none but a very ill-natured perſon could have harboured a thought of in his own breaſt, unleſs a ſincere reſpect for his majeſty, and the firmeſt opinion of his good diſpoſitions had compelled him to believe it: I mean that the king found, from the informations given him, that the ſcarcity of pure and unblemiſhed characters was ſo very great amongſt the higheſt orders in the kingdom, or that his ſervice would ſuffer ſo much by not employing ſome particular perſons, that the evil, however diſagreable to himſelf, and contrary to his declared and well known principles, as well as diſhonourable to the court, muſt, from neceſſity, have been ſubmitted to. If that had been the caſe, thoſe who did not like the thing could only have regreted it,

com-

compaſſionated his majeſty, and deplored the ſtate of virtue in the kingdom.

The *Augean ſtable* has always been cleanſed when virtue had its juſt ſway; and the ſervice has been deemed very meritorious, both in the inſtruments of ſo good a work, and in thoſe who appointed them to it. Perhaps there may have been times, when it would have been a very hazardous experiment to purge either the court or the adminiſtration, upon principles of moral virtue. Even when a depravity of manners has not been univerſal, there has appeared ſometimes a certain repugnancy between the good principles of virtue and political abilities, as well as the talents for the domeſtic functions of the royal palace; that if they had been to be made the ſtandard of qualifications for employment, a king of England would have been in great hazard of wanting both miniſters and ſervants, if the recommendation of a favourite or prime miniſter had alſo been neceſſary. In ſuch days, it was no wonder to find perſons who had no pretence to religion, and did not ſo much as affect the obſervance of the common rules of virtue, ſecretaries of ſtate, firſt lords of the treaſury, chancellors of the exchequer, ſtewards of the houſhold, comptrollers of a queen's houſhold, and even maids of honour. The court has been, in ſome periods of our hiſtory, ſo very diſſolute and profane, that if I had been then upon the ſtage, ſtrict as my principles are, I could have pretended that faſhionable vices, however odious I eſteemed them, ſhould have been a reaſonable objection to the ſupplying places with perſons of talents and abilities; eſpecially if talents and abilities had been almoſt as rare as virtue itſelf amongſt thoſe of rank and faſhion. Inconteſtable proofs, much leſs ſuſpicious, and evil reports, ſhould not, in ſo calamitous a ſtate of things, have ſtood in the way of any preferment. The rule would have been dangerous,

gerous, and none could have ſaid how extenſive its conſequences might have been. It is true it was required of old, the wife (and the ſame thing might have been of the ſervants) of Cæſar, that ſhe ſhould not only be chaſte, but even unſuſpected: but that rigidity of virtue would not ſuit every age.

It gives great ſatisfaction to the friends of virtue, that the diſcountenance which has been of late ſo remarkably given to vice, affords a good proſpect of the total reformation of the court. The promotions there, and the choice of private intimates and favourites by thoſe who have great influence there, have a powerful influence to correct the manners of thoſe who aſpire after honours and preferments. The late miniſter's private conduct, and his adminiſtration, have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in theſe reſpects; and they are the moſt indiſputable proofs he could have given, that his majeſty really did receive from him the impreſſions of religion and virtue which he moſt certainly has. The averments of the miniſter's moſt ſanguine friends, and all the evidence they have produced to maintain them, are of ſmall weight, in compariſon of ſuch clear and convincing proof, which puts the juſtice of his claim of merit upon that account beyond a poſſibility of doubt.

Theſe reflections I have often made in my own mind; and finding a great indignation expreſſed againſt Mr. W—'s ſuppoſed looſeneſs, very juſtly, I confeſs, if it had been ſeaſonably and upon good evidence, I thought it not an unfit opportunity to put others in mind that their conduct does not eſcape obſervation: and to let all know that thoſe who think impartially are equally offended with vice wherever it is found. I hope thoſe who would be the better of ſome reformation, whether they be in high rank or low life, whether in office or not in office,

office, will correct their conduct that is culpable, that they may give weight to reproofs which they owe, or that are given by thoſe who eſpouſe their cauſe, to others who may have offended them; and that they may themſelves avoid the cenſure that they ſee is apt to fall upon ſuch as are thought to deſerve it, if not *always*, at leaſt whenever it is believed it will ſerve any particular purpoſe, to ſift into moral characters. My real wiſh is, to ſee the court pure, the adminiſtration virtuous in every ſenſe, and the whole kingdom reformed, by the force of our good laws, the influence of the royal example, and a ſalutary obedience to, as well as ſtrict obſervance and execution of the king's pious proclamation againſt vice and immorality.

AN OBSERVER, WHO LOVES THE KING, AND IS AN EQUAL ENEMY TO VICE IN ALL PERSONS, AND AT ALL TIMES.

Obſervations upon a paragraph in the papers, which was as follows.

['We are aſſured that in a converſation, a cer-'tain great perſonage lately declared, "I am a "friend to liberty from ſentiment; and will ever "protect the meaneſt of my ſubjects in their rights "and liberties: but I am determined not to ſuffer "any inſult with impunity, though it were offered "to me from the greateſt. May 30, 1763."]

I CANNOT help ſaying, that indecency is come to a very extravagant pitch, when ſuch a paragraph, as that above quoted, appears in the news-papers, as I read it for the *firſt time*, in the London Chronicle, publiſhing ſomething in the ſtile and form of a proclamation, by authority, "that the k— (for there can be no great perſonage "who can ſpeak of his *ſubjects*, ſo that it is an idle "affectation

" affectation of delicacy to deſcribe him in that way) " had, in a converſation, lately declared, ' he is ' a friend to freedom from ſentiment, and will ever ' protect the *meaneſt* of his ſubjects in their rights ' and liberties; but is determined not to ſuffer ' any inſult, with impunity, though it were offered ' to him by the *greateſt*." I really ſuſpect very much it muſt be ſome ſecret enemy of government, and indeed of his majeſty, who could inſert ſuch a paragraph; for I am ſure if he is a friend of either, the leaſt that can be ſaid of him is, that he judges very ill. The thing which this ſuppoſed, I had almoſt called it a forged declaration, refers to, and on account of which it is inſerted, nobody can be at a loſs to know, who reads or hears any news. And is the perſon who puts it in, whoever he be, aware of the ill conſequences in a FREE COUNTRY like this, of making people think (for I am confident the thing is altogether without foundation, or has taken riſe from ſome great miſtake or miſapprehenſion) that the king debaſes himſelf ſo far as to interfere, perſonally, in legal proceedings, or even to hint, in converſations, any opinion or ſentiments about them? Declarations of kings, even in converſations, might, with ſervile and compliant judges, be very efficacious. *Royal hints*, to bad men, are very ſignificant; ſuch would even be ſwift to interpret and apply them. Juſt and good kings will therefore ever be ſcrupulouſly cautious to avoid them, in things where juſtice is concerned: much more take care not to make clear and expreſs declarations;—declarations that muſt have a meaning and deſign, and a very ſtrong one too, but at the ſame time a very bad one. It is a thing not known to be done in France, where the prince is abſolute, and the government arbitrary: and would it become the king of England, where the laws are the only meaſure of government,

ment, and the courts of law the only place where punishments and all other parts of justice are dispensed? The courts of law, thank God! in this country, are superior to the influence of the crown; but it would be the thing the most unworthy the royal dignity, and most inconsistent with the constitution, for the sovereign to intimate opinions, or make declarations, about matters that are or may be the subject of judicial trial, especially criminal matters; or to give so much as a hint of his inclinations; lest it should produce consequences, which it could never, by any good king, be wished they should have. Does the author of that paragraph consider (for I hope there is not a subject but knows it, and I know the king places the glory of his crown in it) that the same laws which secure his majesty, and his august family, in the possession of the sceptre, do, and are sufficient to protect the FREE SUBJECTS of this kingdom in ALL their RIGHTS and LIBERTIES, and against ALL INVASIONS and ATTACKS whatever?—would such a declaration as he *publishes*, and I indeed believe *makes*, be acceptable to, and of great estimation with him, because he has doubted? or does he desire to insinuate that any body else now doubts of his majesty's gracious purpose, and determined resolution, to observe his coronation oath; by which he from his heart engaged to maintain the LAWS OF THE LAND, and to govern by them; which is the *true regal* power to protect the rights and liberties of the subjects, and the *only* way in which a king in this country can do it? Does he reflect that the king of England cannot himself *punish*, or cause to be punished, ANY MAN in these dominions?—that it is the law, and the judges of the kingdom *only* that can do it? Does he suspect that the judges will not, in all cases, and on all occasions, do justice? Would he have them consult with the king, or the king to interfere with them, in the duty

duty of their office? Or is he ſo ignorant, or ſo malicious, as to wiſh it may be believed by any that the king does this, in any ſhape whatever? which none who are acquainted with the king's character and diſpoſitions will believe. Does he think the king is ſo liable to inſults, that he needs, to prevent them, to declare his determination not to ſuffer them with impunity? Is he particularly afraid of inſults from the *great*, that they are marked with a note of diſtinction, in his officious, and no leſs offenſive, and ungenuine (as it muſt be) publication? Does he believe that ſuch a declaration as he pretends to promote (if it were ever made) is ſtronger, or will have a greater effect, than the laws of the land, which are ſufficient to guard the throne from every thing that can be called an inſult? Whatever be the mind of this perſon, who I do think muſt be very weak, if he is not worſe; I, and I dare ſay, all the king's good ſubjects, rejoice to think that his majeſty's princely qualities, his amiable virtues, his love of liberty, and attachment to the conſtitution, ſo well known to all the people of theſe kingdoms, that they need no information of his diſpoſitions, ſuch as this (I muſt think fictitious) declaration feigns to convey; and I ſhould hope, few of them need any monitor of their duty to ſo excellent a prince:—his own royal character, and the love of his ſubjects founded in it, are an impregnable ſecurity againſt all inſults;—and if any man is ſo mad, as well as undutiful, as to offer any, the law is ſufficient to check his inſolence, and prevent his example being followed. The LAW will have its courſe in every caſe, though the king ſhould never hear of any particular one that is or may be depending at law, and though he never ſhould open his mouth on ſuch a ſubject. And no ſpeeches nor declarations he could make, any where, or to any perſon whatever, except in

ſome place, or upon ſome occaſion, when his royal words are the voice of government (if he was ſo very ill adviſed as make any other, which I think the adviſers would deſerve to *ſuffer* for) will or can have the ſmalleſt effect whatever. It is that ſame circumſtance (THAT THEY CANNOT) however little it may ſeem to be, that is comprehenſive of the whole of ENGLISH LIBERTY: In it lies the ineſtimable bleſſing of this happy CONSTITUTION.

PHILO REGIS ET LEGIS

ON the 6th of July the king's meſſengers were brought to trial before lord chief juſtice Pratt at Guildhall in London, for unlawfully ſeizing ſeveral journeymen printers, who were *ſuſpected* (for it could be nothing more) of being concerned in printing the 45th number of the North Briton. The points contended for on the part of the crown were,

1. *The legality of the warrant.*
2. *The due execution of that warrant.*
3. *Two acts of parliament of James I. and one of George II. in the nature of a bar to the action againſt the defendants, the meſſengers*; and ſending the plaintiffs over for remedy againſt the ſecretaries of ſtate.—And the council for the crown inſiſted, that the Juries ſhould find a *Special Verdict*.

The Jury inſiſted on their right to find a GENERAL VERDICT under the direction of the court.

The chief juſtice gave his opinion that the jury could not be compelled to find a ſpecial verdict: and likewiſe his judgment and the reaſons of it, on the three points of law, viz.

1. *That the warrant was illegal.*
2. *That it was illegally executed.*

3. *That the ſecretaries of ſtate were not within the acts of parliament of James I. or George II.* and conſequently that the action will lay againſt the meſſengers.

The council for the crown tendered a *bill of exceptions againſt the opinions of the lord chief juſtice on the points of law*, ready engroſſed; but which contained ſo many *impertinent narrations*, and *falſe ſtates of facts*, &c. That after many cruſures and altercations, it was agreed, that as it could not be admitted in its then form, it ſhould be ſeteled with the inſpection of the council for the plaintiff.

The chief juſtice ſummed up the evidence and left the damages to the jury; who brought in a verdict againſt the Meſſengers with 300 l. and coſts.

JURYMENS NAMES, who thus bravely and honourably diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in the cauſe of liberty and Engliſhmen.

Peter Cazalet, Foreman.	John Weſkett
Richard King	Joſeph Mico
William Bond	James Randall
Thomas Dickins	Frederick Teuſh
Thomas Selwin	Peter Deſchamps
John Daniel Cottin	Benjamin Watkinſon.

May all future juries act with the ſame intrepid and impartial ſpirit, and may there never be wanting an ENGLISH judge who will hear with patience, and decide with candour.

Obſervations on the above trial.

THE cauſe will ever be *beſt* ſerved, which its advocates maintain with candour, and reſt its ſupport on the baſis of ſound reaſon and argument, *rather* than upon the chicanery of law, and thoſe mean ſubterfuges which the crafts of counſel

have deviſed, in order to counteract the fair and equal adminiſtration of juſtice. The late proceedings at Guildhall, upon the trial of the meſſengers, are a convincing proof of the truth of this axiom. After all the points, both of law and fact, which were in *debate*, had been clearly and learnedly argued on both ſides, and *that* ſhining ornament of the preſent age, *lord chief juſtice Pratt*, had in conſequence of theſe pleadings given his opinion in the moſt impartial and perſpicuous manner, a bill of exceptions, to his deciſions, was then tendered, which appeared to be fairly engroſſed on two ſkins of parchment, conſequently had been brought into court before the commencement of the trial, and afforded a convincing proof, that a reſolution was previouſly taken to object to the opinion of the judge, and the verdict of the jury, even before it *could* be known what that opinion or what the verdict might be. The defendants counſel alſo ſhewed their want of candour, by their endeavours to intimidate the jury, to bring *in* their verdict *ſpecial*, which did not paſs unnoticed; however, THEY WERE RENDERED INEFFECTUAL, BY THE STEADY PERSEVERANCE WITH WHICH THESE TWELVE WORTHY ENGLISHMEN SUPPORTED THEIR UNDOUBTED RIGHT OF FINDING A GENERAL VERDICT, ACCORDING TO THEIR CONSCIENCES, AND THE OATH THEY HAD TAKEN. A conduct which will render this unbiaſſed jury deſervedly dear to every true Engliſhman. I appeal to every impartial ſpectator, whether the defendants counſel *did* not, in the whole of their proceedings, on that memorable day, by their apparent *want* of candour, prejudice the cauſe which they meant to ſupport.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

Juſtum

Juſtum et tenacem propoſiti virum, non voltus inſtantis tyranni mentæ quatit ſolida.

WHEN a nation once loſes its regard to *juſtice*; when they do not look upon it as ſomething venerable, holy, and inviolable; when any of them dare preſume to leſſen, affront or terrify thoſe who have the diſtribution of it in their hands; when a judge is capable of being influenced by any thing but law, or a cauſe may be recommended by any thing that is foreign to its merits, we may venture to pronounce that ſuch a nation is haſtening to its ruin.

For this reaſon the beſt law that has ever paſſed in our days, is that which ſecures our judges in the enjoyment of their offices, during their good behaviour, notwithſtanding the demiſe of the crown; and which eſtabliſhes their ſalaries during the continuance of their commiſſions.

His majeſty, in his ſpeech to the parliament on the above occaſion, was pleaſed to declare, that he looked upon the independency and uprightneſs of the judges of the land, as eſſential to the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, as one of the beſt ſecurities to the rights and liberties of his loving ſubjects; and as moſt conducive to the honour of the crown. I dare ſay the extraordinary perſon who is poſted in one of the chief ſtations of the law, would have been the ſame if that act had never paſſed; but it is a great ſatisfaction to all honeſt men, that whilſt we ſee the greateſt ornament of the profeſſion in one of its higheſt poſts, we are ſure he cannot hurt himſelf by that aſſiduous, regular, and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice, for which he is ſo univerſally celebrated by the whole kingdom; ſuch men are to be

reckoned among the greateſt national bleſſings, and ſhould have the honour paid them whilſt they are yet living, which will not fail to crown their memory when dead.

I always rejoice when I ſee a tribunal filled with a man of an upright and inflexible temper, who in the execution of *his* country's laws, can overcome all private fear, reſentment, ſolicitation, and even pity itſelf; whatever paſſion enters into a ſentence, or deciſion, ſo far will there be in it a tincture of injuſtice: in ſhort, *juſtice* diſcards party, friendſhip, kindred, and is therefore always repreſented blind, that we may ſuppoſe her thoughts are wholly intent on the equity of a cauſe, without being diverted or prejudiced by the objects foreign to it.

By Birth an Hereditary Guardian of the Rights and Liberties of the People.

Further Remarks.

AS the public treaſury muſt undoubtedly defray the expence of the law-ſuits, and pay the damages incurred by a late proceeding, which nothing but the inſolence of office, and a tyrannical exertion of lawleſs power could have dictated to the two ſecretaries, I think the public have a right to ſpeak their ſentiments on that tranſaction, and the late deciſion relating to it.

What is become of the ancient Britiſh ſpirit and that ardent love of liberty, which formerly animated our brave anceſtors to ſhew a proper reſentment againſt thoſe, however great and dignified, who durſt trample on the immunities and privileges of a free people? I am confident, that if this illegal and daring ſtep had been taken ſome years ago, it would have been followed with the warmeſt remonſtrances to the repreſentatives of the people by their

their conſtituents, to require their united addreſs to the throne, moſt humbly to beſeech the king to remove from his councils and preſence for ever, the men who had been guilty of ſuch a flagrant inſult on our laws, and on the liberties of their fellow ſubjects. Their plea of being warranted by precedents ought to be treated with contempt. Are a few precedents of an illegal exertion of arbitrary power to be pleaded in excuſe for men's acting in direct contradiction to Magna Charta, and the fundamental laws of the kingdom? I did not know before, that an illegal precedent would authorize a juſtice of peace to ſeize and impriſon a man, contrary to poſitive and well-known acts of parliament: and they who make ſuch pleas, muſt have a very mean opinion of the underſtandings of the people in general, or they would be aſhamed to publiſh ſuch apologies. If there have been ſo many precedents of a lawleſs exertion of power of late, it is high time they were put a ſtop to, which I make no doubt but they would have been long before this time, if the poor printers and authors, againſt whom they were made, had been able to conteſt it with thoſe who have the public purſe at command; which I wiſh, more than I can hope, they may never make uſe of to enſlave us, in more ways, and by more methods than this one: indeed thoſe ways are ſo well known, that I need only comment on two of the moſt glaring and notorious, which bid fair to become, and at no very diſtant period, the ruin of all liberty in this great and powerful nation; which liberty, nothing elſe, I may ſafely ſay, can ever ruin; and therefore they deſerve to be written in capitals, and marked on the foreheads of thoſe who ſell their votes and their country for them, *viz.* PLACES and PENSIONS.

Dr. Leighton's Caſe.

THOUGH I am going down the hill of life to the land where all things are forgotten, and have none to ſtand up in my place, and therefore perſonally have but little concern in it; yet from the love I bear to mankind in general, and to my fellow countrymen in particular, I felt a joy beyond the power of kings to give, or of any thing to excite, except an ardent love of liberty, when I received the news of the important determination, in regard to the ſecurity of the people, at Guildhall, on the from henceforwards ever memorable fifth of July; for no age has produced a determination of more general and extenſive conſequence to every free-born Engliſhman. The united thanks of the whole people are juſtly due to the gentlemen of the jury, who with ſuch invincible reſolution refuſed to find a ſpecial verdict, being determined to decide a point ſo eſſential to the ſecurity of their fellow countrymen, and not to delegate upon any pretence, that power which the conſtitution had fixed in them alone, as a jury on the cauſe. They will live in the hearts of the people of the preſent generation, and the bleſſing of poſterity will come upon them. What are the honours which adorn the moſt triumphant victor's brow? What the advantage of his moſt glaring victories, in compariſon of the honour theſe gentlemen have gained to themſelves, and the ſecurity ariſing to the people, from their conſtitutional and unbiaſſed verdict? I have conceived a love for the king from his youth up, and felt a joy on ſeeing him aſcend the throne, which perhaps none of his adulating addreſſers, nor any of the vehemently loyal writers, ever had any ſenſation of; and yet I ſhould neither fear nor bluſh

bluſh to ſay before him, that I have a ſtill higher affection for the whole collective body of the people. Nature, reaſon, religion, and the conſtitution, will all juſtify me in ſaying this; and from the high opinion I have entertained of his virtues and goodneſs, I ſhould think even his majeſty himſelf would applaud it. And it may well be ſuppoſed, that as his majeſty is, according to the expreſſions that have been made uſe of in the public papers, a friend to freedom from ſentiment, he muſt feel no ſmall pleaſure from ſeeing the freedom of his ſubjects receive an additional ſecurity in his reign, which may ſecure them from the oppreſſion and tyrannical power of any who may come after him, and who may chance not to have that moderation and mildneſs, that love of juſtice and regard for his people which he has. I have read of a king or governor, who, upon ſomething of a ſimilar occaſion, thanked heaven that he ſaw his ſubjects freedom perfected. Kings can never be hurt by the freedom of their ſubjects, becauſe the more freedom they have, the more they will love their kings, as freedom is innately conſidered by all mankind as the greateſt bleſſing; and government will be more effectual, as the obedience is more voluntary; and there is no fear of its degenerating into tyranny. Nor is there perhaps one ſingle inſtance in all hiſtory, of a people failing in their duty and regard to their king from their enjoyments of freedom, but many, very many fatal ones of their doing ſo from its being infringed. On the contrary, the people may, nay, they certainly will, one way or other, be greatly hurt by power being left unreſtrained. The hiſtory of every nation teſtifies this, alas! too much. I will give only one inſtance out of our own hiſtory, and not far beyond our memory. The rev. Dr. Leighton, in king Charles the firſt's time, having publiſhed a book called 'Zion's Plea

'againſt

'againſt prelacy,' he was ſoon after, without any information upon oath, or any proof that he was the writer of the book, arreſted by two high commiſſion purſuivants, as he was coming out of Black-Friar's church from hearing a ſermon, and with a multitude of ſtaves and bills they dragged him to the houſe of Dr. Laud, then the biſhop of London. In the biſhop of London's houſe he was impriſoned, and a ſtrong guard ſet over him; there he was kept without food 'till ſeven in the evening, when Dr. Laud, and Dr. Corbet, biſhop of Oxford, came with a great number of attendants. Dr. Leighton then demanded an hearing; but inſtead of that the goaler of Newgate was ſent for, who came with a ſtrong power of halberts and ſtaves, and clapping Dr. Leighton in irons, they carried him through a blind ſubterraneous paſſage into Newgate, where they thruſt him into a loneſom dog-hole full of rats and mice, which had no light, but what came through a little grate. There, the roof being uncovered, the ſnow and rain beat in upon him. He had no bedding, nor any place to make a fire, but the ruins of an old ſmokey chimney. There he was kept without meat or drink from Tueſday night to Thurſday noon. In that doleful place and condition was he kept cloſe, with two doors faſtened upon him, for the ſpace of fifteen weeks. And ſo long they ſuffered no friend to come near him. But after fifteen weeks, his wife, and ſhe alone, gained admittance. On the fourth day after his commitment, the high commiſſion purſuivants went to his houſe, under pretence of ſearching for jeſuits books. There, theſe ſons of plunder, laid hold of his diſtreſſed wife, and uſed her with ſuch barbarous inhumanity and indecency, as it is a ſhame to expreſs. They rifled every perſon in the houſe, and held a piſtol to the breaſt of a boy of five years of age, threatening to ſhoot him,

him, if he would not tell where the books were, which ſo affrighted the poor child, that he never recovered it all his days. They broke open preſſes, cheſts and boxes, and deſtroyed every thing at pleaſure. They robbed the doctor's houſe, and carried off all the books and manuſcripts they could find. They likewiſe carried away his houſhold ſtuff, apparel, and other things, leaving nothing which they had a mind to have. At the end of fifteen weeks, or ſomething more, he was brought into the ſtar chamber court, and required to put in an anſwer to a long invective, called an information; which he did to the ſatisfaction of all unprejudiced perſons. He owned the writing the book, but ſaid that it was done with no ill intention; his deſign being only to lay theſe things before the next parliament, for their conſideration. Things were carried with ſo high an hand, that no council dared to plead for him, nor any body to appear in his behalf. It is ſuppoſed, upon good grounds, that poiſon was given to him in Newgate; for his hair and his ſkin came off in a diſtemper, which was attended with loathſom ſymptoms. But notwithſtanding a certificate was given under the hand of four phyſicians, and an affidavit made by an attorney, that his diſeaſe was deſperate, and it was unfit to bring him into court; yet nothing would ſerve biſhop Laud, but in the midſt of that deſperate diſorder, and great diſtreſs, the following ſentence was paſſed upon him, though abſent; and that court unanimouſly decreed, June 4, 1630,

'That Dr. Leighton ſhould be committed to the 'priſon of the Fleet for life, and pay a fine of '10,000l. (though they knew he was not worth ſo 'much) that the high commiſſion ſhould degrade 'him from his miniſtry, and that then he ſhould 'be brought to the pillory at Weſtminſter, while 'the court was ſitting, and be whipped; after

'whip-

'whipping, be ſet upon the pillory, and have one 'of his ears cut off, one ſide of his noſe ſlit, and 'be branded in the face; that then he ſhould be 'carried back to priſon, and after a few days, be 'pilloried again in Cheapſide, and be there like-'wiſe whipped, and have the other ſide of his noſe 'ſlit, and his other ear cut off, and then be ſhut 'up in cloſe priſon for the remainder of his life.' Biſhop Laud pulled off his cap when this horrible ſentence was pronounced, and gave God thanks for it.

Nov. 26, part of the ſentence was executed upon him, and that in a moſt tremendous manner, the hangman having been plied with ſtrong drink all the night before, and likewiſe threatened if he did not execute the ſentence in a cruel manner. When he came to the place of execution, beſides other torments, his hands were tied to a ſtake, where he received thirty-ſix ſtripes on his naked back with a triple cord, every laſh whereof brought away the fleſh. Then he was ſet in the pillory, in which he ſtood almoſt two hours in cold froſt and ſnow. While he was in the pillory, one of his ears was cut off, one of his noſtrils ſlit, and one cheek branded with a red-hot iron, with the letters S. S. (a ſower of ſedition.) After that, he was remanded to priſon; and the next cruel handling of him, we may take in the words of biſhop Laud, who hath recorded it in his diary, as well as the foregoing treatment. 'On that day ſe'nnight his ſores upon 'his back, ears, noſe, and face, being not yet 'cured, he was whipped again at the pillory in 'Cheapſide; and had the remainder of his ſentence 'executed upon him, by cutting off the other ear, 'ſlitting the other ſide of his noſe, and branding 'the other cheek.' Being by this terrible ſuffering rendered unable to walk, they would not ſuffer him to be carried back to the Fleet in a coach, but hur-

ried

ried him away by water. In the Fleet he went through much harſh and cruel uſage for the ſpace of eight years; ſo that when he was afterwards releaſed from it by the parliament, he could hardly walk, ſee, or hear. This, not to mention many other inſtances, which might be brought, may ſhew how very jealous the people ought to be, and how abſolutely neceſſary it is, that they ſhould preſerve unviolated in any ſhape whatever, that ſecurity of their perſons and property which they have a right to by Magna Charta, that no freeman may be apprehended or impriſoned, nor ſentence paſſed upon him, 'but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or 'by the law of the land.' If apprehenſions and impriſonments once come to be practiced in any other way than by the law of the land, and any other trial allowed of but by juries, giving their own verdict, as they ought to do, and not what is called a ſpecial verdict, every man will be ſubject to the like illegal impriſonment and inhuman treatment, as the unhappy Dr. Leighton experienced. The very thought of it ſhudders one's blood, and is ſufficient to keep awake every Engliſhman to preſerve that ineſtimable privilege of 'no ap-'prehenſion and commitment, but by the law of 'the land,' and 'of no trial but by jury,' or 'the 'lawful judgment of our peers.' Which God grant may be ſecured to our very lateſt poſterity.

A LOVER OF LIBERTY.

IN a late news-paper I read the following paragraph; 'the rev. Mr. Entick, Mr. Arthur 'Beardmore and his clerk, and meſſrs. Wilſon and 'Fell, have given notice to the earl of Halifax, in 'purſuance of the act of parliament of the 24th of 'the late king, that they ſhall bring their ſeveral 'actions againſt his lordſhip and the meſſengers for 'their

'their imprisonment, on account of the several 'numbers of the Monitor, concerning which no 'profecutions having been carried on, their several 'recognizances were, by the court of King's Bench, 'discharged the last day of last term.' Mr. printer, my heart leaped within me, my eyes swam in tears of joy at reading those glorious words; I felt all the exultation of being an Englishman. Where, cried I to my heart, where is the spot upon earth, except in these islands, in which the lowest of mankind is secure of justice, as much as the highest? Where else dare the poorest man send word to a minister that he intends to call him to account for tyranny and oppression? O Britannia, divine region of liberty, mayst thou ever be thus free! may the haughtiest grandee tremble to injure the meanest of thy sons; may thy beggars walk as secure from the clutches of power, as the nobleman in ermine! while thy laws are sacred, and justice raises her sword at the first cry of the poor, 'tis more glorious to want bread in the streets, than to be pampered in any other country. Gods! who can reflect a moment, and not be transported to be an Englishman! Think what astonishment the above paragraph would create in a Spaniard or a Frenchman! what! they would cry, an obscure wretch, a printer, a curate or his clerk, dare to give notice to a secretary of state, that they intend to call him to account! Is it possible? have you no bastile, no gallies, to punish such insolence? No, no, we have the full enjoyment of all the rights to which as men we are entitled. The good sense and the spirit of our ancestors told them that rank, birth, and fortune, make no difference in human nature. Englishmen, of former days, never conceived that accidents of birth or riches gave one man a right to injure another; they held that affluence and comforts were sufficient for lords; that it was not reasonable to give them power too over their fellow creatures. These wise law-givers

did

did not apprehend that poverty was not a ſufficient evil, without adding ſlavery to it. On the contrary, they ſecured to the poor the bleſſing of liberty, which can ſweeten every hardſhip. Yes, poor of England, though riches, honours, palaces, equipages, are not your's, LIBERTY is; O preſerve it inviolate! Loath, abhor, ſhun the wretches, who would wreſt the invaluable treaſure from you: mix not with Tories, thoſe apes of foreign ſlavery: drive them from your corporations and your clubs; refuſe them your votes at every election. If once they get the aſcendant, you will no longer have *the unparalleled privilege of ſending notice to a ſecretary of ſtate that you will proſecute him if he oppreſſes you.*

JOHN.

Fons etiam rivo dare nomen idoneus. HOR.

An old manuſcript fell into my hands the other day, in which I met with the following reflections.

'FAVOURITISM is of itſelf an unſuperable 'objection to the power of which it is the baſis, 'being the moſt odious title *any* perſon can have to 'be a miniſter in *any* country. So far is it from 'making up for the want of other precautions, 'that it would, alone, deſtroy the beſt. It will 'not be ſubmitted to in a free country, and has 'never failed to be the ruin of the favourite himſelf, at the ſame time that it is one of the moſt 'dangerous rocks a prince can touch. It tends to 'convulſe a ſtate; and the firmeſt governments 'have been ſhaken by its dreadful conſequences. 'As it attacks the ſovereign's regard to one man, 'it of courſe cools and may alienate the affection 'of other ſubjects. It engroſſes the royal confidence, and conſequently deprives the crown of

'the

'the aſſiſtance of able and faithful counſellors; 'none being ſuffered to continue in that poſt, or 'at leaſt to perform the functions of it, but ſuch as 'are ready to echo the ſentiments of the *favourite*. 'If any were to differ with him, it would only pro- 'duce perpetual jars and diſſention, and expoſe 'their opinions, however juſt and well founded, to 'contempt and rejection, as the *favourite*'s muſt 'always prevail. It converts the will of the prince 'into a mere copy of the *favourite*'s inclinations. 'The aſcendant is ſo ſtrong, that the prince does 'not know his own mind; he loſes his own thoughts 'among the impreſſions he is continually receiving 'from the *favourite*; and the better the diſpoſi- 'tions of the prince are, the evil is the greater, 'becauſe he will be the more diffident of his 'own judgment, though the beſt of the two, and 'entirely ſurrendered to that on which he has 'ſo ſtrong an reliance. FAVOURITISM monopo- 'lizes the favours of the crown to the *favourite*, 'his connections, dependents, and adherents, whoſe '*receiving* muſt be a very ſtrong preſumption of 'their *not deſerving* them. It expoſes to the effects 'of the *favourite*'s reſentment, all thoſe who have 'the ſpirit to reſiſt and oppoſe him, and all their 'friends, from the higheſt to the loweſt. The 'power of the crown is debaſed and perverted to 'be the inſtrument of this reſentment, in a manner 'inconſiſtent with the honour of majeſty, and dan- 'gerous to the peace and quiet of government. 'Every one is turned out of place in office who will 'not bow to the ſhrine of the *favourite*, that his re- 'ſentment may be gratified, and his ſycophants 'provided for. *Favouritiſm* is the natural parent 'of envy and jealouſy in the leading men of a coun- 'try; and their diſinclinations and averſions muſt 'neceſſarily ſpread through all orders, and to the 'remoteſt corner of the kingdom; the leaſt effect

'to

'to be expected from which, is an univerſal mur-
'mur and diſcontent. It obſcures the luſtre of the
'crown, and diminiſhes the royal dignity by ſetting
'up an idol, the falſe worſhip of which withdraws
'the veneration and reſpect due to the ſovereign.
'It raiſes a competitor for that honour and duty
'that ought to be ſacred to the perſon of majeſty.
'For the *favourite*, the baſe, the ſervile, and com-
'pliant, will pay their adulation, while thoſe who
'will not renounce their own dignity, retire from
'court, finding they cannot ſtand there upon that
'footing, which their rank and character, their loyalty
'and love of the king, entitle them to maintain.
'FAVOURITISM unkings the ſovereign, and, in
'reality, places a ſubject, more than probably one
'of the unworthieſt, upon the throne, into whoſe
'hand all the ſubſtantial power of the crown is put,
'and nothing but the ſhadow and trappings of roy-
'alty left to attend the ſcepter. The prince who is
'ruled by a *favourite*, is in chains of his own mak-
'ing; and the ſervitude is deſtructive of its own
'relief, as it excludes thoſe who might be able to
'knock the fetters off. FAVOURITISM gives the
'king a maſter inſtead of a ſervant; it makes the
'creature of his own power independent of him-
'ſelf; and raiſes a minion to an inglorious pre-
'eminence, which tends to put him above the
'laws, and beyond the reach of the juſtice of his
'country, to offend againſt which his ſituation en-
'courages him, being the moſt powerful protection
'againſt their effects. There never was a *favourite*
'who did not injure his country; and the vile friends
'he is able to make for himſelf, by the ſole diſpo-
'ſition of the royal favours, will adhere to him
'while his power continues; and, for their own
'ſakes, try to ſupport him againſt the cries of the
'people, while the injudicious *friendſhip* of the miſ-
'guided prince endeavours to cover him from the

'vengeance of an offended nation. This muſt pro-
'duce convulſions in the ſtate, and, if the king-
'dom is devoted to ſuch a fatal ſtroke, may un-
'hinge the very frame of the government. Who
'can ſay what may not be the conſequence of *fa-*
'*vouritiſm* deeply rooted, and obſtinately main-
'tained? There are none ſo bad, but examples of
'them are to be found in the hiſtory of England,
'which proves the above picture not to be ima-
'ginary or overſtretched. FAVOURITES have done
'more miſchief than the greateſt and beſt ſervices
'of the moſt able and faithful miniſters could re-
'pair, or the moſt zealous endeavours of the ho-
'neſteſt patriots prevent.' A. O.

Lord chief juſtice Pratt, and the common council of the city of London, vindicated from ſome abuſe thrown upon them in the miniſterial pamphlets.

WHEN an undiſtinguiſhing warrant was iſſued for ſeizing the authors, printers, and publiſhers, without caution, limitation, or reſtraint, and this unprecedented order not founded on any information on oath, but on meer vague ſuſpicions; when by this means, more than twenty innocent perſons were deprived of their liberty, and from which no perſon was ſecure: when theſe injured people, in juſtice to themſelves, and for the better ſecurity of our liberty in the future, ſought redreſs by legal and decent methods, it was then that the chief juſtice of the common pleas, by his impartiality, candor, and ability, by his faithfully doing his duty to the KING and the SUBJECTS, gained the high opinion and eſteem of all good men and friends to liberty. The common council, to ſhew their zeal in ſo CONSTITUTIONAL a cauſe, and their approbation of the upright, and able conduct of ſo excellent

excellent a judge, gave him their freedom: and deſired his picture might be added to thoſe worthy judges that ornament their Guild-hall. Can this be deemed faction? Can it be called a bad action to applaud merit? Or is there *a man* in the world, *ſo mean, ſo baſe*, as to think himſelf *injured* by the *juſt applauſe* given to *another?*

The public and private character of the chief juſtice of the common pleas, will equally ſtand the teſt; his zeal and affection for the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover, and the principles of the revolution, have NEVER been called IN QUESTION. If it was proved, that in point of privilege, he was wrong (and the better opinion ſeems to be he was right) yet, I ſay, if it was otherwiſe, he had the unanimous concurrence of his three very learned brothers, and of courſe, is not perſonally culpable; and if four out of twelve had declared, and two more were known to be of the ſame opinion, it will ſufficiently juſtify the determination. At the trials of the meſſengers for falſe impriſonment of the journeymen printers, he uſed his utmoſt endeavour to prevent exorbitant damages; and, it is certain, if he had not, they would have been much greater. In private life his character ſtands unimpeached, even by the malevolence of this period. In private friendſhip, and that nobleſt of human virtues, gratitude, it is confeſſedly above the generality of mankind; for he ſo far ſacrificed his private intereſt, as to refuſe the moſt lucrative office in his profeſſion when offered him, in preference to his friend and patron. His ability and integrity, when an advocate, are only equalled by his juſtice, candor, and legal knowledge, when in the high, and exalted ſtation of a chief juſtice. For the amiableneſs of his behaviour, as a judge and a gentleman, I appeal to every circuit he has gone, and to every perſon that has done buſineſs under him.

This is the able and amiable officer of the ſtate, who at preſent engages the attention of the malevolent, of the tools of power, of thoſe infamous wretched proſtitutes, who look, talk, and pretend to think, as their pay-maſters direct them; who abuſe the virtuous, and applaud the infamous, as their private intereſt dictate.

An anecdote much to the honour of the church.

THE moſt contemptible of the human ſpecies, are temporizers; wretches, who look, ſpeak, and act, in ſtrict conformity to the times; are rigid chriſtians, when well paid for it, and will deny their God for reward: whigs or tories; revolutioniſts or jacobites; turning like the well poiſed weathercock, with the leaſt gale of preferment; and whoſe prevailing principle, is ſubſervience to office. But if, among theſe miſcreants, there is a ſuperiority of infamy, it is to thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who proſtitute the pulpit to the private views and intrigues of a weak and wicked miniſtry. It is thoſe eccleſiaſtics, who inſtead of teaching their audience their duty to God and man, make their diſcourſes the vehicles of the baſeſt of ſtate doctrines, and the channel of abuſe of thoſe diſintereſted patriots, who prefer the real intereſt of their king and country to their own private emolument.

A few Sundays ago, I accidentally walked into one of the firſt places of worſhip in this metropolis, expecting to be inſtructed in my duty, but, to my great ſurpriſe, found that the preſent party feuds had excluded chriſtianity, and the whole attention of the preacher was employed in invalidating the merit of the oppoſition by abuſing an oppreſſed man, condemning him UNHEARD, and inſinuating, that his crimes entailed infamy on the whole party. He divided his diſcourſe into three parts; the firſt againſt

againſt blaſphemy; the ſecond on the heinouſneſs of inſulting the king; and the third on a more delicate point, with which the public could have little concern, that of his private behaviour to his wife.

That each of theſe is a great crime, I will readily allow; but in proportion to the enormity of the crimes, every honeſt man would be more than ordinary cautious of prejudicing mankind againſt a ſuppoſed criminal, who was ſoon to be brought to trial. The aſſize preacher at Oxford, who preached againſt parricide, the day the unfortunate Miſs Blandy was to be tried, ſo incenſed the people againſt the miſerable, unheard culprit, that innocent or guilty, ſhe was devoted to deſtruction, was univerſally cenſured by every man who regarded juſtice. It is a maxim in law, conſiſtent with the ſtricteſt juſtice and good ſenſe, that every perſon ſhould be ſuppoſed innocent till found otherwiſe by his peers; and a man muſt be void of chriſtianity, humanity, decency, and common regard to the laws of his country, who could endeavour to incenſe a body of people againſt a perſon, who was in a ſhort time to come before the tribunal of juſtice, and, perhaps, thoſe very people to be his judges.

But what a horrid aggravation muſt it be to the crimes of ſuch a time-ſerving preacher, if he knew that the perſon, he was for reward abuſing, was abſolutely innocent of the blaſphemy; that the work referred to was wrote by a ſon of the church; and that the whole crime of the perſon he proſtituted the pulpit to abuſe, was, keeping that, at the deſire of a deceaſed friend, which his regard to the living ought to have made him commit to the flames! keeping for the entertainment of a ſet of JEMMY twitchers, what the twitchers are making the inſtrument of his deſtruction.

The ſecond objection ſo artfully uſed to prejudice mankind againſt this perſon, whoſe zeal for liberty has made him ſuſpected of going indecent lengths in oppoſition to the ſervants of the crown, is a matter to be tried; and therefore, the contraſt, who is equally zealous for the royal prerogative, and the juſt liberties of the ſubject, will leave this to be debated before, and determined by, the proper judges, a free and impartial ENGLISH JURY.

The meanly taking an opportunity in a public pulpit to declaim againſt a man for private tranſactions, ſetting him in the moſt obnoxious light for his behaviour to his wife, when the preacher is intirely ignorant of the fact, and does not know whether the ſeparation was obtained by the intereſted ſchemes, and baſe intrigues of a few peeviſh, old, ill-natured relations, as is often the caſe, is what ill becomes a chriſtian preacher, a gentleman, a man of honour, or a man of common honeſty.

I own the preſent malevolence of the people in power to their opponents is a very alarming circumſtance; the little paultry arts made uſe of by their emiſſaries to prejudice mankind againſt thoſe who are ſuppoſed to be the champions of liberty, is what ought to put every friend of our conſtitution on his guard, not to give credit to what is reported, without being better ſupported than by the meer aſſertions of an intereſted party; who, with one hand, ſupport the moſt abandoned and profligate that ever diſgraced a free country, and with the other declaim againſt vice in an individual, whoſe principal crimes, and moſt ſuſpicious part of his character, is, being once the beloved friend and companion of theſe hypocritical wretches.

Whatever are the crimes of either party, I ſincerely wiſh they may be puniſhed with that proper and decent ſeverity that is conſiſtent with our laws; but

but it muſt give the greateſt pain to every man of integrity to ſee the laws ſtrained to puniſh one ſet of men, while another is tolerated and protected in crimes ten times more enormous.

To Mr. Kidgel, preacher of St. John's Berkeley ſquare, chaplain to the earl of March and Ruglin, rector of Horne in Surry, and AUTHOR OF A MALICIOUS NARRATIVE.

That I may not offend you by dropping a title which in great humility you have given yourſelf I will begin with:

Reverend ſir,

TO thoſe who are well acquainted with your prudence and turn of mind, it was no ſurpriſe to hear of your officiouſneſs, in diſcovering and bringing to light the 'ſcandalous, obſcene, and ex-'ceedingly profane libel,' about which you have made ſo much noiſe. Had you dropped this deſign too, as well as the other, which you ſay, "You 'had formed in your temerity,' it would have been in character of the rector of Horne, but not in character of Mr. Kidgel. But give me leave to tell you, that of all the tribe of ſneaking, ſelf-intereſted wretches, who are a diſgrace to mankind, a fawning, hypocritical, intriguing prieſt, is the moſt deſpicable. However, in my expoſtulations with your *reverence* about your narrative, I ſhall not repeat what others have already ſaid to you. They have laſhed you very ſufficiently for the part you have acted, as a gentleman, a good man, and a clergyman: the ſmart of whoſe laſhes you will feel, if I miſtake not, as long as you live; even if you ſhould gain your end with a miniſtry exceedingly ſe ſulous in rewarding merit. I ſhall now hold you out in another light, as a ſcholar; and if it has already ap-

peared to the world, that your zeal for preferment has out-run your *probity*, it may now perhaps appear, that your *learning* is ſuperficial; which to a man of yourſelf importance, and who deals ſo much in words, will be a diſcovery, I believe, not highly pleaſing.

Not to mention the impropriety of the epithet genuine to a narrative which is adulterated, I ſhould be glad to know, ſir, by what rule of language you give the appellation of a LIBEL to the eſſay on woman? Was you really ignorant of the meaning of the word LIBEL, or did you chuſe that appellation becauſe of the late frequent uſe of it, as a word which you imagined would catch the attention, and engage the prejudices of the public on your ſide? Whatever were your motives, I muſt inform you, that the eſſay on woman, by your own account, (for I know nothing more of it) is no LIBEL. 'A LIBEL is a malicious defamation of any 'perſon, expreſſed either in printing or writing, in 'ſigns or pictures, in order to aſperſe his reputa-'tion.' But where a writing inveighs againſt mankind (or if you pleaſe *womankind)* in general, though it may be ſcandalous, though it may be obſcene, and exceedingly profane, yet it is no LIBEL; and it has been agreed in the court of king's bench, 'that a 'writing full of obſcene ribaldry, *without reflection* 'upon *any perſon*, is not puniſhable at all by any 'proſecution at common law.' It is likewiſe neceſſary, in order to conſtitute a LIBEL, that it be *publiſhed* to the contumely of another perſon. Now, ſir, in neither of theſe caſes, does the eſſay on woman come up to the definition of a LIBEL. It is no invective againſt *a particular perſon:* and though it is printed, it was *never publiſhed*, nor intended ſo to be, as you very well know, notwithſtanding your pretended zeal, 'not to promote its impunity and ſuc-'ceſs by your unſeaſonable and paſſive ſilence.'

Indeed

Indeed the lawyers will tell you, and perhaps to your coſt too in Weſtminſter-hall, that you yourſelf, *reverend* ſir, have incurred the guilt of a malicious and infamous libel, by charging the writer of this work on a man who did not write it, *in order to aſperſe his reputation.* For though you 'deſire 'to be excuſed from an abſolute declaration who 'the author is,' yet you have given a deſcription which nobody can miſapprehend: and that, in the conſtruction of the courts of juſtice, is as properly a libel, as if it had expreſſed the whole name at large. What adds to your offence is, that you *know* this perſon was not the author, and that the poem was written by a worthy ſon of a worthy archbiſhop of Canterbury. But if the eſſay on woman ſhould be allowed to be a LIBEL (which with all your dexterity you can never prove it) the crime of its *publication* is not Mr Wilkes's, but Mr. Kidgel's: and if the exceedingly pious perſonage who complained of it, was to be impartial, you are in danger to be puniſhed for repeating any part of it; becauſe in the eye of the law, ſuch a repetition is an unlawful publication; 'and he who is only proved to have had 'a libel in his *cuſtody*, ſhall not be adjudged the 'publiſher of it.' The next time therefore that you uſe terms of art, my advice to you is, to know the meaning of them; and the next time your zeal goes beyond your knowledge, take care not to burn your fingers.

'Deliberately, and in a few words, I might aſk,' where was 'your honour,' where your 'veracity, 'and your good intention,' in repreſenting this work as intended for publication, when you knew in your own conſcience, that no ſuch thing was ever thought of; 'Was it actually poſſible, that in your curi-'oſity to know the origin of this poem,' you ſhould not have diſcovered, that it was written for the uſe of a certain SOCIETY, inſtituted and ſupported by a man

man placed and peeraged *; and at the ſame time that your zeal overflowed againſt a member of it, 'was it actually poſſible, you could innocently 'promote, by an unſeaſonable and paſſive ſilence,' the more horrid impiety, and impunity of the head; What ſuch a proceeding is, your own heart will tell you. 'Deliberately, and in a few words I 'might aſk again, for what one valuable conſidera-'tion upon earth, would any ſerious or good man 'proſtitute his profeſſion, his character, and his 'zeal, in a falſe and malicious LIBEL;' and, by a crime next to that of writing blaſphemies and obſcenity, making thoſe public, which would otherwiſe have remained unknown, and never heard of? But theſe are points which have been already handled by others; and in a manner which will raiſe the indignation of every GOOD man againſt you, and 'THE LOUDEST LAUGH OF HELL.'

The SPANIEL *and* CAT.

Addreſſed to the author of a genuine and ſuccinct narrative, *&c.*

A Cat having depoſited ſome impurities of nature in a place appropriated for the reception of the culinary duſt, a ſpaniel, as he was hunting for the offals of his right hon. maſter, rifled, with inſatiable curioſity, the indelicate repoſitory of grimalkin, which communicated a diſagreable odour to every room in the houſe.

'Thou dirtieſt of all puſſes, cries the ſagacious 'diſcoverer of the ſecret, how could you have the 'aſſurance to leave your filthineſs under this mag-'nificent roof, which is ſo exceedingly offenſive 'to my lord and the ladies? For this abominable inde-

'indecency, your catſhip will be inſtantly flung into 'the thames.'

Peace, Mr. Sycophant, replied the tabby delinquent, your dogſhip raiſed the hogoe. If it had not been for your impertinence, not a creature upon the face of the earth, except a few ſcavengers, would have ſmelt it.

Berkeley-ſquare, Nov. 28.

Hypocriſy detected.

WHEN good men aſſert the cauſe of religion, the world applauds their eminent virtue; but when men of profligate characters perſonate the virtuous, in order to perſecute an aſſociate in *vice*, for crimes they themſelves wallow in; every movement they make in that unnatural work, betrays the ſelfiſh deſign which influences their proceedings. Their actions are, like the guilty authors, replete with miſchief and hypocriſy.

The aſperſions thrown by their wicked conduct on religion, cannot ſuddenly be wiped off; and the miſchief thereby occaſioned, is not the leſs real that it cannot be more particularly deſcribed. No national religion can be more ſtrongly ſatirized, or more effectually ſapped, than by converting it into an engine of ſtate, or a coat of mail for faction to ſtrut in. Religion in the hand of faction, becomes a deſtroying ſword; which arms, with its double edge, the miniſterial oppreſſor; that he may more ſecurely cut, with that invincible weapon, the liberties of his country and the freedom of mankind. Oh, how unhappy is that people, where the name of religion is thus impreſſed into the ſervice of deſpotiſm; And when this appears to be the unfortunate ſtate of any kingdom, how ſtrong is the call to oppoſition for the ſake of preſerving at once the national religion and

and the national immunities? Nor is it difficult, when this happens, to unmaſk the hypocrite, and wreſt from him the poniard which he thus threatens to plunge into his country's boſom · the circumſtances attending every proſecution, afford the conſidering part of the world, ſufficient evidence to determine, whether zeal for religion, or ſelfiſh and cruel deſigns, are the true inducements that impel the pretended zealot to call for the vengeance of his country againſt one of his unhappy companions. Whenever we ſee a blaſphemer accuſing his boſom friend of crimes his own ſoul delights in, and at the ſame time know that the party accuſed is a ſpirited opponent of the faction in which the noble informer is engaged; it is then manifeſt that oppoſition is the real ground of the quarrel; blaſphemy and other ſuppoſed criminality, the pretence only; that deſtruction, not reformation, is the great end then purſued; that religion is, in that caſe, made uſe of as a ſtalking horſe; that her reſpectable name is abuſively compelled into the ſervice of cruelty: that the whole web of hypocriſy is the moſt barefaced impoſition that could be attempted on the good ſenſe of that people, whoſe religion is thus proſtituted to ſerve the baſeſt purpoſes of pride and revenge.

Could any body publiſh the private behaviour of theſe ſtate reprobates, their vilipending ſneers at that juſtice they thus abuſe, and ſecret railleries at that religion which they thus pervert, the world would then be ſenſible of the utmoſt extent of that miſery which muſt ſoon invelope the nation where ſuch perſons happen to rule.

One of this claſs, with an aſſurance peculiar to buffoons, pretends to laugh this nation out of all their anceſtors valued; their laws, their religion, their liberties, their importance, and their underſtanding. This doughty champion of tyranny and infidelity

infidelity, truſts to his miſerable talents in ridicule for gaining this notable victory over the good ſenſe of the people of this nation. To his proficiency in the art of deception, and his ſcottiſh maſter's pride, it is owing that ſo many attempts have been lately made to make us believe that we have ſeen what our forefathers never dreamed of, religion defended by blaſphemers, faith aſſerted by infidels.

THISTLE.

On trials by ſpecial juries.

SPECIAL juries having the liberties as well as properties of their fellow ſubjects, frequently at their diſpoſal, certainly the ſtricteſt impartiality ſhould be obſerved in fixing upon theſe particular juries. There ſeems the more neceſſity for ſo doing, as it is a late practice to try the parties whom the crown proſecutes, and particularly for libels, without permitting that ancient barrier of Engliſh liberty, a grand jury, to conſider what foundation there may be for ſuch proſecutions. The preſent method of chuſing or fixing upon ſpecial juries in the king's bench, where all criminal proſecutions for libels, &c. are commenced and tried, is in the following manner. The attorney for each party attends the maſter of the crown office, who, out of a book, kept by himſelf, produces forty-eight names of qualified perſons to be upon theſe juries; and after each attorney has ſtruck out twelve of theſe names, the firſt twelve who attend of the remaining twenty-four, are to be the jury. Now, can it be aſſerted, that it is impoſſible for a returning officer to produce the names of forty-eight perſons, the majority of whom may be under miniſterial or improper influence? If this cannot be ſaid to be impoſſible, and ſuch a caſe ſhould ever happen, what chance can the unfortunate party who is proſecuted have, but

but to be convicted, even upon the ſlighteſt preſence, when attacked and expoſed to the weight of miniſterial reſentment; and more eſpecially, if either he has no proper knowledge who the propoſed forty-eight jurymen are, or has it not in his power to object againſt as many of them as he ſhall judge neceſſary. It is apprehended, that one of the moſt equitable methods for fixing upon ſpecial juries would be; Firſt, that the power of ſtriking and impannelling, or returning theſe, as well as all other juries (except where the ſheriffs were parties, *and then the coroners might return them)* would be to inveſt the ſheriffs therewith; for they being annually appointed, there appears leſs danger of their being biaſſed, than inveſting any perſons with that power for life, or for any length of time. Secondly, that in a book kept by the ſheriffs, ſhould be annually inſerted, the names of all perſons qualified to ſerve on theſe juries. Thirdly, whenever this book was wanted for a trial, ſome indifferent perſon might promiſcuouſly take out a fixed number of names; none of them under the influence of the crown, for that ought to be a ſufficient objection in all crown proſecutions; and after each party had ſtruck off a particular ſtated number, the remainder ſhould be put into a balloting-box, and the firſt twelve names drawn ſhould be thoſe of the jurymen.

Were the perſons qualified to ſerve on all juries obliged to take their chance, and none of them permitted *(as is too often the caſe)* to get off, particularly by a fee to the ſummoning officer, it is preſumed there would not then be ſo much occaſion for taking the expenſive method of appointing ſpecial juries upon moſt kind of trials.

Was ſome ſuch method to be purſued in fixing, when neceſſary, upon ſpecial as well as other juries, and likewiſe was due care taken to prevent, as

as far as poſſible, intereſted perſons from being thereon; and particularly when the crown proſecutes, were none allowed to be jurymen who were any ways dependent upon the miniſtry; it is apprehended, there could not then be the leaſt doubt but that all parties, who deſired juſtice and right to take place, would be fully ſatisfied to have their cauſes determined by ſpecial or other juries thus appointed.

There ſeems to be no reaſon to doubt that the general appointment or return of proper perſons for all juries was originally within the ſheriffs juriſdiction, who themſelves, according to that learned author, BOHUN, *were at firſt all appointed by the people.* This power has been explained and enforced, by divers acts of parliament; and the parliament have likewiſe taken proper care that jurymen ſhould be men fit and eligible for that important truſt; in particular, the act of the ſecond of Charles II. obliges the ſheriffs to return none for jurors on the trials in the king's bench, common pleas, oyer and terminer, &c. except they have 20l. per annum freehold in the county. And in London, ſo long ſince as the 37 of Henry VIII. it was enacted by parliament, that the citizens in London worth 400 marks were to be impannelled and returned by the ſheriffs to paſs upon attaints.

It was formerly a conſtant practice, at London in particular, for criminal proſecutions never to be commenced, until the ſheriffs had firſt returned and impannelled a grand jury, to conſider what foundation there was for ſuch proſecutions; and then he ſummoned a petty jury to determine the merits of the caſe. The truth of this remark is explained by the hiſtory of the reign of king Charles II. for Maitland aſſerts, that in 1680, the citizens of London were put into a violent ferment at the proceedings of the court, by the acquittal of perſons tried for bad

bad deſigns; which brought them to a reſolution of chuſing ſuch ſheriffs as were in the intereſt of their country; and whom they could depend upon to return ſuch juries, as were ſincerely attached to the proteſtant intereſt. And he further adds, that in 1681, the citizens imagining that their lives, liberties and eſtates, chiefly depended on the integrity of their ſheriffs, they choſe Thomas Pilkington and Samuel Shute, Eſqrs. men in all reſpects qualified for ſo great a truſt. Rapin alſo, in page 724 of his ſecond volume, obſerves, that the ſaid Thomas Pilkington and Samuel Shute, who were whigs, being both choſen ſheriffs, in the room of Slingſby Bethel and Mr. Corniſh, the king, who wiſhed to be revenged on lord Shafteſbury, (*who then lived in Alderſgate-ſtreet*) granted a ſpecial commiſſion of oyer and terminer to ſit on the earl's trial; that the greateſt crime againſt him was an aſſociation found in his ſtudy againſt the king's enemies, the proteſtant religion, and their country. But notwithſtanding the hopes conceived by the court to be rid of their enemy, the grand jury, conſiſting of twenty-one principal citizens, returned the bill *ignoramus*. And he afterwards ſays, that Moore, the lord mayor, being ſupported by the privy council, prevailed partly by force, to have ſheriffs choſen of the king's party. This he obſerves was a triumph for the court, and that the earl of Shafteſbury was ſo ſenſible of it, that ſeeing himſelf likely to be deprived of the city of London's protection, he evaded the impending ſtorm by a retreat into Holland.

It may not be here improper to remark, that, notwithſtanding the pains taken by miniſterial tools and ſycophants, to degrade and revile the citizens of London, and to repreſent them as a factious and licentious ſet of people; yet it is a fact beyond contradiction, that they have never been wanting to

to ſupport the juſt conſtitutional prerogatives of the crown, as well as the legal privileges of the ſubject; and on many important occaſions have they exerted themſelves in defence of public liberty; and ſo far from being abetters of a party ſpirit, that it has been their conſtant invariable rule to oppoſe arbitrary principles and practices, which in many reigns have been too much exerciſed by every denomination of parties, when they had it in their power; for this glorious conduct have they frequently incurred the diſpleaſure, and when ever opportunity offered, have they experienced the weighty iron rod of corrupt power.

The hiſtory of the reign of Charles II. fully verifies this aſſertion; for one of the firſt inſtances after the court had ſecured ſheriffs at their devotion, was to get juries to ruin their fellow citizens; in particular alderman Pilkington, was by a jury fined 100,000l. for affronting the duke of York; alſo alderman Ward was, by another ſuch jury, convicted of perjury. And theſe juries were at this period ſo partial, that Maitland obſerves, they were fond of obliging the court, to the ruin of their fellow citizens, which occaſioned an hiſtorian to ſay, *that juries at* THAT TIME *were a reproach to religion and a ſcandal to the nation.* And not content with oppreſſing individuals, Rapin ſays, that after the court had got a lord mayor and ſheriffs at their devotion, they improved the advantage; and relying upon the magiſtrates compliance, reſolved to annul the charter of London. The fatal conſequence of this reſolution is too well remembered: the citizens were deprived of their whole rights and privileges; and what muſt always be expected to be the conſequence, the ancient privileges confirmed by *magna charta*, of every city and corporation in particular, and of the whole kingdom in general, ſhortly followed.

The court then became triumphantly arbitrary; and ſuch, alas! was the ficklenes of the times, that the court artfully found means to divide the people, ſo far as to form a conſiderable party on their ſide; and had not their intentions of bringing in popery, as well as arbitrary power, been afterwards quite manifeſt to the whole nation, it is more than probable that the Engliſh liberties would have never more been reſtored. But there is now great reaſon to hope, that the civil and religious rights of this kingdom, will never, by the ſupineneſs of its guardians, nor by the wickedneſs of deſigning men, be again brought ſo near the brink of total deſtruction. We have (thank God) a monarch upon the throne, bred up in a due reverence for our happy conſtitution. As a ſpecimen of his great regard thereto, almoſt at his firſt entrance upon his regal power, *he did, at the recommendation of a patriot miniſter*, nominate a chief juſtice, who, without partiality, muſt be eſteemed one of the greateſt ornaments to his profeſſion; one, who has thought it his duty to remind juries of their ancient dignity and authority; and one that with the moſt inflexible ſpirit of patriotiſm, has nobly aſſerted the doctrine, ſo diſagreeable to the friends of arbitrary power, but which has been maintained by lord Coke, as well as the moſt upright and learned of the profeſſion, THAT JURIES ARE JUDGES OF LAW AS WELL AS FACT, AND ARE NOT ACCOUNTABLE TO ANY BUT GOD ALONE FOR THEIR VERDICTS. We have ſtill a farther ſecurity for our liberties, as his majeſty's anceſtors were choſen for and have conſtantly defended that great charter of Engliſh liberty, reſtored at the glorious revolution; there conſequently cannot be the leaſt doubt of his majeſty's giving his royal countenance to every method or propoſal that a patriot legiſlature can deviſe, to preſerve our happy conſtitution pure and undefiled.

Therefore

Therefore, as trials by juries, which are ſaid to be coeval with the Engliſh government, and were, as Rapin obſerves, vol. 1. p. 95, *eſtabliſhed by that great and good king, Alfred, as a defence againſt the natural ſpirit of oppreſſion, which grew upon men in authority*, they muſt of conſequence be eſteemed a principal bulwark to this excellent conſtitution.

May, therefore, every poſſible method be taken to preſerve Engliſh juries free and independent from all undue influence to the lateſt period of time.

The judges oath and office.

THE king has, and always had, by his prerogative, a power of appointing the judges. The courts of juſtice are his courts, and the judges are his officers; but they are not to determine according to the will of the king, but according to the law of the land. The king, in his coronation oath, binds himſelf, 'not to ſell, deny, or defer 'juſtice to any.' As by his judges alone, he can diſpenſe law and juſtice among his ſubjects, the keeping or breaking of this oath depends on the uprightneſs and integrity of the judges he appoints. Hence king Edward III. obliged his judges to take an oath, to do equal and impartial juſtice; which oath, as it has ever ſince been in uſe, may be worthy to be inſerted at large.

'Ye ſhall ſwear, that well and lawfully ye ſhall 'ſerve our lord the king, and his people, in the 'office of juſtice; and that lawfully ye ſhall coun-'ſel the king in his buſineſs; and that ye ſhall not 'counſel, nor aſſent to any thing, which may turn 'him in damage or diſheriſon by any manner, way 'or colour; and that ye ſhall not know the damage 'or diſheriſon of him, whereof ye ſhall not cauſe 'him to be forewarned, by yourſelf or by other; 'and that ye ſhall do equal law, and execution of

 'right,

'right, to all his ſubjects, rich and poor, without 'having regard to any perſon; and that ye take not 'by yourſelf, or by other, privily nor apertly, gift, 'nor reward, of gold, nor ſilver, nor of any other 'thing, which may turn to your profit (unleſs it be 'meat or drink, and that of ſmall value) of any 'man, that ſhall have any plea, or proceſs, hanging 'before you, as long as the ſame proceſs ſhall be ſo 'hanging, nor after for the ſame cauſe; and that ye 'take no fee, as long as ye ſhall be juſtices, nor 'robes of any man, great or ſmall, but of the king 'himſelf; and that ye give advice or counſel to no 'man, great nor ſmall, in no caſe where the king is 'party. And in caſe that any, of what eſtate or con-'dition they be, come before you in your ſeſſions, 'with force and arms, or otherwiſe againſt the peace, 'or againſt the form of the ſtatute law thereof made, 'to diſturb the execution of the common law, or to 'menace the people, that they may not purſue the 'law, that ye ſhall cauſe their bodies to be arreſted 'and put in priſon; and in caſe they be ſuch, that ye 'cannot arreſt them, that ye certify the king of their 'names, and of their miſpriſion haſtily, ſo that he 'may thereof ordain a convenable remedy; and that 'ye, by yourſelf, nor by other, privily nor apertly, 'maintain any plea, or quarrel, hanging in the 'king's court, or elſewhere in the country; and 'that ye deny to no man common right by the 'king's letters, nor none other means, nor for none 'other cauſe; and in caſe any letters come to you 'contrary to the law, that ye do nothing by ſuch 'letters, but certify the king thereof, and proceed 'to execute the law, notwithſtanding the ſame 'letters; and that ye ſhall do and procure the pro-'fit of the king, and of his crown, with all things, 'where ye may reaſonably do the ſame. And in 'caſe ye be from henceforth found in default in any 'of the points aforeſaid, ye ſhall be at the king's 'will, of body, lands and goods, thereof to be

'done,

'done, as ſhall pleaſe him. As God you help and 'all ſaints.'

One might imagine the lives, liberties, and properties of the ſubject, were ſafe, when the king and his judges were thus bound to do equal and impartial juſtice: but the judges were to continue no longer in their office, than *durante bene placito*, during the king's pleaſure. This dependence of the judges upon the king has in many inſtances weakened the effect of their oath, and endangered the ſecurity of the ſubject. We find the judges, when aſked by king *Charles* the firſt, 'Whether he could not annul acts of parliament 'that were prejudicial to him?' replied, 'that the 'king was above the laws,' and in the ſame reign, they gave it as their opinion in writing 'that the 'king might by law levy ſhip-money on his ſub-'jects by his writs:' and in 1686, two years before the revolution, they were not aſhamed to declare, 'that the king had a power to diſpenſe with the 'laws.'

At the revolution, the nation ſaw the neceſſity of making the judges independent, for the honour of the crown, as the ſecurity of the people. It was not in view to abridge the prerogative of its power to appoint, but to reſtrain it from diſplacing the judges at will. By the act of the 12th of king *William* the third, it is enacted, 'that the judges 'commiſſions be made during their good beha-'viour, *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*.' Towards the cloſe of the reign of that excellent prince, the *late* king, 'whoſe memory is embalmed with the tears 'of Engliſhmen,' was added the judges ſalary, which they now enjoy, in order to render them as independent of the crown as poſſible. It is a glorious reflection, to us who ſee a patriot king on the throne, and ſuch upright judges on the bench; to think that a *Jefferies* cannot be ſcreened from juſtice, and

that a PRATT need not fear to give a juſt interpretation of the laws.

On the Liberty of the Preſs.

I EVER thought that the more any man endeavoured to exert himſelf for the liberty of the ſubject, the more he ſerved his prince, and the more he ſhewed his duty to *him*. The happineſs of a king can never be more great, than when his ſubjects enjoy a compleat content; and the ſubjects can never be contented when their liberties are any ways injured, attacked, or undermined. Whatever man adviſes his prince to take any one ſtep which borders upon contracting the eſtabliſhed privileges of the people, is a double traitor both to his ſovereign, and his fellow ſubjects, and aſſuredly ought to be diſcarded by the one, and abominated by the other.

Among the privileges of this country, the chiefeſt are, the liberty of the preſs, and the privilege of being tried by our peers; and whenever theſe two are loſt (which may God and all good men forbid) the name of a Briton will be deſpiſed as that of the moſt abject wretch breathing. The beſt things prove the worſt when once corrupted, and the greater the taſte of liberty hath been, the more heavy will the loſs of it be felt. I would not be underſtood to inſinuate we are in any danger of ſuch a loſs; no, quite the contrary: but it can never be unſeaſonable to warn my countrymen not to give way to the moſt diſtant attempts againſt ſuch invaluable bleſſings.

Any encroachment on the liberties of the preſs, if rightly conſidered, can never add to the real intereſt of either king or miniſter; by its freedom only, the prince may learn when the people are oppreſſed; when any ſtateſman (borrowing his ſovereign's

ſovereign's name to ſcreen his miſdeeds) does any act of injuſtice; and when any thing conducive to the people's further happineſs can be affected. That is the only way by which a ſubject's complaints can arrive to the royal ear, and by which truth can come to the knowledge of a king. In moſt countries, the monarch is ſurrounded with a number of men, whoſe private intereſts are to baniſh truth, and hinder any acceſs to the royal preſence, to thoſe who may inform him of the thoughts of his people, or the oppreſſions of his delegates. Conſequently, when that liberty is abridged, and nothing dare be printed but what hath received the ſanction of a ſtateſman imprimatur, the ſubject may be daringly oppreſſed, and they may be ſure no licence will be granted for publiſhing a detail of their wrongs; the miniſter will then boldly tell his maſter, that every thing goes on right, that the people are happy and contented, and the deceived monarch all the while lays under the imputation of having ordered whatever a miniſter has dared to do; and knows not that the multitude ſuffer, 'till an open defection proclaims what has been done.

As it is not the intereſt of the king, no more is it that of the good miniſter to reſtrain the preſs. No miniſter, however good, however great, however enlightened and capable, can be ſuppoſed to know the actions of all thoſe who act in the ſeveral departments of the ſtate at home, in the fleets and armies, the government of diſtant provinces, or in embaſſies abroad: the accounts ſent home by the parties themſelves, will moſt certainly be in their own favour, and without the preſs, no one will dare diſcover any miſmanagement; ſince, if inferior perſons, if their names are known, they may fall a victim to the power of thoſe accuſed; but by means of the preſs and public papers, a man may give ſuch intelligence as a good miniſter will be glad to

receive, and thereby, knowing the minds of the people, may act for the universal good.

On the other hand, since knowledge and experience are not confined to rank and fortune, a simple individual who hath not means of access to the great, may start a thought, which, if seconded by the power and wisdom of an able and honest statesman, may be productive of general good. Thus by means of the liberty of the press, the intelligence, the hints, and wise projects of a minister, may be greatly extended; truth will come unstopped to the sight of the king, and thence follow justice and benefit to the people.

But if these great advantages arise from the liberty of the press, whence then can it be supposed any one would ever wish to see it suppressed? I answer, solely through fear, and none but *bad men* can ever entertain that fear, none but *bad men* can dread an open disquisition of their conduct, since it is the good man's interest to be fully known, and the more his character is made public, the more glory accrues to himself, and the more emolument to his fellow subjects.

Since I have said thus much on the liberty of the press, lest any one should misconstrue my meaning, it will be somewhat necessary that I should declare what I mean by a liberty of the press.

I mean then, a full and uncontroverted liberty to *print*, (without seeking any permission) whatever a man ought justly to have liberty to *say*. This consequently will exclude all treason, all slanders which may be prejudicial to any honest man's life, character or fortune, all obscenity which may be corruptive of morals, and all impiety which may tend to subvert religion. All these exclusions are already made by our laws, and as no man can *say* those things with impunity, so no man ought to *print* them: but then indeed, these exclusions ought not to be explicit, and not tend to the adopting

ing INUENDOES, by which ſome ſtretching lawyers might even turn the holy ſcriptures into libels and ſlanders. As no man can or ought (by any authority whatever) be puniſhable for what he doth not know to be a crime, ſo no man ſhould have power, or be encouraged to conſtrue any word *ſpoken* or *printed*, as criminal, by any law criticiſm, but what are really and abſolutely ſuch; for if this is allowed, there muſt be a final ſtop put to any productions of the preſs, ſince the moſt innocent and moſt unmeaning words may be tortured into crimes.

The Tribune of the People.

On juries. By the ſame.

IF we reflect on the manner of trying not only civil but criminal cauſes, in the neighbouring countries, we ſhall have reaſon to rejoice that we inhabit this. In France, a man ſuſpected of a crime, is taken and committed to priſon, his proceſs (as they call it) is ordered to be carried on, witneſſes are interrogated out of his ſight, the depoſitions reduced to writing, and the criminal is examined on thoſe depoſitions; if he doth not confeſs his crime, perhaps the witneſſes are confronted with him; if he ſtill denies, he is put to the torture to extort a confeſſion; and though he may have ſtrength to reſiſt the moſt excruciating torments, yet, as the accuſers are generally believed before the accuſed, he is pronounced to be contumacious; and though the law cannot adjudge a man to death there, unleſs he confeſſes his crime, yet he is ſentenced to the gallies, and as ſoon as his mangled limbs have got any ſtrength, he is ſent thither to drag out a wretched life.

But here, on the contrary, my countrymen, let us rejoice, not only in the mildneſs but the equity of

of that law, which allows every man a trial by his equals; twelve impartial men are ſworn to diſcharge their conſciences between man and man; and a perſon can never ſuffer unjuſtly, unleſs a ſet of men, leagued together by perjury, deceive a jury, by ſwearing things that are falſe, with ſuch appearance of truth, that man, who can only judge by appearances, and can know the hearts of men only by their ſpeeches, cannot but ſuppoſe the accuſed to be guilty; yet, after all, ſuch is the difference of our mild laws, from thoſe of other nations, that the condemned have often here as many weeks before the execution of their ſentence, as they have hours in other countries; and thereby give time for an application to a ſovereign's mercy: thus mild are our criminal laws, and thus equitable is the manner of our trials; and that great palladium of Engliſh liberty can never be deſtroyed, without ſubverting the whole conſtitution; every attempt thereto is a manifeſt attack on liberty, and ought to be guarded againſt with the utmoſt intrepidity and caution.

In former reigns, attempts have been made to take away, or at leaſt render uſeleſs, this darling privilege: the ſtar-chamber was a moſt daring inſult, and laſted longer than almoſt could be believed; yet at laſt the genius of liberty rouſed her ſons, and it was forced to be aboliſhed. The next endeavour to overthrow our liberties, by means of what was intended to preſerve them, was, by packing of juries, not allowing the priſoner to make his legal challenges, and by brow-beating, terrifying, and ſtarving into compliance, ſuch juries as were not ſufficiently pliable to court judges. This was often practiſed in the reigns of Charles the ſecond, and James the ſecond. In thoſe days of oppreſſion, judges have been heard to tell a jury, you ſhall find ſuch a verdict, or you ſhall ſtarve

ſtarve for it; and even when they have reſiſted all corruptions, and braved all menaces, and done their duties, unawed by the frowns of power, they were ſeverely fined.

Such ſteps led on to the revolution, by which our liberties were once again ſecured, and O my fellow ſubjects! may we never ſee again that day that an Engliſh jury ſhall be aboliſhed; or what may be as bad, may be ordered by any judge whatever what verdict to find. May we never ſee the bench of juſtice profaned by any man, who can ſhow the leaſt partiality between criminal and accuſer, plaintiff or defendant. Should ever ſuch a man ariſe in future times, who (not conſidering he is the real counſellor of the accuſed or oppreſſed) ſhould be warped by any unmanly prejudices of either party, country, or religion; then may our poſterity remember they deſcended from free Britons, and boldly ſtand in the gap; remember they are JURYMEN, and give that verdict, they can anſwer in a place where no party, no country, no ſtateſman, no judge, no king, can oppreſs or puniſh for a ſtrict adherence to privilege and juſtice.

I cannot quit this ſubject without obſerving, that in all faults or infringements of the laws, which a man may or can commit, a man muſt be adjudged by his peers, except an infraction of the exciſe laws. In that court, they are accuſers, parties and judges altogether. I hope no bad uſe has been made of that almoſt boundleſs power; and I equally hope, that no man may be ſo unhappy as to put that power to a trial; yet ſince it is the only exemption of our greatly boaſted liberties, I cannot help looking upon every extenſion of exciſe power, as a ſtep towards aboliſhing juries.

Already moſt of the neceſſaries of life are exciſed, already the penal clauſes are ſo numerous, that a man muſt almoſt neceſſarily be at the expence of

ſome

ſome pounds, only to know whether he is guilty of a breach of the laws, or not. Already our manufactures are ſubject to the inſpection of a ſet of ſpies and informers, whoſe profit it is to find a fault, and who rejoice at eſpying even an error. Who knows what may one day happen? Who knows but debts may be exciſed, wills, letters of attorney, deeds of gift, leaſes, and all conveyances, may, in ſome future time, be made ſubject to that formidable tribunal; and, in fine, who knows but even felony may be exciſed; then adieu to juries, then adieu to liberty. A bad miniſter hath nothing to do then, but to be ſure of the commiſſioners; and woe be to any man bold enough to write or ſpeak in defence of his once free country, ſince future Empſoms, and future Dudleys, may then ariſe, whoſe arts could eaſily bring whoever is obnoxious to the miniſter, to an undeſerved puniſhment; and they could then, with impunity, commit the cruelleſt of all murders, and that under the maſk of juſtice, and in form of law.

The TRIBUNE'S ORATION *to the* PEOPLE.

Friends! countrymen! fellow-citizens!

I COULD wiſh that I had the fulleſt power of eloquence, to make what my heart feels to ſink deep into your minds; but, ſince nature hath denied me the force of a Demoſthenes or a Cicero, accept my artleſs endeavours for the general good.

It is believed by many, that the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS will be *attempted* to be taken away: it is therefore time to ſpeak; it is therefore proper that your TRIBUNE ſhould lay before you the *conſequences* that *muſt*, and *will*, naturally enſue from ſuch a ſtep. Some may *perhaps* ſay, that that fear is groundleſs; or, that the day may be far off.

To

To the firſt I anſwer, that the *liberties of the people* ſhould be like *Cæſar's wife*, not only *unſpotted*, but even *unſuſpected* of an attaint. To the latter, that though we were ſure (which we are far from being) that the *preſs* would not fall under the *power* of a licenſer till our tenth or twentieth generation, yet ſhould we not ſtand tame now, but tranſmit to lateſt *poſterity*, that they had anceſtors who ſtruggled to preſerve their children's freedom; and handed down their curſes upon the caitiff, who, by vilely attempting ſuch a *pernicious* ſcheme of tyranny, ſhould commit ſo daring a TREASON *againſt the* MAJESTY *of the* PEOPLE.

Reſtraint!—what reſtrictions would men have? Are there not *already* a number of laws which extend their *penal gripes* on every thing that *is*, that *can be deemed*, or even that *can be ſtrained* into *licentiouſneſs of the preſs*? What more can be wanted? Would they wiſh to bring again the times of cutting off the *hand* of a *Stubbs*, the *ears* and *noſe* of a *Leighton*, or the mercileſs treatment of a *Prynne*, a *Baſtwick*, &c. Are not *pillories*, *fines*, and *years of impriſonment*, deemed ſufficient reſtraints, but MORE muſt be attempted? Theſe the law is *already* poſſeſſed of; and can MORE be required? Can MORE be neceſſary? No, my countrymen! *already* the *preſs* hath *too many reſtrictions*: *already* the free diſcuſſion of many *important points* is much contracted: *already* the times are ſuch, that if an erroneous *ſtep* is taken by any overgrown *company*; if even one of the largeſt *proprietors* ſhould adviſe or animadvert in *print*, they will cry out, it is a reflection on the honourable or worſhipful board, and they will *proſecute* for it; though the South-Sea directors in 1720, and the memorable charitable corporation, ſtill remain freſh in the *public* memory; though diſtreſſed families yet mourn that fatal *period*; and the cries of the *priſoner*, the *widow*,

widow, and the *orphan*, join to brand thoſe *depredators* on the *public* with laſting infamy.

Already the treatment of the *poor*, the *perverſion* of the *poor's-rate* into tavern treats; the ſhameful neglect in cleanſing our ſtreets; the *miſapplication* of money; the granting licenſes to houſes of ill fame; *already*, I ſay, all theſe muſt paſs unnoticed, leſt Mr. Licenſer, Mr. Church-warden, Mr. Collector, Mr. Overſeer of the poor, or Mr. Scavenger, ſhould think he is reflected upon, and proſecute the divulger of his frauds and colluſions.

Already, my dear countrymen! things are ſo; and yet MORE reſtraints (it is ſaid) are wanted. It is ſaid that a *licenſer of the preſs* is intended to be again impoſed on us. But ſhould that ever happen, *then* adieu all freedom; *then* civil and religious liberty will be at an end.

Then, O my fellow-citizens! *oppreſſion* will ſtalk *bareface*d forth, and will drop entirely the veil with which ſhe now hides her ignominious head: *then* may be expected an arbitrary miniſtry, a venal ſenate, a corrupt magiſtracy, an ignorant, overbearing clergy; a defenceleſs navy, an enervated army, and a turbulent people: *then* ſhall we be forbid to utter our groans; for *then* THE LICENSING TOOL will refuſe his *imprimatur* to any complaint, until at laſt the long-ſtifled fire of reſentment for repeated wrongs, may burſt into a flame; which may deſtroy the licenſer and his employers.

On the rights of juries.

AMONGST other devices, to undermine the rights and power of juries, and render them inſignificant, there has an opinion been advanced, that they are only judges of fact, and are not at all to conſider the law; ſo that if a perſon be

be indicted for a fact, which really is no crime in itſelf by law, but is worked up by words of form, as treaſonably, ſeditiouſly, &c. if the fact be but proved to be done, though the wicked circumſtances do not appear, they ſhall be ſupplied by the law, which you are not to take notice of, but find the bill, or bring in the perſon guilty, and leave the conſideration of the caſe in law to the judges, whoſe buſineſs it is. Thus ſome people argue, but it is an apparent trap, at once to perjure ignorant juries, and render them ſo far from being of good uſe, as to be only tools of oppreſſion, to ruin and murder their innocent neighbours with the greater formality: for though it be true, that matter of fact is the moſt common and proper object of a jury's determination, and matter of law that of the judges, yet, as law ariſes out of, and is complicated with fact, it cannot but fall under the jury's conſideration.

Littleton, ſect. 368, teaches us, that the jury may, at their election, either take upon them the knowledge of the law, and determine both the fact and law themſelves, or elſe find the matter ſpecially, and leave it to the judges: It is by applying matter of fact and law together, and from their due conſideration of, and right judgment upon both, that a jury brings forth their verdict. Do we not ſee in moſt general iſſues, as upon not guilty pleaded in treſpaſs, breach of the peace, or felony, though it be matter in law, whether the party be a treſpaſſer, a breaker of the peace, or a felon, yet the jury do not find the fact of the caſe by itſelf, leaving the law to the court, but find the party guilty or not guilty generally; ſo that though they anſwer not the queſtion ſingly, what is law? yet they determine the law in all matters where iſſue is joined. Is it not every day's practice, when perſons are indicted for murder, the jury does not only

only find them guilty, or not guilty, but many times, upon hearing and weighing of circumſtances, brings them in either guilty of the murder, or elſe only of man-ſlaughter, per miſadventure, or *ſe defendendo*, as they ſee cauſe? Beſides, as juries have ever been veſted with ſuch power by law, ſo to exclude from or diſſeize them of the ſame, were utterly to defeat the end of their inſtitution. For then, if a perſon ſhould be indicted for doing any common innocent act, if it be but cloathed and diſguiſed in the indictment with the name of treaſon, or ſome other high crime, and proved by witneſſes to have been done by him, the jury, tho' ſatisfied in conſcience that the fact is not any ſuch offence as it is called, yet becauſe (according to this fond opinion) they have no power to judge of law, and the fact charged is fully proved, they ſhould at this rate be bound to find him guilty: and being ſo found, the judge may pronounce ſentence againſt him, for he finds him a convicted traitor, &c. by his peers: and ſo juries ſhould be made mere properties to do the drudgery, and bear the blame of unreaſonable proſecutions; but all this is abſurd, and abhorred by the wiſdom, juſtice, and mercy of our laws.

On trials by juries.

THE trial by juries of our peers in all caſes of indictments and informations, lying at the very root, and being one of the moſt fundamental principals of our preſent happy conſtitution; a conſtitution ſo happily conſtructed, as at the ſame time to preſerve the fixed prerogatives of the crown without the leaſt encroachment on the people; ſo nobly conteſted for by our anceſtors, and now ſo firmly rivetted in the minds of the inhabitants of this country,

country, that ſure I am, no proſpects, no offers, no gifts, would be capable to induce them, to deſert thoſe notions, principles, and maxims of liberty, which they have from their birth been taught to eſteem as congenial with the very exiſtence of Engliſhmen; and which is the admiration, the jealouſy and envy of foreigners. I ſay, trial by juries of our peers, being the touchſtone of our liberties, it well deſerves a few moments enquiry: 1ſt, upon what principles it is eſtabliſhed; and 2dly, what ſhould be the guiding rule of a jury's determination upon critical proſecutions. Now as to the firſt object of enquiry upon what principles this ineſtimable bleſſing of a trial by a jury of our peers, is eſtabliſhed. The leading principle, is undoubtedly to preſerve inviolable the liberty of every individual, that no man may be puniſhed till after a legal conviction, a conviction by twelve men to whom he can have no objection, and whoſe judgment cannot be ſuppoſed to be warped by any undue influence. This I take to be the leading principle. Again, it effectually removes any foundation of complaints, of injuſtice, arbitrary determination, ſiniſter view, perſonal pique, or any thing elſe, from the accuſed perſon. I ſay, it effectually removes any foundation of complaint, which certainly may with great reaſon be pleaded, where the power of determination is inveſted in one man, when he may magiſterially decide upon evidence on one ſide, without hearing what may be offered on the other ſide; when he may paſs judgment upon a preconception of the caſe; when family connection, or a thouſand other poſſible caſes, may influence him to paſs a wrong judgment. In ſuch a ſituation as this, there certainly would be the ſtrongeſt reaſon in the world, to object to the determination. In like manner ſuppoſe a power of determination, inveſted in a ſet of men, who from

ſituation, place, expectation, &c. have a viſible and apparent end to anſwer, either as to honour or lucrative advantage, in the condemnation of an accuſed perſon: Or ſuppoſe theſe men to act at the beck, or under the direction of a ſuperior, whoſe very exiſtence in office depends upon this condemnation, ſurely then no one could be found, ſo far loſt to all true notions of juſtice and equity, as to approve of ſuch a determination. So much for the firſt object of inquiry.—Now, as for the other part, what ſhould be the guiding rule of a jury's determination, upon criminal proſecutions, particularly in caſes of libels between the crown and the ſubject. Theſe are caſes which do not reſt altogether upon evidences. Here a jury has not only to cloſely attend to a complicated evidence, and which poſſibly after inveſtigation, they may be of opinion, is poſitive as to the matter of fact; but then (being moſt confeſſedly judges of law as well as fact) they have to attend to the foundation of the action. A man may be proſecuted for walking or riding on the king's highway, the moſt poſitive and concluſive evidence may be brought, as to the matter of fact; but I am ſure no jury that well conſiders the caſe, would find a perſon guilty for ſo doing. Only let us conſider a little the import of the word guilty: it certainly fixes the ſtigma of an offence upon the perſon againſt whom it is levelled, declares to the world, he has, (in their opinion) committed an action contrary to the laws of his country, and deſerving puniſhment accordingly. This idea alone, I ſhould imagine, would be ſufficient to determine a jury as to their verdict, when they are of opinion the foundation of the action is not criminal in itſelf. I ſhall cloſe what I have to ſay upon this ſubject, with making an obſervation or two, with regard to a libel, an offence ſo undetermined in itſelf, that the greateſt lawyers of our times (and who poſſibly are as knowing and

as

as well verſed in the intricacies of law, as any that ever filled the bench) are not agreed themſelves, what is, or is not, a libel. Now an action may be commenced againſt a perſon for the publication of a paper, which the proſecutor may be fully ſatisfied comes under the denomination of libel. I ſay, he may think ſo; others, with more juſtice on their ſide, may think the contrary. A caſe in ſuch a ſituation may be brought to a fair and open trial, when the particular circumſtances may be candidly debated on both ſides.—What is the jury to do? they are to find a verdict guilty or not guilty.——How are they to proceed? 1ſt, as to the point of publication, they are to conſider, whether the evidence is ſufficient to fix that; if it is not, there can be no doubt as to the verdict, that muſt be found, not guilty? If the publication is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by the evidence, the next object of examination is, whether it is, or is not a libel; whether it is, or is not, ſuch an action, that deſerves to be declared, by an honeſt and impartial jury, a criminal offence, a violation of the laws of their country, and of courſe liable to, and deſerving of, exemplary puniſhment. I ſay, this is the next object of examination, and if they ſhould be clearly of opinion, that the publication was of a nature as above deſcribed, they muſt, beyond all doubt, find a verdict as guilty. But on the other hand, if they ſhall be fully perſuaded in their own minds, that the publication, though bold in itſelf, and replete with nervous expreſſions, was no libel; was undeſerving of the appellation of a criminal offence, or a violation of the laws of their country; in that caſe, it muſt be equally clear to every impartial perſon, that they are bound by their oath, and by every conſcientious tie, to bring in their verdict, not guilty.—Now can it be poſſible for them to declare a perſon guilty, for an action, which in

their own minds, they think incurs no guilt.—Can the publication of an innocent performance, be termed guilt; if not, I ſay, let the ſtrength of evidence be ever ſo clear as to the publication of a performance, not in their opinion criminal, or coming ſtrictly under the denomination of a libel, they cannot, with decency, juſtice, or in conſcience bring in their verdict guilty.———Thus, I have flung out a few thoughts for more able pens to enlarge upon,

And am your moſt humble ſervant,

A SINCERE LOVER OF JUSTICE.

On the ſame.

THE executive part of our laws, is excellent; for nothing can ſo effectually ſecure to us our liberty and property, as juries, who are the ſole judges of facts, while the judges are ſtrictly bound to keep to the letter of the law, and affix the legal puniſhments, after the juries have found the crime. By which means the wicked endeavours of corrupt adminiſtrations, aided by temporizing judges, to enſlave the people or oppreſs individuals, have been for the moſt part fruſtrated.

As this is the baſis of our liberty, and as by theſe means we have for many centuries been enabled to baffle every attempt to deſtroy the juſtly-admired equilibrium between the crown and the people, by extending the prerogative, ſo it ſeems exceedingly ſurprizing, that at this day there ſhould be any inſtance, where the people are excluded from their juſt rights of determining the facts previous to a condemnation, which is abſolutely the caſe in the proceeding againſt a libel, and in any ſuppoſed offence againſt the exciſe.

When

When a perſon is proſecuted for a libel againſt the ſtate, it is always by information, which is undoubtedly an innovation in this conſtitution, being a ſubſtitute for an indictment in no reſpect conſiſtent with the ſpirit of our laws, and was unknown in this country, till the ſuppreſſion of the ſtar-chamber, when the officers of ſtate, thought it neceſſary to have ſome method of commencing proſecutions againſt the people without their immediate conſent, which is the caſe when indictments are to be found by the grand jury. An information filed by the attorney general, is without any previous motion of court: ſo that a proſecution againſt any perſon, or upon any account whatever, is commenced at pleaſure; though no ſentence can be obtained without a conviction by a jury; yet, when you conſider the ſtate doctrines relating to libels, which is, that the jury are not to enter into the merits of the paper, whether it does or does not contain the illegal matter laid in the information, but only to find the ſingle fact of the publication; I believe, it muſt appear to every rational man, that the jury, by theſe doctrines, are made mere cyphers; and that a man accuſed of writing a libel, is preſented to the court for puniſhment, without the opinion of his peers being taken on this offence, which is a groſs infringement of that valuable appendage to Engliſh liberty.

This, I apprehend, is an oppreſſive method of proceeding, that loudly calls for redreſs; for though every individual in the kingdom may be thoroughly ſatisfied with the preſent judges, yet it never was the intention of our laws to let the judges determine facts, but only to direct in points of law, and aſſiſt in digeſting evidence. The judges are ſtrictly bound to the letter of the law, in almoſt every caſe regarding the liberty of the ſubject, and the laws have affixed the puniſhments for each crime: but in this important affair of libels, on

which the liberty of the preſs ſo immediately depends, the puniſhment is in the breaſt of the court, to ſlit noſes, cut off ears, pillory, fine and impriſon.

That the crown cannot turn out judges to obtain particular ends at this time, as it did formerly, I am well apprized: but though the power of turning out the good is denied, yet no law ſecures us from having bad, corrupt, ignorant, or wicked tools of ſtate, appointed on any vacancy by death, reſignation or promotion: from which it is apparent, that no privilege of the ſubject ſhould be given up, even to theſe our excellent judges, leſt their ſucceſſors are not fit to be confided in.

From the high importance of the liberty of the preſs to this ſtate, I hope every juryman, in all future proſecutions, WILL EXERT HIS UNDOUBTED PRIVILEGE OF DETERMINING THE FACT. If any ſubject is guilty of writing libels, or ſedition, every good man muſt think himſelf happy to have an opportunity of preſenting him to puniſhment; but I hope he will always ſee with his OWN eyes, and not give a man up to DESTRUCTION, on the mere *ipſe dixit* of an attorney general.

Letter from Sir GEORGE YONGE, *Bart. member for Honiton in Devonſhire, to the portreve of Thetborough, relative to his conduct in parliament on the queſtion concerning general warrants, debated on the 14th of February*, 1764.

SIR,

YOU deſired to know from me the *truth* of many things which had been *aſſerted* concerning the great queſtion, which was agitated in parliament laſt February. The manner in which I will

will now ſtate to you the whole of that queſtion, will, I hope, juſtify the credit you give me. You will ſee by it, the reaſons which moved and determined me upon that occaſion.

There are three things to be conſidered with relation to the late proceedings concerning the iſſuing of general warrants. 1ſt, The manner of iſſuing and executing ſuch warrants. 2d, How far they can be juſtified in point of law. 3d, The propriety of the proceedings of the houſe of commons, upon the complaint made of a breach of privilege. With regard to the firſt head, (which I ſhall confine to the matter of fact) it appears, that lord Halifax, on the 25th of April 1763, iſſued a warrant to apprehend the authors, printers and publiſhers, of a ſeditious paper, intituled 'The North Briton, No. '45, to ſeize them, *together with their papers*, and 'bring them in ſafe cuſtody to be examined before 'him.' This warrant was granted not only without information upon oath, but without any information at all; (as appeared on the trial of the meſſengers) for it was directed to three meſſengers by the ſecretary of ſtate, to go to Mr. Carrington, (another meſſenger) in order to learn from him whom they were to *ſuſpect*, in what manner they ſhould proceed, and what perſons he would adviſe that they ſhould take up. They were informed by Mr. Carrington, that, from the information he had received, he was of opinion, that one Leach, and others, were the printers and publiſhers of this paper, and that he had been informed that one Mr. Wilkes, a perſon ſuppoſed to be the author of the North Briton, had been ſeen frequently in Leach's houſe of late, and that an old printer, whoſe name he did not mention to the meſſengers, had told him, that the ſaid Mr. Leach, was the printer of the ſaid paper. Upon this extraordinary information, the meſſengers thought fit to exerciſe

the diſcretionary powers, delegated to them by the ſecretary of ſtate, againſt Mr. Leach; entered the houſe, ſeized him and *all his papers*, and alſo all his ſervants, whom yet they never carried before lord Halifax, as directed by the warrant, but after twelve hours confinement in an alehouſe, diſcharged them. Leach was kept in confinement ſeveral days, and then releaſed.

On the 26th of April, lord Halifax iſſued another warrant in the ſame general form, whereby one *Balfe*, a printer, and one *Kearſly*, were taken into cuſtody. Upon the information of this *latter* perſon, Mr. Wilkes was apprehended on the 30th of April, by a *verbal order* given to the meſſengers: ſo that Mr. Wilkes was apprehended *without any warrant at all*; no other but that of the 26th of April having been iſſued, the execution of which againſt Balfe and Kearſly, was, or ought to be, the legal return of that warrant; and the information whereby Mr. Wilkes was apprehended being ſubſequent to that return, there remained properly no authority to apprehend Mr. Wilkes, but the *verbal order*. However, under this authority, Mr. Wilkes was ſeized, and Mr. Wood and Mr. Webb, with others, took poſſeſſion of his houſe, and carried away in a ſack *all his papers* that could be found.

Upon immediate application to the court of common pleas, a writ of *habeas corpus* was ordered. This the ſecretaries of ſtate were ſoon informed of; whereupon they ſhifted the cuſtody of the priſoner, and committed him to the Tower; ſo that the effect of that *habeas corpus* was eluded, and he was kept cloſe priſoner, debarred the uſe of pen and ink, and the ſight of his friends.—Thus much as to the matter of fact. How far theſe proceedings can be juſtified by the laws of this country, is the next conſideration.

It

It is univerſally agreed by all judges, by all the writers of the law, that a *general* warrant, not expreſſing the *name of the party* to be apprehended, is void in law; for it is leaving it to the arbitrary diſcretion of a common officer to arreſt perſons, and ſearch what houſes he thinks fit; and the ſeizure of *papers* has frequently been condemned as illegal. However, to juſtify the warrants iſſued by lord Halifax, the PRACTICE of the ſecretary of ſtate's office, has been mentioned and called an USAGE, and Mr. PITT's adminiſtration has been quoted to ſanctify ſuch proceedings. To this three anſwers may be given; firſt, That the *practice* is but modern, and but ill called *uſage*, taking its idea and riſe from the licenſing act, and the arbitrary days of Charles II. nor is the practice conſtant or uniform, for all the precedents differ. 2d, If uſage had been proved, it could not make that JUSTIFIABLE, which is ILLEGAL; for *uſage* in matters of law, that are doubtful, is a good expoſitor of the law; but *uſage* againſt law, is *oppreſſion*. 3d, Mr. PITT's adminiſtration affords no ſuch precedent; two warrants only appear iſſued by Mr. PITT, one for the ſeizure of certain perſons on board a ſhip going to France: the other for apprehending the count de St. Germain, a foreigner, and ſuppoſed to be a ſpy. Theſe were iſſued in the midſt of a war with France, not for libels, but as in caſes of high-treaſon, and the cauſe juſtified the proceeding. In like caſes, ſecretaries of ſtate have before this time iſſued general warrants. But the honour of being champions and defenders of a proceeding, which no lawyer in the kingdom dared ſay was LEGAL, ſeem reſerved for THE PRESENT INVASION OF OUR LIBERTIES. And as to the cloſe confinement in the Tower, it will be difficult to find a lawyer that will aſſert,

aſſert, that a man, upon a bare charge of a miſdemeanor, may be kept *cloſe priſoner*, and diſabled of the opportunity of obtaining *bail*, which, in caſe of a miſdemeanor, he was intitled to. I have ſhewn you therefore the manner of proceeding, and, I think, the illegality of it; the propriety of the proceedings of the houſe of commons upon this occaſion, remains to be determined.

I ſhall begin by obſerving, that the matter was firſt opened to the houſe upon GENERAL GROUNDS, ariſing out of the complaint which had been introduced againſt Mr. Wilkes in the beginning, and ſo purely for the honour and dignity of the houſe, and the rights of the ſubject, without the leaſt regard to individuals; that it was *by the direction of the houſe*, formed into a complaint againſt Mr. Wood, and Mr. Webb, and the meſſengers. In this manner it was received and examined into by the houſe. And here the juſtification of the gentlemen, againſt whom the complaint was formed, by order of the houſe, as a means to come at the legality of the warrant iſſued by lord Halifax, certainly depended upon a proof of the validity of it; and meſſrs. Webb and Wood, &c. could only be guilty, if the warrant was illegal. For this reaſon it was neceſſary to propoſe the following general queſtions: 'that a general warrant for ap-'prehending and ſeizing the author, printers, and 'publiſhers, of a ſeditious libel, together with 'their papers, is not warranted by law.' Yet when this queſtion was propoſed, (the matter of fact having been gone through) the conſideration of it was declined, in order to diſcharge the complaint againſt *Webb*, *Wood*, &c. previous to the examination into the legality of the warrant; upon what ground of reaſon, law or juſtice, is not eaſy to be conceived, there being ſuch a connection between the general warrant, and the perſon complained

plained of, that *the houſe had determined*, that nothing could ſeparate them in the beginning; nothing therefore could equal the inconſiſtency, firſt to diſcharge *the order of complaint*, and then, the next day, to go into the conſideration of the legality of the warrant. However, having done this, the queſtion was then altered, by adding theſe words, 'Although ſuch warrants have been iſſued 'according to the practice of office, and have fre-'quently been produced to the court of king's 'bench, and as far as appears to this h——, the 'validity thereof hath never been debated, but the 'parties have thereupon been bailed by the court.' The queſtion, thus altered, was then conſidered. The ILLEGALITY of the warrant was ASSERTED, and not DISPUTED; yet it was reſolved to put off coming to any reſolution upon this queſtion for four months, becauſe it was improper to give any opinion upon this matter, being a point of law that was then depending in the courts of juſtice, where the queſtion was *ſub judice*.

To this a full anſwer may be given; 1ſt, it has been the cuſtom, and a matter of attention in parliament, to declare upon theſe points. To prove this, many precedents of various kinds might be produced. I ſhall content myſelf with theſe:—when the crown was endeavouring to introduce a general exciſe, and the troubles in England, occaſioned thereby, were quickly followed by the Scotch invaſion, two Engliſh peers, the earl of Warwick and lord Brook being ſuſpected of holding correſpondence with the Scotch rebels, were, in time of privilege, apprehended by warrants from the ſecretaries of ſtate, their houſes entered and ſearched, *their papers ſeized*, and their pockets rifled. This produced a complaint in November 1640 againſt the ſecretaries of ſtate who iſſued, and the clerk of the council who executed, the warrants. On this occaſion,

occaſion, though the caſe was *not* a caſe of privilege, yet the warrant being *general*, and to ſeize *all papers*, was declared *illegal*, and the *illegality* of the proceeding, being againſt two members of parliament, was declared a *breach of privilege*. Satisfaction was then made to the two injured lords, and the clerk of the council firſt brought on his knees at the bar of the houſe of lords, and afterwards committed to priſon, Again, in 1680, Sir William Scroggs, lord chief juſtice of the king's bench, iſſued general warrants to ſeize ſuch ſeditious books, libels, and pamphlets, as the meſſengers of the preſs ſhould be informed of. Upon this the houſe of commons reſolved, that the warrants were arbitrary and *illegal*, and impeached the judge. Yet this caſe, though ſo highly reſented by the houſe, is plainly not ſo flagrant and offenſive as the warrants iſſued by lord Halifax. In 1692, a complaint was made by lord Marlborough, and others, of a breach of privilege, having been committed to the Tower, without information on oath, and of a diſcharge of bail being refuſed in time of privilege. On this occaſion *a bill* was propoſed to indemnify ſecretaries of ſtate for ſuch commitments in *treaſonable caſes*, and to limit their powers *by law*, but the houſe of commons refuſed to give any ſanction, any definition to ſuch powers, *even by* limiting them; but reſolved, that the powers being ILLEGAL, the ſecretaries of ſtate, exerciſing them at their PERIL, ſhould be juſtified only by the caſe.

Next, as to the trials depending in the courts below, the queſtion of the warrants has not yet come in *iſſue* before the court. In one trial only brought by Leach againſt the meſſengers, they defended themſelves under the warrant; the judge was of opinion, that the warrant was *illegal*; and the jury found, that though the warrant had been legal,

legal, the meſſengers had not proved their juſtification: ſo that the *fact* being found againſt them, as well as *the law*, no exception could lie as to the warrant. Mr. Wilkes's action againſt lord Halifax may bring the matter in queſtion; but privilege on the ſide of the ſecretary of ſtate, and inability on the ſide of Mr. Wilkes, have hitherto prevented the trial of this, and *may* for ever prevent bringing the matter before the court, ſo as to receive a judicial determination. It can therefore *ſcarcely* be alledged, that the matter *is* depending, and *ſub judice*. But ſurely if it *were*, the recollection of the enquiry into Mr. Wilkes's caſe, in the beginning of the ſeſſion, of the parliamentary reſolution, ſentence, and puniſhment of him, when the matter was *indiſputably* DEPENDING, and *ſub judice*, (an information being at the time filed againſt him in the court of king's bench, without a poſſibility in Mr. Wilkes to prevent the matter from coming to trial) muſt be ſufficient to determine the propriety of our coming to a reſolution upon this occaſion, although ſuits *were* depending in the courts of law.

It appears then, that a ſecretary of ſtate arming his meſſengers with extraordinary juriſdiction and powers, on the occaſion of a libel, directs them having no information himſelf, to *get* information, (from Mr. Carrington if they could) and to exerciſe theſe powers in ſuch a manner, and againſt ſuch perſons as their informer ſhould think fit to adviſe. By means of this power, which REGAL AUTHORITY itſelf could ſcarely delegate, (which I might have felt, and might have reached *you*, however diſtant or innocent) ſeveral of his majeſty's innocent ſubjects were oppreſſed; till at length the whole weight of this power, grown *impatient*, and *diſdaining* the trouble of a *ſecond* warrant, fell, by a *verbal order*, on Mr. Wilkes, a member of parliament.

ment. To which may be added, that unprecedented and presumptuous attempt, by which the operation of the HABEAS CORPUS act was *evaded*, and that great bulwark of our liberties rendered of no effect. In *such* a case, and in the course of *such* an enquiry, *originally introduced by the* CROWN, the house finding that such and such proceedings had happened, I could not consent; I am sure you would have thought me wanting to my country and to my duty, if I had approved of passing these things over in silence, without endeavouring to prevent them for the future, and without coming to a seasonable parliamentary resolution upon the question, leaving nothing to posterity, in the votes of the house, but what furnishes, from the nature of it, the only precedent, perhaps, upon record concerning this matter, in favour, as it certainly is *at present*, of the validity of such warrants. I have given you now, I hope, a satisfactory account of this great matter.

I am, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
GEORGE YONGE.

London,
April 24, 1764.

To Mr. Richard Northcote, *portreve of Honiton.*

On lord HALIFAX *standing out against the laws and in* CONTEMPT *of the king's courts of justice.*

'Liberty is the English subject's *prerogative*.'
DRYDEN.

NOTHING can give a man of unprejudiced observation so much reason to be dissatisfied with the constitution of this country, as that wanton and capricious interposition of prerogative on the part of the crown; which (it must be confessed) is in some cases sufficiently counteracted by the privilege

vilege of parliament, and liberty of the ſubject, but which at the ſame time in other caſes, and thoſe too of the laſt moment to the individual, we admit with implicit confidence, without limitation, and without appeal. Can ſuch admiſſion be countenanced by a conſtitution, where the rights of the crown, and thoſe of the people are ſo equally adjuſted, and where the extenſions of power attempted on either ſide, are ſo ſure to be reduced by the jealouſies of the other? I anſwer with diffidence and diſtinction: ſuch admiſſion is not countenanced by the ſpirit of our conſtitution, but *prima facie*, is in great meaſure connived at by the latter. For inſtance, lord Halifax has been ſummoned; has refuſed to appear; his goods have been diſtrained, and forfeited to a conſiderable amount. Thus far the law; thus far the wiſeſt and beſt judge that ever ſat upon the bench, my lord chief juſtice Pratt. But alas! mark the conſequence; the forfeiture above-mentioned is depoſited——Where?——is it veſted in that court of juſtice, which, as it holds in itſelf the indiſputable property of this affront, has at the ſame time ſome degree of right to hold in itſelf, and to apply with its own diſcretion to the ſecurity of a legal privilege ſuch forfeiture awarded, as it muſt have been by its own ſentence?——No—it is veſted in the right of prerogative. His preſent majeſty, (happily for us, and for Bolingbroke's induction from ſuch premiſes, which he applies with a great deal of good humour to every crowned head indiſcriminately, not to the perſon only, but to the name; happily, I ſay, for his argument, and our ſecurity) is a patriot king, not blindly attached to the intereſted views of a deſigning favorite, but jealous of every miniſterial encroachment upon the ſtability of the public weal, in which, and only which, his own conſtitutional rights, his own prerogative, his own credit, his own

own ſafety, are, and muſt be underſtood. But let us quit the truth for once, and by way of argumentative poſition, let us ſuppoſe a Stuart ſitting upon the throne. Shall ſuch a king then be empowered, by ſecret colluſion between the offender and himſelf, to deliver back the goods ſo forfeited in purſuance of a legal ſentence, but depoſited as they are, in his own coffers, and in conſequence ready at his hand, to the ſubject of ſuch diſtreſs the defendant himſelf——? Shall ſuch a king reſerve to his own perſon, in right of prerogative, a right to annull the purpoſes, at which, in this caſe, the law is pointed? I mean a neceſſity of the culprit's appearance in order to a trial: ſhall this eſſential privilege of legal proceſs be refuſed the plaintiff in the moſt momentary part of right and juſtice? Shall this refuſal meet with countenance from prerogative? Is ſuch prerogative inherent in the perſon of kings by right divine (let me ſift this caſuiſtry to the bottom) or is it a grant from the people? Are the rights, which ſuch a grant has veſted in the king's perſon, to ſet the claims of injured juſtice at defiance, or rather to corroborate, by the ſanction of their name, the privileges of the ſubject, as well as thoſe of the king? A power of diſtreſs has been claimed, and execution of ſuch diſtreſs has been awarded by courts of juſtice, time out of mind: ſuch a power was of the wiſeſt, as well as the earlieſt inſtitution. What caſe does it reach ſo properly as that of ſuits preferred againſt members of parliament, which can never admit the perſonal arreſt of the defendant? *nil fuit unquam ſic impar ſibi.* How contemptuouſly was privilege treated in Wilkes's caſe! How is it coaxed and ſtroaked, and clapped upon the back in the caſe of lord Halifax! But I aſk that noble lord's pardon for having aſſerted that he has refuſed to appear; I have juſt heared that he has engaged to appear.—

What

What time has he fixed upon for his appearance? Why juſt the time, when parliament will be ſitting, and no writ of ſummons can hold againſt his plea of privilege.——Is ſuch an engagement as this, which laughs at itſelf, to ſuſpend the execution of diſtreſs? Is law to be ſhuffled with, and judgment reduced to the neceſſity of action at a diſtant period of time, and at a time too, in which all its efforts to ſecure appearance, ſhould he at ſuch time recede from his verbal, or even written engagement, muſt be null and void?

'O my poor country, ſick with foreign blows,
'How wilt thou ſpeed when riot is thy care!'

BRUTUS.

For the ſatisfaction of the reader, it may not be amiſs to give a ſhort ſtate of the caſe between John Wilkes, *Eſq; and the Earl of* Halifax.

WILKES, Eſq; againſt the earl of Halifax and the three meſſengers, who executed the general warrant. Original was ſued out, teſted June 1, and returnable June 19, 1763; and the earl being ſummoned, caſt an eſſoign, which was adjourned till Nov. 18.——Then comes in privilege; which being at an end, and all the eſſoigns expired, a diſtringas was taken out, teſted May 9, 1764, returnable May 27.——The ſheriff returns 40s iſſues.——The earl does not appear.——The court directs 50l. iſſues.——An alias diſtringas is taken out, teſted May 30, and returnable June 18.——The ſheriff returns his iſſues.—The earl ſtill refuſes to appear.——The court orders 500l. iſſues.—A pluries diſtringas is taken out, teſted June 22, and returnable July 8.——In November (1764) Mr. Wilkes was outlawed; which was what the earl waited for; and here the affair dropt. The

laws were trampled upon to get at one individual; and again, trampled upon to ſcreen another.—— Was this juſtice?

The following are the letters which paſſed between Mr. Pitt, *(now lord Chatham) and Mr.* Allen, *on the ſubject of the Bath addreſs on the Peace.*

Hayes, June 2, 1763.

Dear Sir,

HAVING declined accompanying Sir John Seabright in preſenting the addreſs from Bath, tranſmitted to us jointly by the town clerk, I think it, on all accounts, indiſpenſibly neceſſary that I ſhould inform you of the reaſon of my conduct. The epithet of *adequate* given to the peace, contains a deſcription of the conditions of it, ſo repugnant to my unalterable opinion concerning many of them, and fully declared by me in parliament, that it was as impoſſible for me to obey the corporation's commands in preſenting their addreſs, as it was unexpected to receive ſuch a commiſſion. As to my opinion of the peace, I will only ſay that I formed it with ſincerity according to ſuch lights as my little experience and ſmall portion of underſtanding could afford me. This conviction muſt remain to myſelf the conſtant rule of my conduct; and I leave to others, with much deference to their better information, to follow their own judgment. Give me leave, my dear, good Sir, to deſire to convey, through you, to Mr. Mayor, and to the gentlemen of the corporation, theſe my free ſentiments; and with the juſteſt ſenſe of their paſt goodneſs towards me, plainly to confeſs that I perceive I am but ill qualified to form pretenſions to the future favour of gentlemen, who are come to think ſo differently from me, on matters of the higheſt impor-

importance to the national welfare. I am ever, with reſpectful and affectionate eſteem,

My dear Sir,

Your faithful friend,

and obliged humble ſervant,

Signed W. Pitt.

Lady Chatham joins with me in all compliments to the family of Prior Park.

To Ralph Allen, Eſq;

Prior Park, June 4, 1763.

My deareſt Sir,

IT is extremely painful to me to find by the letter which you was pleaſed to ſend to me the 2d of this month, that the word *adequate* in the Bath addreſs has been ſo very offenſive to you, as to hinder the ſincereſt and moſt zealous of your friends in the corporation from teſtifying for the future their great attachment to you.

Upon this occaſion, in juſtice to them, it is incumbent on me to acquaint you, that the exceptionable word does not reſt with them, but myſelf; who ſuddenly drew up that addreſs, to prevent their ſending of another, which the mayor brought to me, in terms that I could not concur in; copies of the two forms I have taken the liberty to ſend to you in the incloſed paper for your private peruſal; and Sir John Seabright having in his letter to Mr. Clutterbuck only acquainted him, that in your abſence in the country he delivered the addreſs, I ſhall decline executing of your commands to the corporation on this delicate point, unleſs you renew them, upon your peruſal of this letter, which for ſafety I have ſent by a meſſenger, and I beg your anſwer to it by him, who has orders to wait for it.

Permit me to ſay, that I have not the leaſt objection to, but, the higheſt regard and even veneration for your whole conduct; neither have I any apology to make for the expreſſion in which I am ſo unfortunate to differ from you. And with the utmoſt reſpect, affection, and gratitude, you will always find me to be,

My deareſt Sir,
Your moſt humble,
and obedient ſervant,
Signed R. ALLEN.

To the Right Hon.
Mr. Pitt.

The beſt wiſhes of this family always attend lady Chatham. R. A.

Hayes, June 5, 1763.

My dear Sir,

I AM ſorry that my letter of 2d inſt. ſhould give you uneaſineſs, and occaſion to you the trouble of ſending a meſſenger to Hayes. I deſire you to be aſſured, that few things can give me more real concern, than to find that my notions of the public good differ ſo widely from thoſe of the man, whoſe goodneſs of heart and private virtues I ſhall ever reſpect and love. I am not inſenſible to your kind motives for wiſhing to interpoſe time for ſecond thoughts; but knowing how much you approve an open and ingenuous proceeding, I truſt that you will ſee the unfitneſs of my concealing from my conſtituents the inſurmountable reaſons, which prevented my obeying their commands in preſenting an addreſs, containing a diſavowal of my opinion delivered in parliament relating to the peace. As their ſervant, I owe to theſe gentlemen an explanation of my conduct on this occaſion; and as a man

man not forgetful of the diſtinguiſhed honour of having been invited to repreſent them, I owe it, in gratitude, to them, not to think of embarraſſing and encumbering, for the future, friends to whom I have ſuch obligations; and who now view, with approbation, meaſures of an adminiſtration, founded on the ſubverſion of that ſyſtem which once procured me the countenance and favour of the city of Bath. On theſe plain grounds, very coolly weighed, I will venture to beg again that my equitable good friend will be ſo good to convey to Mr. mayor and the gentlemen of the corporation my ſentiments, as contained in my letter of the 2d inſtant.

I am ever, with unchanging ſentiments of reſpect and affection,

My dear Sir,

Moſt faithfully yours,

W. PITT.

Prior Park, June 9, 1763.

My deareſt Sir,

WITH the greateſt anxiety and concern I have, in obedience to your poſitive and repeated commands, executed the moſt painful commiſſion that ever I received.

Upon this diſagreable occaſion give me leave juſt to ſay, that however different our abilities may be, it is the duty of every honeſt man, after he has made the ſtricteſt enquiry, to act purſuant to the light which the ſupreme being has been pleaſed to diſpenſe to him; and this being the rule that I am perſuaded we both govern ourſelves by, I ſhall take the liberty now only to add, that it is impoſſible for any perſon to retain higher ſentiments of your late glorious adminiſtration than I do, nor can

be with truer fidelity, zeal, affection, and reſpect, than I have been, ſtill am, and always ſhall be,

My deareſt Sir,

To the Right Hon. Your moſt humble,

Mr. Pitt. and moſt obedient ſervant,

Signed R. ALLEN.

The beſt wiſhes of this family wait upon lady Chatham.

Remarks on the preceding letter.

I Cannot forbear taking notice of that arrogant letter of Mr. Pitt's to the corporation of B. wherein, amongſt many other abſurdities, he not only ſays, that he can never think of repreſenting that city in parliament again, on account of its having, like many other loyal ones, addreſſed his majeſty on the peace: a peace as he ſays he warmly oppoſed in parliament; but likewiſe writes in a ſtile, as though he thought he did his conſtituents great honour in repreſenting them. Let any of his friends or followers, if they can, deny, that the preſent treaty of peace is more advantageous to Great Britain, than that which he, *infallible* as he ſeems to think himſelf, would have concluded when in power: how inconſiſtent has his conduct been of late! He may now indeed be juſtly eſteemed what a certain colonel, now deputy governor of Minorca, called him in a certain honourable houſe: he now truly, laying patriotiſm aſide, proves himſelf an incendiary, and an heap of contradictions.

An Impartial Spectator.

Reply

Reply to the above remarks.

I CANNOT forbear taking notice of that arrogant, but filly and impertinent *letter of Mr. An Impartial Spectator*, as he moſt falſely calls himſelf, publiſhed in your paper of this day; *wherein he ſays* nothing but *abſurdities* and equivocations, which detect and confute themſelves. I do not wonder that he and thoſe who pay for the ſquibs of his hired *impartiality* are vexed that Mr. P. is ſo INDEPENDENT that he can tell his conſtituents he will not repreſent them again. How many of thoſe who gave a venal vote of approbation of the peace he *warmly oppoſed* dare hold that language? Even the firſt lord of the treaſury has, on occaſion of changes of office made to accommodate his vacillant timidity, and reward his ſervile compliance, been thrice re-elected in one year, for a borough which would not have choſen him once, if a generous brother had not (with a noble contempt of his experienced ingratitude, and ſtrong feelings of the affection he had forfeited, yielded to the ſupplications he was mean enough to renew; and reſpect to the decency to the king's ſervice, from which he himſelf ſtood expelled, for his ſpirited oppoſition to the tyranny of a *favourite*, who was deſtroying his country that he might enſlave it; as well as from the requeſt of their common and great ally who was in the ſame ſituation, but could not be provoked to withhold his earneſt ſolicitations, which were as unmerited as the favour they obtained) conſented that he ſo often ſhould offer his ſervice to the corporation where he could not make a vote, as the only way he had to avoid the diſgrace of being forced, when in the higheſt employment in the kingdom, to *beg* a ſeat in parliament from thoſe

whom he had before ſuffered to tread upon his puſillanimity, when he was ſacrificing the ties of nature, and the bonds of obligation, with the duties of patriotiſm, to ſupport the deſpotiſm of their ambition. How *many* are there of thoſe *loyal cities* of which your correſpondent ſpeaks, that have addreſſed his majeſty on the peace (that is, have, like the corporation of B. given the fictitious authentication of their ſeal to an addreſs deviſed or dictated by one man, perhaps ſome *ignorant* but *fortunate* tool of adminiſtration*) which, inſtead of *freely* chuſing an independent repreſentative, to maintain the

* The ſeal of the borough of W——, was put to an addreſs without the knowledge of more than three members of the corporation, the reſt diſavowing the felonious act when diſcovered. Addreſſes have been preſented from counties which never met to conſider of them, with ſubſcriptions mendicated from houſe to houſe of ſuch as could be prevailed upon to ſign them. 'Others have been ſurreptitiouſly procured from packed aſſemblies, to which thoſe only were ſecretly invited whoſe ſubſerviency to a job was ſecured, and oppoſed by the others accidentally preſent. Some have been ſigned in the name of the whole, by one perſon, to whom it was referred to compoſe the addreſs as he pleaſed, without ſo much as ſhowing it to thoſe who delegated to him that extraordinary power. Such facts tranſpire by chance; but the true hiſtory of the ways and means of modern addreſſing would be a work not leſs curious than inſtructive. Quere, what is the intrinſic value of ſuch addreſſes, as being the voice of the countries from which they come? Is this informing the crown of the true ſenſe of the PEOPLE, taken in a candid and conſtitutional manner; or is it buoying up the power of a contemptible adminiſtration, whoſe credit and popularity are alike low, by impoſing on the king the ſuppoſitious fruit of miniſterial influence for the genuine ſentiments of honeſt and enlightened patriots? Are not the negative reſolutions of the city of London, and the counties of York and Surry, made in oppoſition to the moſt ſtrenuous efforts of power, and the moſt ſubtle arts of influence, upon fair trial, and full deliberation, of more importance than hundreds of approbations, *begged*, *bought*, *procured*, and *compelled*, in the manner practiſed of late? Let as many as *can*, of thoſe who voted to approve the peace, tell their conſtituents they did it *not* according to their *fears*,

the true intereſt of their country, do not ſell to the higheſt bidder a capacity of carrying to market the honour of the crown, the rights of the people, and the glory of the nation? It is, to be ſure, a great pity that Mr. Pitt ſhould *write in a ſtile* that is offenſive to this *autocritic*, who takes upon him to pronounce upon things with a very ſelf-confident air of importance, notwithſtanding the reproof, which, with no ſmall degree of inſolence, he preſumes to adminiſter to the pretenſions of *infallibility* that he affects to impute to one much beyond the ſphere of his aſpiring judgment: but certainly Mr P. muſt have been unreaſonably ſelf-denied, or have forgot the true dignity of character with which his country has deſervedly ennobled him, if he had deſcended ſo far as to write in any other ſtile than that he did uſe (if it were fairly repreſented) to even the reſpectable corporation of Bath, which receives a great addition of luſtre from its lodging all its active powers, and all its faculties of acute diſcernment in the ſole perſon of the great Mr. Allen. Mr. pretended *Impartial*, has learned his notions of *honour* in a ſchool where merit did not bear the palm, if he does not think it would

expectations, or *h—bes*; and by comparing their number with thoſe who do ſay, and can with truth ſay, as Mr. George Onſlow, who is truly honourable without the poſt he was too worthy to be ſuffered to enjoy, has done, in the face of his conſtituents and in defiance of corruption and tyranny, that he voted according to his conſcience, and in ſo doing brought upon himſelf miniſterial vengeance, the publie will ſee upon what ſide the virtuous and laudable majority was. The fruits of the peace, if they yet continue without infraction, or ſhall remain ſo as long as to ſee the *pacta conventa* of the definitive treaty carried into execution, will be a more inconteſtable proof of the judgment and integrity of thoſe who made and approved, or of thoſe who oppoſed and condemned it, than the falſe adulation of addreſſes, as venal, and deſpicable, as the corruption, and incapacity, of thoſe who ſolicit and procure them, is criminal and contemptible in the eyes of the ſound part of the nation, which nauſeates the ſtench of the rotten perfume.

would be an honour to any corporation in England, to be repreſented by the man, who, by the unanimous voice of the commonwealth, was called upon to ſteer the helm of a ſtaggering ſtate, and did, by the aſtoniſhing energy of his ſpirit, and the unparalled ſuperiority of his talents for government, *ſave* his *country*; the unexampled reputation of which, acquired under his conduct, will add to the juſt tribute of praiſe already beſtowed both by *king* and *people*, a monument more durable than braſs or marble, to perpetuate the fame of his glorious and *uncorrupt* adminiſtration, in the *faithful* page of an almoſt *incredible* hiſtory, that future ages will read, with grateful admiration, of his virtue and abilities; and with due reſentment againſt the rotting memory of the parricides who ſacrificed the immortal work of his hands to an infamous luſt for the power he diſdained to hold longer than he could employ it effectually to humble the enemies, and ſecure the intereſt of the nations he had delivered from ruin and deſpair. *Let any of the* deceived and ſeduced, or corrupted *friends or followers* of thoſe who pay this *Pſeudo Spectator* who writes this to you, Mr. Printer, *if they can*, demonſtrate, againſt the unbiaſſed conviction, expreſſed from all corners of the kingdom, and the irrefragable proofs and arguments of the writings publiſhed, pending the negociations, what the miniſterial ſcribblers *now* pretend to aſſert, while others, with good reaſon deny it, that the late treaty of peace (which the nonſenſe of this correſpondent, who ſays he is your conſtant reader, calls the *preſent*, as if it was not yet finiſhed, or becauſe perhaps it is already annulled by infraction) is *more advantageous to Great Britain*, and that which he, who, to the writer's own reproach only, is contumeliouſly ſaid *to think himſelf infallible*, but who proved himſelf to be among the *leaſt fallible* politicians, and the moſt honeſt ſtateſmen that have adorned

adorned this or any country, *would it is said have concluded*, when in power. Only let thoſe who authorize themſelves to ſit in judgment upon ſo important a queſtion, produce more indiſputable credentials of their ſkill to decide, than have yet appeared on that ſide, and lay before the world the evidence upon which they ground their determination, without the diſguiſe which the weakneſs of the cauſe has hitherto obliged ſuch *undertakers* to uſe: and let them, above all, be honeſt enough to take into the account the charge of circumſtances between the two periods of time; the additional burden and expence England had incurred in her own juſt and neceſſary defence; and the further means of doing juſtice to herſelf, which the reluctant continuation of the war had, at a vaſt expence of blood and treaſure, put into her hands, by the miraculous interpoſition of providence ſuſpending the ordinary courſe of nature, or an intemperate climate, to correct the blunder of procraſtinating councils, which muſt otherwiſe have proved fatal to the deſign, and ſeconding the heroic efforts of invincible bravery, in an army ſuffering the ſevereſt hardſhips, and pouring out their lives to make acquiſitions, which thoſe who ſent them to the butchery, were in the inſtant negotiating away upon the moſt inadequate conditions.

This *Spectator faſtidioſus & ſibi moleſtus*, in a vain exclamation, aſks, *how inconſiſtent has his* (i. e. Mr. P—'s) *conduct been of late!* But the truly concerned patriot-beholders admire the conſiſtency and moderation of the renowned citizen, who has been venerably illuſtrious in a private ſtation, ever ſince he was driven from the charge, which has been worſe than vacant from the time it was taken from him. Like another Roman, he has been retired at his plough; and when in the ſenate, he has oppoſed the enemies of their country alike as of himſelf,

ſelf, with nothing but better council than any they could give, and too good for them to follow, tho' liſtened to with admiration and applauſe by all but thoſe, to whom it was a mirror to ſhew their own imbecility. Whatever a certain colonel, who your correſpondent *ſays is now deputy-governor of Minorca* (which muſt be a miſtake, as the gentleman in that office never ſat in the place referred to, and probably means another colonel, lately appointed governor of a caſtle in the North, as a reward for *acting* the *hurtleſs* bully on a particular occaſion) whatever this colonel *called* Mr. P— in a certain honourable houſe, which was ſo diſguſted with the indecency of his firſt *cut* of ſcurrility, that the ſecond attempt was drowned in an univerſal cough and ſhuffle of the feet; the admirers of that great man will leave the proficients in Billingſgate to *call names*, which thoſe who employ them deſerve; and regard his actions, which ſtamp a character as far beyond the reach of ſuch bablers, as the moon is above the barking of the little cur, being *now indeed juſtly eſteemed* one of the firſt men of the age: *he now truly* adheres to *patriotiſm*, which a ſucceeding and opponent miniſter cannot be ſaid to *lay aſide*, only becauſe he never took it up; and continues to *prove* himſelf, inſtead of an *incendiary*, the wonderful artiſt to extinguiſh the fire that devours his country, and a very conſtellation of virtues and accompliſhments; while it is evident beyond diſpute, that the unpopular *favourite*, who envies the greatneſs he cannot rival, is the fire-brand which kindled the raging flame, and is in truth a bundle of abſurdities, though he cannot be called *an heap of contradictions*, not having ever done any good to contraſt the miſchief the nation has ſuffered by him, which is a merit Mr. *Impartial Spectator*'s own figure does not deny to Mr. P—, amidſt all the fury of his impotent malice.

TALLIO.

Vindi-

Vindication of the peace propoſed by Mr. Pitt.

——— fuit hæc ſapientia quondam,
Publica privatis ſecernere, ſacra profanis.
Hor.

THE effects of actions demonſtrate their tendency; but it is the intention and deſign of them that mark the character, and prove the ſpirit of the agent. The more cloſely the conduct of the miniſter, who *ſtill* continues to *act*, though not to *appear* as viſibly as before he reſigned his office, is examined, the reſult will be more firmly to convince the impartial obſerver, that the *principle* of his adminiſtration was a determined purpoſe to make peace at any rate. He ſaw it was the only *chance* he had of ſecuring to himſelf the abſolute domination over this country, to which he aſpired; and which, it is well known, he had projected, before the commencement of the preſent reign unlocked the priſon of his ambition, that had been working deep under-ground, when it could not act above-board. It has indeed been pretended that he was forced to take the reins of government into his hands, to do the kind office to the nation, which no other would undertake, of putting an end to a bloody and conſuming war; and that he even ſtipulated with the —— for leave to retire as ſoon as he ſhould have executed that generous and arduous enterprize, for the ſalvation of a ſtate *ruined with ſucceſſes*. Of this, however, we heard nothing, till the involuntary abdication *ſeemed* to take place; when it was circulated with all the exactneſs of written orders from a commander in chief, by the buſy emiſſaries of the retired leader; and every ſign and appearance attending the riſe and operations, and even the ſurrender of the power that was interred

terred with as great *ceremony*, and no more *reality*, than nuns are when they take the *veil*, muſt, upon the ſlighteſt reflection, have convinced thoſe who knew the leaſt of the ſchemes that had been meditated by the *favourite* before his viſible elevation, that the *miniſter* was but *bid* when he appeared to fall; and that his influence only ſtepped *behind* inſtead of giving way. Like one *trained to the theatre*, the proud *ſimular*, mimicking the comelineſs of dying for his country, concluded the *Patria-Tragedy* by *feigning* to expire upon the *ſtage*, but *acted* the ſlain *hero* ſo ill as to diſcover the motions of the living *Cadaver* even before the *curtain* was dropt. The wounds which he did *really* feel, received in a ſharp engagement, and not alleviated by a miſerable victory, ripened the reluctant purpoſe of putting an end to his *public* miniſtry, as the only means left of enjoying the fruit of his *ſecret* credit: and, if any thing was wanting to conſummate the character of his adminiſtration, he finiſhed it with a ſolemn ſacrifice of honour and veracity offered up by a w——man, to atone for the folly and imprudence of a weak miniſter*.

A good peace was the greateſt bleſſing the nation could have deſired, and a legitimate ſhare in making it, an honour unworthy of no ambition: but to ſupplant the patriot and popular miniſter, who had the beſt title and the fitteſt capacity to complete the glory of the war he had ſo happily conducted, in order to raiſe a pillar of fame upon his *borrowed* foundation, was a meanneſs incident to pride, and

* *Quere.* Who aſſured a certain great aſſembly, upon his honour, that it was a *factious lye*, that ever he had promiſed his endeavours to procure a repeal of the cyder act, if the city of London would agree not to petition the king againſt paſſing it; a fact eſtabliſhed to the ſatisfaction of every body, by the enquiry made in the Common Council, which clearly ſhewed who was the *lyer*!

and inconſiſtent with merit. To conclude an *inadequate* peace, on purpoſe to ſuperſede unrivalled *talents for war* (which envious detraction itſelf allows to the induſtrious ſtateſman who was thrown out of the ſervice of his country when in poſſeſſion of its higheſt confidence and favour, merited by the wiſe counſels, ſpirited operations, diſintereſted conduct, and incorrupted purity of his adminiſtration) was making a *property* of the nation; ſacrificing its glory and intereſt to the arrogance and ambition of an incapable miniſter: and betraying the faith of the throne, which ſtood pledged that no terms ſhould be yielded to, but ſuch as were juſt, honourable, and ſatisfactory.

No war is juſtifiable which is not carried on with a view to make peace as ſoon as it can be done with ſafety: but that peace promiſes very little to be good, which is not its own *chief end*. The principal aim of an action muſt always have the prevailing influence in the choice and uſe of the means employed to accompliſh it. When peace is degraded from being the primary object of itſelf, and purſued by a miniſter for the ſake of ſome other end which is chiefly in his view, that to which it is made ſubſervient will govern the conduct of the negotiation; and the conditions of the treaty, bend to the deſigns which the miniſter who makes the peace means by it to promote or ſecure for himſelf, in oppoſition to the intereſt of his country. Invincible neceſſity itſelf is hardly a greater enemy to the happy concluſion of an unfortunate war, than the ſelfiſh and intereſted views of thoſe poſſeſſed of the power of a proſperous country, entitled to dictate terms of reconciliation to the enemy, when it happens that the continuation of the war is incompatible with their retaining the power they have in their hands. Where patriotiſm is the prevailing principle, ambition, reſentment, and conqueſt, will yield

yield to the bleſſings of peace, and an honeſt concern for the nation, command every reaſonable conceſſion that can ſmooth the way to it; but the deſire of reſtoring peace, when founded only in a regard for the happineſs to be derived from it, and not compelled by the unſurmountable difficulties of war, will not induce the moſt pacific miniſter, who has nothing at heart but the welfare of his country, to ſacrifice its juſt rights and claims, or to depart from a reaſonable ſecurity of its eſſential intereſts, to attain a tranſient and uncertain tranquility.

An argument which has been much urged in favour of the miniſter who made the peace, is, 'that it was *more advantageous* than that which 'Mr. Pitt *would* have made when he was in power.' If conſiſtency could be expected where truth is deviated from, ſuch an apology would never have been made; for it, at once, cuts up by the roots the great pretence of merit in lord Bute's undertaking to put an end to the war, becauſe no other body would; ſeeing it clearly proves that Mr. Pitt was very much diſpoſed to have made a peace if he could: and ſo far it is true, that the peace which that great miniſter would have agreed to, was not the peace he himſelf wiſhed, and thought the ſituation and claims of this country were entitled to. He publicly declared in a certain aſſembly, where he might, if he could, have been contradicted, that inſtead of courting a breach with Spain (which was alledged in proof of his love of war) he had rather riſked his reſponſibility by forbearance towards that haughty court; and inſtead of retarding a peace with France, he had, to preſerve harmony at home, and to accelerate an end to the burdens of war, been over-perſuaded by thoſe with whom he ſerved in the adminiſtration, to yield to conceſſions he could not approve, and which he hoped no miniſ-

ter

ter would again venture to agree to. Mr. Pitt is repreſented as the *inflexible* miniſter, whom no peace would content, becauſe he wiſhed for none: He is the *miniſter of war*; blood is his element; conqueſt his rage; and battles his food! Yet, to *eke* out the praiſe on lord Bute's peace, it is called *better* than Mr. Pitt's would have been. So that Mr. Pitt was ſtill more *pacific* than lord Bute; and not ſo attentive to the national intereſt in the terms he agreed to. How conſiſtent theſe!

It is indeed but *falſe* luſtre which a *foil* gives; and if it is the beſt thing that can be ſaid for the peace, that it is not the worſt that might have been made, or not quite ſo bad as another would have concluded, it is but a poor commendation; and a ſorry ſatisfaction for the blood and treaſure that have been expended to procure it. The aſſertion, however, that 'the peace is more advantageous than 'that Mr. Pitt would have made when in power,' is only a ſtricture of faſhionable *fallacy*: A *relative advantage* may be a *real damage*: Many things that are *better* than others, are yet in themſelves very *bad*. To make a fair compariſon between Mr. Pitt's treaty and lord Bute's peace, the nation muſt be put into the ſame circumſtances, both of *coſt* and *conqueſt*, at the time of the one as of the other.

For there may be *more acquired*, and yet *leſs gained*, when the account is fairly balanced. The *moſt advantageous* terms may be the *leaſt adequate*, when all circumſtances are duly conſidered. Conditions that are *in themſelves* moſt lucrative, may be of the ſmalleſt profit, and the moſt *unſuitable*, when eſtimated by an equal rule of proportion, and judged of by the true ſtandard of ſituation, capacity, and opportunity. If the late peace is brought to this teſt, it will be a hard taſk to prove the ſuperiority; and not very eaſy to demonſtrate

the equality of the terms of it, to thoſe adhered to by Mr. Pitt, in the former negociations.

The reaſon of Mr. Pitt's not *agreeing* to *farther conceſſions*, and of lord Bute's not *inſiſting* upon *greater advantages*, is to be found in their different characters, and the *oppoſite principles* by which they were led. The *one* could not be more eager to have *any*, than the *other* was deſirous to have a *good* peace. Mr. Pitt was anxious to relieve his proſperous but bleeding country, from the burdens and hardſhips of a heavy, though ſucceſsful war: lord Bute was ſolicitous to reſcue his own unpopular and unſtable adminiſtration from the perils and dangers of diſtracted councils, difficult undertakings, and doubtful ſupport. The *great miniſter*, inſenſible to intereſt, but inſeparable from integrity, with his *patriot* principles, ſeconded by abilities, and ſuſtained by reputation, ſpread terror abroad, and diffuſed aſſurance at home: conſcious of the ſtrength, and confident of the aſſiſtance of his country; tender of its force, but tenacious of its rights; truſting to the juſtice of the cauſe, and encouraged by the experience of the vigour of England; had *firmneſs* to reſiſt the inſidious offers of an humbled enemy, and *courage* to deſpiſe the inſolent threats of a haughty court: founded upon theſe pillars, his reſolution was bold, and his ſpirit unſhaken, *equally* to engage a formidable league, as to contend with a ſingle power; therefore he was not terrified to accept of inglorious or inadequate terms of peace; but, with magnanimous intrepidity, ſtaked his favour with the people, and ventured his influence with the prince, in timely breaking off the negotiation with the French king, and adviſing, NOT a *precipitate rupture*, BUT a *categorical explanation* with the Spaniard; and his name is illuſtrated in the annals of fame, by the *pitiful* and *perſonal* reſentment of thoſe two crowns levelled at him, as the miniſter

miniſter of this kingdom, in whom they dreaded the bravery of the nation. The *little minion* attached to power, and accuſtomed to arrogance, the ſlave of ambition, and mancipated to tyranny, feeling his own incapacity, and preſſed with his danger, without character and credit, deſtitute of the abilities, and deprived of the counſels, of which he had *rid* himſelf, and robbed the throne; proud of royal captivity; favouritiſm his foundation; corruption his reſource; deaf to the cries, and dead to the love of the public; purſued with the diſregard, and perſecuted with the deriſion of the people; the contempt of the wiſe, and the ſcorn of the witty; the prop of Jacobites, and the tool of Tories; a ſcourge of Whigs; an oppreſſor of liberty; intoxicated with the ſway of a court, but mortified with the diffidence of the common-wealth; generally hated, and almoſt univerſally diſliked; what *would* he, what *could* he do? Juſt what he did. Unequal to the charge he had *fondly* undertaken; too weak for one war, and cruſhed with the weight of a duplicate; he muſt reſign his poſt, or *reſpite* hoſtilities. His determination was according to his delight: he loved power, and therefore begged peace. An indifferent one he knew he could ſoon, and without much conteſt make; and he durſt not venture a diſpute or delay for a better; ſo he *wrote* away the acquiſitions of the war, and what might have been the ſecurity of a peace; and with the blundering daſh of a pen diſhonoured the crown, diſgraced himſelf, and diſcontented the nation.

The *principle* of this conduct was very bad, but it was ſenſible, and founded in experience. They are very ignorant who do not know the difference there is to a miniſter between peace and war. It is of importance even in arbitrary governments, but of irreſiſtible efficacy in this free country. Government ſupports itſelf in time of peace, and miniſ-

ters have leſs hard work to do, and no extraordinary demands to make, conſequently they have leſs dependence upon the people. In time of war it is quite otherwiſe. There is not only exerciſe for the firſt rate abilies, but large ſupplies muſt be raiſed; and if the people are not ſatisfied with the conduct of affairs, and have confidence in adminiſtration, they will not give their money if their repreſentatives ſhould vote credit for it, and the machine will come to a ſtand. This has, in former times, produced changes in the miniſtry at critical ſeaſons, and lord Bute ſaw his danger. To ward it off by concluding a peace was his ſole ſtudy; *that* the object of his whole ſyſtem. Power, corruption and art, ſupplied the place of ſound politics; and nothing that could by any device be removed, was ſuffered to obſtruct the neceſſary work of peace, if any way of *putting an end to a war* can be called by that comprehenſive name: neither the terms, the time, the manner, nor the means, were allowed to embarraſs, if the end aimed at could in any way be attained.

In this, as in other inſtances, we have a ſtrong proof how intimately the domeſtic and foreign affairs of a country are connected. The miniſter that purſues a bad ſyſtem at home, will very naturally, and muſt often neceſſarily adopt one that is erroneous abroad. As there is always an uniformity and conſiſtency in ſound politics, there muſt be ſome correſpondence in thoſe that are bad. The miniſter, for the ſake of his own purſuits at home, departed from the ſyſtem in which England was engaged, and ought to have purſued, with reſpect to foreign powers. If reverſing the natural and approved ſyſtem of a country, throwing off its beſt alliances, and wounding national faith and honour, is an offence, we know who may be charged with it. The circumſtances of perfidy and deceit attending

ing the behaviour towards ſome of our allies, as well as the end for which they were treated in the manner they were, conſtitute matter of heavy imputation, more than ſufficient, if there had been nothing worſe, to render any miniſter, acceſſary to it, unworthy of that truſt, and deſerving of a much greater cenſure than being removed from his ſovereign's *preſence* and councils for ever.

Conſiderations on lord Bute's *peace.*

Decipimur ſpecie recti. HOR.

GRatitude is far from being the moſt binding principle amongſt men; and it has the leaſt force with princes; as on the other hand, reſentment is one of the moſt powerful motives of their conduct: yet good, as well as bad offices, done by one country to another, do ſometimes in their turn meet with the recompence they deſerve. It is therefore the maxim of ſound politics in every ſtate, to oblige, rather than offend their neighbours: and the ſtore of favours conferred may juſtly be eſteemed part of the ſtrength of a nation. But it muſt be *tenere gratæ, compede vinctum.* The boaſting of favours always leſſens their value; and few things are more irritating, in the commerce of communities, as well as of individuals, than aſſuming the merit of doing a kindneſs, when there is not any either received or intended. To colour over injuries with that ſpecious name, is the moſt provoking indignity to human nature, and the higheſt affront to the princely ſtate.

Foreign connections are an eſſential part of the ſyſtem of all countries, and it is of real importance to the public, eſpecially in a government like this, where the ſenſe of the people has ſuch influence upon the conduct of adminiſtration, that miſtaken no-

notions do not prevail either as to the ties of friendſhip or the cauſes of alienation, which ſubſiſt between us and other powers; more particularly thoſe which are, or ought to be ſtrictly united with us, by the ſame intereſt in the common cauſe of liberty, and the proteſtant religion.

A letter publiſhed in your paper of the 23d inſtant, ſigned G. T. contains the following paragraph: 'As to the king of Pruſſia, I aſſert from 'the preliminaries again, and appeal to them, and 'fact alſo, that our court delivered him from the 'French army, and ſo enabled him to make a peace 'to his own ſatisfaction, which perhaps, he himſelf thinks the greateſt favour we could have done 'him; for after all, he alone would have had but 'a poor chance againſt both France and Auſtria.'

The perſon who makes this aſſertion, certainly thinks that what he ſays ought to have been true; and the fact averred is ſo correſpondent to the natural ſyſtem of this country, that it is a pity there ſhould be any room to doubt it. If it be true that England has *done the greateſt favour* to the king of Pruſſia that ſhe *could do*, he is much obliged to her; if he *thinks ſo*, we may expect his grateful returns; and there ſhould now ſubſiſt a very cordial friendſhip between the two courts: if the caſe is different, the conſequence muſt be different; and they will be of greater or leſs moment, as the friendſhip of that prince is more or leſs valuable or deſirable to this nation. The fact therefore is well worthy of attention.

If England has done a very great favour to the king of Pruſſia, it has, it is believed, this *enhancing* quality, that the intention was unknown to him; for there is reaſon to think that the miniſtry of this country did not correſpond much with the court of Berlin, upon the treaty of pacification negociated at Verſailles: and it is pretty certain that, in return,

turn, the king of Pruſſia gave the court of London no communications of the treaty he concluded with the powers at war with him. There were not *then* nor are there *now*, any ſigns of ſuch a friendly correſpondence between the two courts: and there is too much cauſe to ſuſpect that his Pruſſian majeſty is nothing leſs than ſatisfied with the conduct of the Engliſh miniſtry, with reſpect to him and his concerns. Many, among whom there are ſome not of the leaſt diſcerning, find themſelves at a loſs to diſcover any thing in the *preliminaries* of peace between England and France (to which G. T. aſcribes the effect, inſtead of the *definitive treaty*, to which it has elſewhere, but with ſtill leſs colour of reaſon, been aſcribed) which gives ground to ſay, that WE *enabled the king of Pruſſia to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction.*

The effect of the preliminaries was rather too uncertain a contingent, before the definitive treaty was compleated, to produce ſo great a conſequence to a third power; and indeed they very nearly miſcarried altogether: but, at the beſt, they did not do what they *might*, and what in policy and good faith they *ought* to have done, towards facilitating a peace for the king of Pruſſia. They left him encumbered (in a manner never yet accounted for) with difficulties which they might eaſily have extricated him from, and which he himſelf removed by ſeparate and independent meaſures afterwards taken with France, much more efficacious to the end than any ſtipulation contained in the preliminaries.

If the inclinations of the miniſter who had the honour to make the peace are to be judged of from his conduct, we ſhall not ſee ground to believe he deſired to do any great favour to the king of Pruſſia. The preliminaries themſelves ſhew what favour he really did to him.

It was the miniſter who made the peace, that broke off the alliance with his Pruſſian majeſty, than which, never one was entered into more with the heart of this country; and it was with the approbation of *Leiceſter-houſe*, as well as St. James's, He broke it off againſt the opinion of the duke of Newcaſtle and thoſe other faithful counſellors who continued in his majeſty's ſervice, for ſome time after Mr. Pitt's reſignation, till they alſo were driven from court; as well as againſt the earneſt deſire of that great miniſter who had before been expelled from the cabinet. The Pruſſian miniſter then reſiding at this court was indeed amuſed with repeated aſſurances of the ſubſidy being continued; and thoſe who now ſerve the king, can tell if they were not parties to conferences and promiſes to that purpoſe. But, notwithſtanding theſe pretences, it was the fixed purpoſe of the miniſter, who was above all, and a part of the foundation of his miniſterial ſyſtem, to abandon that alliance, as a ſtep that was intimately connected with his other ſchemes. Miniſterial writers were hired to vilify and traduce the king of Pruſſia in the moſt ſcandalous manner, calling him by the infamous epithet of a royal *free-booter*, though he had been often ſtiled from the throne a magnanimous prince, and a good ally of the crown. They were prompted to maintain, that the bad faith practiſed towards him, was a duty to ourſelves, and juſtifiable by the law of nations.

This was not all. The world is much abuſed if there was not a correſpondence carried on with the court of Peterſbourg, in which the miniſtry of this country (moſt undoubtedly without his majeſty's knowledge, for reſpect to the crown obliges us to believe that) in which it was ſaid, or inſinuated, in very ſtrong terms, that we ſhould behold with concern the late emperor's of Ruſſia's withdrawing

withdrawing from the alliance, and recalling his troops from the aſſiſtance of the empreſs queen.—That this country did not wiſh that the king of Pruſſia ſhould be aggrandized at the expence of the houſe of Auſtria, but would rather deſire to ſee that power revert to its primitive electorate ſtate. If that fact is not true, the miniſtry of England ought to contradict it; for it is the language that comes from abroad, that his Pruſſian majeſty is poſſeſſed of authentic documents to ſhew it, tranſmitted to him from the court of Ruſſia. If it be ſo, there never was perhaps ſuch an inſtance of vile duplicity, except the ſtory told of queen Anne's writing *brotherly* letters to the pretender, when her miniſter was inſtructed to give the warmeſt aſſurances of her friendſhip at the electoral court of Hanover: and nothing could be more oppoſite to the natural ſyſtem of this country. Will it be believed that thoſe capable of ſuch a conduct, did, or could intend to do a favour to the king of Pruſſia?

Let us next ſee what England, in fact, did for his Pruſſian majeſty, upon which this aſſertion is founded, that *it was, and that perhaps even he himſelf thinks it was, the greateſt favour we could have done him.* By the preliminaries it was ſtipulated, that the French troops ſhould *evacuate* the territories and places belonging to the king of Pruſſia. Theſe the French king had declared he had conquered in the name, and held in behalf of, the empreſs queen. The ſtipulation was literally fulfilled, if the places were left to be taken poſſeſſion of by the empreſs queen's own troops. The profeſſed diſtinction between *evacuation*, which was all that was ſtipulated as to the Pruſſian territories, and *reſtitution*, which was the obligation as to Heſſe and Buckbourg, could mean or intend nothing elſe. This, therefore, was giving the empreſs

preſs queen the full benefit of the conqueſts made by her ally, and in her name, upon the king of Pruſſia; and, ſo far as England could do it, leaving the king of Pruſſia in as bad a ſtate as he was with regard to the empreſs, who was the power he was at war with. He had his dominions ſtill to *ſcramble* for, in the ſtile of the noble miniſter who uſed that ſtrange vulgar phraſe in a great aſſembly. So that it was, clearly, not the preliminaries that put him in poſſeſſion of the places which had been conquered; and the manner in which he did recover them, manifeſtly ſhews how *independent* he was *then* become of ſuch a vain and fruitleſs ſtipulation as that contained in the preliminaries. Thoſe places were agreed to be *reſtored*, and delivered up to the king of Pruſſia, inſtead of being ſimply *evacuated*, before the peace was made between Auſtria and Pruſſia, by virtue of a particular convention, made at the ſpecial inſtance of the moſt chriſtian king, between him and his Pruſſian majeſty: and the conſideration for the reſtitution, was the king of Pruſſia's conſenting to a neutrality for the Auſtrian Netherlands.

The convention itſelf ſhews the ſenſe that both the courts of Vienna and Verſailles had of the ſtrength of the king of Pruſſia, in the ſituation matters were then come to, not only to ſtand his ground againſt the empreſs queen in Germany, but to carry the war againſt her out of the empire; and conſequenly it goes far to prove, that, if the French troops had not been withdrawn, he might, as he then ſtood, have been able to have defended himſelf, and recovered what he had loſt in Germany. It cannot therefore, in that view, be ſaid, with any degree of juſtice, that it was our delivering the king of Pruſſia from the French army, that enabled him to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction.

It would be unfair (which alwas hurts an argument, as much as it is injurious to truth) to ſay that the king of Pruſſia derived no advantage from the French troops being withdrawn, in conſequence of the article of the preliminaries. It is extremely clear that the Engliſh miniſtry was very little concerned about his intereſt, when they contented themſelves with ſuch a ſimple ſtipulation about his territories. But whatever were their diſpoſitions, they could not come at their own ends without doing what they did, which was the leaſt they could do; and his Pruſſian majeſty reaped ſome indirect and incidental advantage from it. But the queſtion is not, whether the king of Pruſſia had any, or had no benefit from the preliminaries? It is, whether *this court enabled him to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction, and did him the greateſt favour we could have done?* And I will add, if we did what in juſtice to England ought to have been done? the contrary of that is almoſt, if not altogether, capable of demonſtration.

By the ceſſation of the French arms in Germany, the king of Pruſſia certainly was enabled *immediately* to over-run the empire, and to bring the ſtates of it to a neutrality, and even to penetrate to the gates of Weſel and Cleves, which the united force of England and Pruſſia had not been able to do before, when there were 50,000 Ruſſians in the field, which had done him more miſchief than the combined power of France and Auſtria. But it is far from being improbable, that the king of Pruſſia alone, when delivered from the Ruſſians, would, in a very ſhort time, though not quite ſo ſoon have been able to do the ſame thing, if the French troops had ſtill continued to oppoſe him; And if England had adhered to the alliance with Pruſſia, it cannot, according to any probable appearances, be doubted that they together would have been an overmatch

overmatch for France and Auſtria: The ſucceſs of the operations of the laſt campaign proved the ſuperiority of the allies, and ſhewed what a proſpect they had of thoroughly retrieving affairs in Germany. They muſt, humanely ſpeaking, have driven the French out of the empire, and recovered all the territories of the allies. That would have brought the war between England and France to its proper ſtate, and in making peace diſincumbered us of all the claims of compenſation for reſtoring the dominions of the German princes, which the miniſterial writers now ſtate as ſo great an article of the acquiſitions of the definitive treaty to be ſet againſt our ceſſions, which are complained of by the other ſide of the queſtion. The king of Pruſſia would then have been no embarraſſment in making any treaty between England and France. For it is on all hands admitted, that when both the French and Engliſh armies were out of the queſtion, he was in no danger from the empreſs queen; On the contrary it is clear, that, in that ſtate of things, ſhe had taken the alarm even for her *extra imperial* provinces. The king of Pruſſia had then ſuch a decided ſuperiority in force, finances, conduct, and ſituation of every kind, as to give the law to the court of Vienna.

Such having been the turn and ſtate of affairs, and theſe the conſequences moſt likely to have followed from the events that had happened, the impartial may be left to judge what courſe of conduct would, in the end, have proved moſt for the national intereſt and advantage of England: But what would have been moſt honourable to England and moſt conſiſtent with our friendſhip and good faith, towards a favoured ally of the crown, can be a queſtion with none but thoſe who have an intereſt in doubting, which is the ſtrongeſt motive for denying the fact.

The

The true ſtate of the caſe is, that the happy change in the ſyſtem of Ruſſia, which took place on the acceſſion of the late emperor, and was adhered to by the preſent empreſs, redreſſed the affairs of his Pruſſian majeſty, and put him into a ſituation not only to protect himſelf, but to be an uſeful ally to this country: And if the peace-making miniſtry of England, which ought not only to have looked upon that change with great complacency, but to have forwarded it if they could, had any merit in it, they are much bely'd by a fame of that ſort, that it will require a very authentic contradiction to diſcredit the report. By that fortunate alteration of the ſtate of Europe, England and Pruſſia had ſuch a command of France and Auſtria upon the continent, as might have enabled this country to have brought about a general pacification, upon terms the moſt honourable, adequate, and advantageous, both to ourſelves and to our allies, who had ſuffered in our cauſe. Inſtead of that, domeſtic ambition led thoſe into whoſe hands the power of this country was got, to purſue meaſures by which we abandoned our allies and ſacrificed ourſelves, wounded our national honour, and betrayed the public intereſt.

It was a part of the pacific miniſter's plan, to have withdrawn our troops from Germany, and totally to have abandoned all our allies, upon the continent, as we did the king of Pruſſia, leaving the French to act againſt them, after we had deſerted them. That was one of his firſt movements towards a peace for England; for it was extremely clear that he prompted, tho' he pretended to oppoſe, his very good friends who made the motion in parliament to that purpoſe, and ſupported it with reaſons, which it was avowed were taken from that *uſeful* pamphlet, *the conſiderations on the German war*, the author of which was afterwards named to a very good poſt, as a reward for that great ſervice. That probably would not

not have been found an eaſy buſineſs; and thoſe who moved for it were told ſo at the time of the queſtion: but if it had been practicable, it would indeed have been a *maſter-piece* of politics and good faith, which the king of Pruſſia, if driven to an extremity, might have taken revenge for, in a way that would have coſt England very dear in the end. The ſcheme, however, was a proof of the moſt determined diſinclinations to his Pruſſian majeſty, and it is manifeſt the ſame temper prevailed even in making the preliminaries; though there was then a little more art, but indeed hardly any greater decency, uſed to cover it.

By the preliminaries we did ſo far better, than had been propoſed to be done when the motion was made to withdraw our troops from Germany, that we did not leave the French behind us to act offenſively, at leaſt in an open manner. But to examine the merit of the Engliſh miniſtry, in that part of the ſtipulations, as a *favour done by us to the king of Pruſſia*, I ſhould aſk, what miniſter of England would have dared to make a ſeparate treaty with France, by which ſhe ſhould have been left at liberty to act againſt Pruſſia, when we were engaged not to aſſiſt him? The hands of France were tied up in a very ineffectual manner as it was, for French perfidy made the ſecurity very ſlight, that they would not aſſiſt the empreſs queen if they had been able or inclined; and the proviſions about making good paſt ſubſidies gave a plauſible colour for it. The beſt ſecurity was one for which the king of Pruſſia owed nothing to the Engliſh miniſtry, which made theſe ſtipulations. It was this: that France was neither very capable, nor very much diſpoſed to have continued their operations in Germany, which were become an inſupportable burden to them, at the ſame time that the end for which they had been gone into, which was to interrupt

terrupt the operations of England in other parts of the world, had been quite loſt.

Had France been left free to act in her alliance when we were giving up ours, it muſt have been little leſs than a declaration of war by this country againſt the king of Pruſſia. The ſtouteſt reſponſibility might have juſtly trembled for ſuch a conduct towards a near ally of blood, and an heir of entail to the crown, the head of the proteſtant intereſt abroad, who muſt always be either a great ſtrength againſt, or a redoubted ſupport of the power of France, the hereditary enemy of this country, according to the ſide his weight inclines to. Such a meaſure would not have been endured by the friends to the proteſtant ſucceſſion, and to the common cauſe of the liberties of Europe, which, it is to be hoped, the greateſt part of the people of England are.

What the Engliſh miniſtry ſeemed to do for the king of Pruſſia, they did for the ſake of their own object of having a peace with France, which they were determined to have at any rate, and could not make, without taking the French out of Germany, if they at all conſulted their own ſafety. They have ſo little to ſtate it as an obligation upon that prince, much leſs to plume themſelves (as the writers for them do) as having *done the greateſt favour we could have done him*, when it is plain they deſerted him in a moſt ſhameful manner, againſt the wiſh and ſenſe of their own country; and when the letter of the treaty was but juſt annulled by expiration, which tied up both powers from making peace without mutual conſent. If any collateral advantage did redound to him from the preliminaries (the full value of which has been allowed in the argument) he does not, and he knows he does not, owe it to the good diſpoſitions or intentions of thoſe who handled the power of this country upon that occaſion;

ſion; who had ſhewn their inclination to let him be oppreſſed by a formidable combination of three powers, the leaſt of which was greater than his own. Upon the whole, it is moſt manifeſtly *ſophiſtical* and *fallacious* to *aſſert from the preliminaries, that our court delivered him from the French army, and ſo enabled him to make a peace to his own ſatisfaction.*

I am, &c.

Aug. 25, 1763.

PRO FIDE & VERITATE.

On the miniſters addreſs on the peace from ſome of the merchants of the City of London.

I Happened accidentally to meet the proceſſion of the *merchants*, going to St. James's with their addreſs, and *I was glad* to ſee among thoſe who filled the coaches, ſome young gentlemen, clerks and apprentices, whoſe faces I knew. How many more there might be, I know not; as my acquaintance among them is not very extenſive, and it was only by the accident of their reaching out their heads at the windows of their coaches, (I ſuppoſe to ſhew that they had the honour to be there) that I could diſtinguiſh thoſe I did obſerve. It gave me pleaſure to find, that the young generation is trained up in the principles of loyalty; and that their education is ſo perfect, that they are far advanced in the knowlege of politicks, as well as commerce, before they are out of, and with ſome of them before they are half through their time. But I cannot ſay I was altogether fond of the notion of *beardleſs boys* being ſet up to decide upon the merits of a peace, about which the wiſeſt and graveſt men in the kingdom have been divided. And I hope if the names of thoſe who have ſigned the *merchants* addreſs

addreſs are publiſhed, as a proof of the ſenſe of the commercial part of the nation, thoſe of all ſuch very *incompetent* judges will be ſubſtracted, or diſtinguiſhed, that it may be known what ſtreſs is to be laid upon the characters of thoſe who approve what many are diſſatisfied with, and I ſuppoſe not a few of the *real* merchants. This I gueſs from their addreſs coming ſo late, and ſo great intereſt having been made, as I have been witneſs to for a week paſt, to get perſons of all ſorts, related to the trading part of the city, to ſign it; and from many having ſigned it, though they diſapproved of it, as they themſelves declare, not to diſoblige, by a refuſal, others they depended upon.

I might perhaps call myſelf a *merchant* with as good reaſon as many who aſſume that name upon occaſion of *addreſſes*, but I am for the preſent content with the humbler name of

A TRADER.

The miniſtry having procured an addreſs from eight aldermen of the city of London, occaſioned the two following letters. *June* 1763.

AT length the miniſtry have tried their ſtrength. As addreſſes have been procured from a number of Tory boroughs, Tory counties, grand juries, parſons who go to ſeſſions and aſſizes for preferment, eight aldermen (who by the bye were not a court, as they were pleaſed to call themſelves) the ſubſcribers to the loan (whoſe names are recorded in the North Briton, No. 42) aided and aſſiſted by the Jews, apprentices, clerks, and all the droſs of merchandize. I ſay, as addreſſes have been *procured* from all theſe, it ſhould ſeem, that the miniſtry hoped to crown all by procuring an addreſs from the court of common council. But, unfortunately for thoſe who would have ſnuffed the in-

cenſe very graciouſly, this knock down compliment to the miniſtry was, at the previous meeting on Monday night, carried FOUR to ONE *againſt them.* This was the *ne plus ultra* of the miniſtry.

I AM glad to find ſuch conſiſtency in the conduct of the *real* repreſentative body of the city of London, as will ever diſtinguiſh them to their very great honour. No miniſterial management could prevail on the common council to either falſify their underſtandings, or wound the dignity and credit of the city, by voting an addreſs on the peace, after all the *dependent* boroughs and *little* bodies in the kingdom. The common council were too zealous in their reſpect for the character of the metropolis, (the preſervation of which it is truly laudable in them to maintain) too juſt to theſe ſentiments of their conſtituents, and too regardful of their own honour, to appear in the very dregs of this extorted incenſe.

As they have ſtood out ſo long, and, with a ſpirit and conſiſtency as will ever merit the approbation and juſt praiſe of the public, have defeated every miniſterial artifice to bring them over, we may naturally expect the hired ſcribblers in the cauſe of the miniſtry will now begin to abuſe them in the moſt ſcurrilous and rancorous manner, as they have uſually done whenever the miniſtry were not gratified. But I would adviſe my fellow citizens not to take the leaſt notice of what ſuch wretches may ſay; for we may be aſſured, that none but the tools of the miniſtry (I mean the hired ones, for I believe they have no other) will be ſo loſt to all ſenſe of honour, truth, and decency, as to call their conduct into queſtion. The really wiſe and virtuous will term it, not only the glorious triumph of true wiſdom and patriotiſm over corruption, and the big

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ounding bombaſt of having influence enough to manage the buſineſs of the miniſtry, but a ſtrong proof of the real ſentiments of the city of London: of which the common council are the repreſentatives, elected by the conſtituents nearly in the ſame manner as the repreſentatives of the whole nation; and do therefore, in the moſt legal and conſtitutional manner, convey, on all occaſions, the voice of the city of London. The court of aldermen (which may be compared to the houſe of peers) does not, nor cannot, repreſent, in ſo direct and proper a manner, the ſentiments of the citizens of London, any more than the houſe of lords can of the whole nation, but is rather, ſingly and ſeparately, the voice of itſelf only. Thus the conſtitution of the city of London may be compared to the conſtitution of parliament; and indeed the proceedings of both are almoſt ſimilar.

I cannot, however, help remarking, with reſpect to the court of aldermen, that when they intend preſenting congratulatory addreſſes to his majeſty, on his marriage, the birth of a prince, princeſs, &c. the uſual method is, for it to be drawn up by the recorder or any other perſon, and for it to be carried without any other reſolution, than to preſent it. But whenever there is any policy, any buſineſs of the nation, ſuch as addreſſes on the peace, and other important and public tranſactions, a court of aldermen is regularly called; which court *muſt* conſiſt of TWELVE aldermen, excluſive of the officers, otherwiſe it is *not* a court; and the addreſs intended is not only previouſly known, but is referred to a committee, as in parliament, who afterwards report it to the court, which may alter it, and amend it, as ſhall be found neceſſary. From hence it pretty clearly follows, that the late addreſs, of only EIGHT aldermen, was not the addreſs of *the court of aldermen*, as was falſely printed in the Gazette. Nor

was it, in many other inſtances, agreable to the uſual method of proceeding in theſe caſes; for it was, *ſurpriſed* on the lord mayor; and not referred to a committee.

On the ſame ſubject; with remarks on the conduct and principles of the favourite.

NOTWITHSTANDING every artifice of thoſe venal tools of miniſterial influence, who have been lately ſeen employed in the ridiculous attempt to impoſe on the common ſenſe of mankind, by repreſenting their patrons as deſerving praiſe from the public, I am heartily glad for the honour of the city of London, to obſerve, in its common council, a conduct on the preſent occaſion which will certainly be applauded by every true friend to the conſtitution, and will convey to poſterity an idea of their integrity, abundantly to compenſate for the abuſe that may be vented againſt them by thoſe creatures of the adminiſtration, who would ſell their birthright for a penſion; and whoſe cenſures, therefore, are the higheſt honour.

The city of London hath ever been diſtinguiſhed by being the firſt community to expreſs its gratitude to government, for every inſtance of true utility or of honour, pronounced to the ſtate. When the occaſion hath been fairly afforded, let any one ſhew when they have been backward to expreſs their thanks to the adminiſtration that hath deſerved them. But it is *their* (I had almoſt ſaid peculiar) honour to refuſe the ſervile drudgery of paying compliments at the expence of their veracity. A recent inſtance of this their diſintereſtedneſs, the public hath obſerved in their declining to promote an addreſs, that might ſerve to *confirm a favourable opinion of thoſe who do not deſerve it, in that breaſt, where*

where unhappily, it ſeems, already to have gained but too FATAL a foundation.

Unanimity and concord are certainly neceſſary towards improving the advantages of peace in favour of a nation which owes its greatneſs to the extenſion and proſperity of its trade. Nor will it be diſputed that the city of London hath at leaſt as great an intereſt in the national proſperity, and conſequently in the meaſures of government, on which the former muſt always depend, as any other diſtinct community in the kingdom. Why then it may be aſked, did not the common council promote an addreſs to his majeſty, which is ſo obvious a means of advancing the harmony of the nation, and conſequently of their own intereſt? The anſwer is, not becauſe they are wanting in duty to the king, and regard to their own welfare, but becauſe they entertain more juſt conceptions of theſe matters than others, who have purſued a contrary conduct; for he muſt have a ſhort ſight, indeed, who, cannot diſtinguiſh between the pretended and the real means of promoting the welfare of his country, as they now preſent themſelves to his obſervation. *They* are to blame for the conſequence who firſt offended, and ſtill perſiſt to hold out the cauſe of diſcord; not they who refuſe to connive at the cauſe till the conſequence becomes incurable. His preſent majeſty's conſpicuous virtues, as they have deſervedly gained him the hearts of all his faithful ſubjects; ſo it is not ſtrange that thoſe ſubjects are deſirous of rendering him every return of true duty and attachment in their power; and theſe alone are the principles that reſtrain the city of London from preſuming to preſent to him, *as true*, profeſſions tending to the praiſe of ſome men, who are known to be undeſerving of them. If it had been foretold in the year 1715 or 1745, that abettors of rebellion in favour of a

popiſh pretender, againſt the illuſtrious princes, who then wielded the ſceptre of theſe kingdoms, ſhould in a few years become favoured, and even promoted, by thoſe entruſted with the adminiſtration of government under any of *their* ſucceſſors; would not the future completion of ſuch a prediction have been looked upon as one of the greateſt evils that could befal any prince inheriting the Britiſh throne on revolution principles? principles, which, from nature and from education, have ever been exploded by, and are incompatible with, the political creed of every adherent to the houſe of *Stuart*. For how can ſuch adherents reconcile their pretended attachment to his preſent majeſty, with thoſe notions of the hereditary, indefeaſible right of kings, which have ever been cheriſhed by them, even to ſuch a degree as to induce them to countenance the banners of rebellion againſt the predeceſſors of a prince, who holds his power contrary to the ſentiments which they have always diſcovered, and for whom, therefore, it is impoſſible (according to their known principles), they can entertain a true attachment. Can the Ethiopian change his ſkin? no, but he may diſcolour it. For what end ſhould he do the latter; but that thereby he may the more effectually attain the primary object of his purſuit? Would not any of theſe men pretend it an high affront to their honour; ſhould any one impute it to them that they were time-ſervers, and did not act from principle? certainly they would. Every one knows what were their principles in the year 1745; let it be ſhewn then, by what miraculous power thoſe principles have been ſo ſuddenly altered as to fit them for public ſtations in the year 1763, for which they proved themſelves ſo very unfit at the former period. But if for the ſcourge of theſe kingdoms, men of principles ſo alarming to its ſecurity, ſhould at any future time be found poſſeſſed

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of the means to approach the throne, ſhould artfully join with others, who may be ſo far intoxicated with the luſt of power, and the means of gratifying it, as even to ſacrifice to their own boundleſs ambition the popularity of an amiable ſovereign, who by their artful united endeavours might be deprived of the council of his true and *natural* friends, driven, perhaps from his preſence, for refuſing to concur in deceiving him; I ſay, ſhould this kingdom ever happen to fall into circumſtances ſo alarming, who that was really zealous for its welfare, the happineſs of his prince, and that of poſterity, would not refuſe to concur in any attempt that ſuch miniſters might ſet on foot for their own convenience, and to conceal from their maſter the knowledge of his danger? If ever ſuch an occaſion ſhould be offered of teſtifying true affection and loyalty from a ſubject to a ſovereign, *his* will certainly be the greateſt, not who *does* join in a ſpecious addreſs, to continue an impoſition on his prince; but *his* who takes the beſt means in his power to convey the knowledge of truth to the throne. And this the common council of London, in ſuch circumſtances, would not have it more effectually in their power to perform, than by obſerving a ſilence in reſpect to meaſures which they could not conſcientiouſly commend.

Theſe are the ſuggeſtions of common ſenſe and common honeſty, as they appear to the apprehenſion of a private individual, who neither is, nor deſires to be known by, or connected with, the great; but who is a firm friend to that glorious revolution, to which we are indebted for the bleſſings derived from the ſucceſſion of the illuſtrious houſe of Hanover to the throne of theſe kingdoms, who is zealous for the continuance of thoſe bleſſings to our lateſt poſterity; but who firmly believes they muſt either be continued to us upon the ſame

principles as thoſe by which they were at firſt introduced, or that they will not, they cannot in the nature of things, be long continued to us at all.

PRO REGE ET PRO PATRIA.

Detection of falſities propagated by the miniſterial writers.

CONSIDERING how many lies are vented every week by the hawkers of the miniſtry, it is ſurpriſing that they cannot treat the public with ſome variety. The town begins to regret the Auditor and Briton, who, if they ſurpaſſed all ſcriblers in impudence and infamy, at leaſt put as much novelty into their papers, as they did into matters of fact. They not only invented, but invented freſh and freſh. The preſent ſet are errant cheats, and make the miniſters pay for theſame lies over and over again. The lie moſt in vogue with them, is an approaching coalition of parties: an event they and their maſters want, and doubtleſs wiſh to ſee, but as far from happening, as any good to this country, while its affairs are in ſuch incapable hands.

Few words will ſhew the impoſſibility of ſuch a coalition. Can men, who have ſaved their country and raiſed its reputation to a height unknown in ſtory, coaleſce with thoſe who have ſacrificed all this glory, have reſtored our conqueſts to the ſame aſpiring and encroaching enemy, and who have given back ſo much of what was purchaſed by the blood of the valiant, and the treaſures of the impoveriſhed? Can they, who reduced France to ſue for peace, unite with thoſe who have begged peace of France? Can they, who ſent back Buſſy with ſcorn, when he dared to preſent a bullying memorial from Spain, unite with thoſe who would even then have temporiſed, who have declared for peace on *any* terms, and who have accepted terms, that

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are only to be matched by thoſe accepted at Utrecht?

Can great lords, who have been threatened that the peerage ſhould be humbled, who have been treated with inſults never practiced towards Jacobites and rebels, who have ſeen their own and the ſervices of their anceſtors forgotten, who have been affronted by a muſhroom favourite, of neither Engliſh birth nor Engliſh abilities; can they unite with that favourite, who began the winter with arrogance, and cloſed it with puſillanimity; and who, having laid a plan for oppreſſing this country, had almoſt accompliſhed his purpoſe, but being ſeized with a panick, ran away from his own victory? Or can they unite with men, who condeſcend to act as deputies for the favourite, and who, for running his riſk, are paid with ſine-cures and double ſine-cures for themſelves and for every maſter and miſs of their generation?

Can men, who, for the ſake of their country, their conſcience, and their honour, have ſhewn that they would ſacrifice their intereſt, renounce their places, and incur perſecution, be ſo volatile and profligate as in ſix months to join with the plunderers and perſecutors of their countrymen? Has this oppoſition forgot the infamy that attended a celebrated earl when he ſold his party, and ſtipulated for a few places for his own dependents?

The oppoſition is formed of men of the firſt characters, of the moſt exalted abilities, of the higheſt birth, of the moſt unqueſtionable morals. With whom is it propoſed they ſhould unite? With peace-brokers, money-jobbers, gameſters; with the favourite's ſubſtitutes, Scotch poets, and outlawed Jacobites; with the tools that L—d H— left in place, or the tools that left his l—d—p in the lurch?

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The oppoſition will continue oppoſition till the ſtate is cleared of theſe men. The gentlemen in the oppoſition are ſenſible that they could perform no ſervice to their country, if leagued with and checked by ſuch men. They know they ſhould forfeit all pretentions to integrity, if they entered into alliance with them; and the firſt motive to forming any oppoſition at all, was to rid the government of thoſe who have diſgraced and impoveriſhed it.

MANY.

ANSWER.

IN anſwer to MANY, I would obſerve, that the report of the coalition ſeems to have taken its riſe, not from the advocates of the miniſtry, but from that ſet of men, who deſpairing of the ſucceſs of their utmoſt efforts in an oppoſition to government, have taken that method to inſinuate their wiſhes to be taken in. One of the chief leaders of that party hath frequently declared, that the powers of his mind lay chiefly in the direction of the war. This is an invincible argument againſt his guiding in time of peace; and indeed he was ſo ſenſible of this himſelf, that in 1761 he determined not to make any peace. Was it for fear he ſhould become leſs neceſſary? But who are meant by thoſe who have made thoſe great ſacrifices for the ſake of their country: For my own part, I ſee very few among the oppoſition but have been either the parents of corruption, or are very willing to become the ſons of it.

The MORE.

REPLY.

REPLY.

FROM the advocates of the miniſtry no truth is to be expected: they could not be its advocates if they did ſpeak truth: but they cannot even argue; their logic is as bad as their cauſe.

In the letter ſigned THE MORE, it is ſaid that the report of a coalition ſeems to have taken its riſe from the oppoſition. Why does it ſeem ſo? By their taking every ſtep to diſavow it? Who want a coalition moſt, men of neither credit nor abilities, whoſe chiefs have ſlunk out of office in the moſt cowardly manner, on the firſt appearance of a ſtorm, and who have left this *forlorn hope* to ſtand in the gap, to parley, traffic, and treat; or they, who carried on the affairs of this country with the moſt glorious ſucceſs and unanimity, and with the approbation and love of their country-men? Can theſe men want a coalition with the refuſe of lord B——'s and lord H——'s adminiſtration?

The next ſilly argument is, that one of the leaders of the oppoſition hath frequently declared that the powers of his mind lay chiefly in the direction of the war. Whatever he has declared [probably never what is here aſſerted] he certainly did not expreſs himſelf in ſuch fooliſh terms. But your correſpondent is ſo abſurd as to call this an invincible argument againſt his guiding in time of peace. What invincible dullneſs! a miniſter ſhines in the moſt difficult ſeaſon of government: *ergo*, ſays this reaſoner, he is unfit for the leſs difficult. Admirable! But lower this great man's abilities; rate him very low in peace; ſuppoſe him as deficient in any one walk as it is poſſible for a man of his genius to be; ſtill he muſt be infinitely ſuperior to any man employed at preſent. Compare them

ſeverally

ſeverally with him, and even THE MORE, who are ſo well paid for being THE MORE, will not be able to help laughing.

Laſtly, to anſwer the queſtion at the end of that ſilly letter. The moſt diſintereſted and unblemiſhed names in this country have ſacrificed places, profits, honours, views, all to the love of their country, and to the indignation at ſeeing the glorious ſucceſſes of the war, given up to inſure the power of an incapable favourite. Some of theſe names are, the duke of Devonſhire, lord George Cavendiſh, earl of Beſborough, marquis of Rockingham, duke of Bolton, earl Temple and Mr. Pitt. We defy THE MORE to point out any meanneſs, any love of lucre, any corruption of any ſort in one of theſe illuſtrious perſonages. THE MORE may throw dirt, but none of it will ſtick.

MANY.

P. S. MESSIEURS MORE,

The next time you are going to be vain of being THE MORE, pleaſe to recollect how many of you laſt October declared yourſelf of the ſame opinion with us THE MANY. As we had the ſame offers, and were invited to the ſame pay office, we know pretty well *what* occaſioned the change in your ſentiments. As 25000l. iſſued in one day, in bank notes of 100l. each, had not the ſame effect on us that they had on you, we had rather be the virtuous FEW than the corrupted MORE. In the mean time, we are preparing for the public an account of your ſeveral *private* reaſons for the part you have taken.

On the ſtrong national attachment of the Scots.

THE ſtrongeſt proofs which can be given of ſuperior talents in our days, are thoſe of mens diſcovering a due knowledge of, and regard for

for their own intereſts, and an unceaſing aſſiduity in the purſuit of them.

In theſe qualities the Scots ſurpaſs all nations upon earth. There is nothing in the way of intereſt too great for them to aim at: witneſs two endeavours of late years to beſtow on us a king of their own chooſing, and to take the government of us into their own hands. But experience having ſhewn them that open force is not the beſt inſtrument they can employ, they have wiſely altered their ſcheme, and at preſent combine by cunning to eſtabliſh their domination: and what the ſword, even in their valiant hands could not do, they are now endeavouring to effect by policy: though what they hope to obtain by cunning, they doubtleſs mean to ſecure by force.

The moſt refined policy of late ages has been that of the Jeſuits; which was founded upon general correſpondence and combination; ſo that they have every where always moved, in bodies, or as individuals, by one general direction; or rather have acted upon one fixed principle, which is that of purſuing the common intereſt and power of their order, in that of every individual member of it.

Two Scotſmen meeting together, like two Jeſuits, two free-maſons, or two footmen, though they never ſaw each other before, immediately converſe without reſerve, from their having a common intereſt to purſue, and a common knowledge of their craft. Good fellowſhip is apparently the tie of the free-maſons; but that of the others is apparently mere intereſt. They have each a common enemy to circumvent and over-reach. That of the Knights of the Rainbow, is maſters and miſtreſſes; that of the Scots is their fellow ſubjects; and that of the Jeſuits all mankind. Againſt theſe reſpectively, they are reſpectively in conſpiration; and

and common intereſt alike reſpectively unites them in an invariable combination.

It is ſufficiently obvious how great an influence the combinations of ſervants have on the fortunes, and even power of their maſters. Thoſe of the Jeſuits operate in a like manner with regard to ſtates. Sovereigns are afraid of them; the people are jealous of them; and the other religious communities envy and hate them; yet their inviolable connection, and their inceſſant application, by all direct and oblique, or collateral means, helps them effectually to promote their ſingle object, which is ſelf-intereſt, always advanced alike by advantages gained by them as a body, or by individuals, who all act for one another; and by advancing the intereſts of one another, they gradually advance their collective power both to fleece and to govern.

It may likewiſe be remarked, from the example of Turkiſh policy, that power, when once obtained, ſoon becomes extenſive in its operations. What great ſtates of Moors and other people do we ſee ruled, plundered, and trampled upon, by handfuls only of Turks! This is obvious in Greece, and ſome parts of Barbary and Tartary, where there are hardly more Turks than ſerve to officer and govern whole nations of ſlaves. Like ſhepherds, they have almoſt each of them a very numerous flock, not to feed, but to fleece and devour: which privileges they owe to their being, though a ſmall one, a well connected hoſt, that acts within an unconnected body, always operating under one direction, and indebted for ſecurity to univerſal intelligence and cloſe combination.

Of a nature entirely correſpondent with theſe is the ſyſtem of Scotch policy, who are a people that in every thing act for common benefit. They are ſedulous to avail themſelves of the good will and good offices of all men, but they never do ſervices themſelves

themſelves to any but one another: and having one common intereſt to promote, they puſh it every way with their utmoſt might. Of either of the three kingdoms they are by much the ſmalleſt body, and alſo naturally by much the pooreſt; yet by combination they are become greatly the moſt flouriſhing of any; have always aimed at dominion over the reſt, and are now, to all appearances, in a fair way of obtaining it.

A LOOKER-ON.

On the prudent conduct of France ſince the peace, and the folly of England.

THERE is certain information that the French king has begun to leſſen the taxes paid by his ſubjects; and that he has ordered ſome of the crown debts ſhould be redeemable at twenty years purchaſe, without regard to the original capital, and others in proportion to what the preſent poſſeſſors paid for them, and that an equitable tax ſhould be laid on all the freeholds of the kingdom, not excepting thoſe of the crown, thoſe of the princes of the blood, the eccleſiaſtics, nobles, or other privileged perſons, of what nature ſoever; upon all of which I beg your permiſſion for offering ſome remarks publicly to the conſideration of the government, legiſlature, and people of Great-Britain.

The firſt object to be conſidered in this relation is, the apparent haſte France is in to retrieve her national circumſtances; and, by putting her finances in good order, to become enabled to ſupport a new offenſive or defenſive war: a circumſtance that ſhould influence every one of her neighbours to prepare for the like emergencies.

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The ſecond alarming point to be conſidered is, the facility in means for that purpoſe which her diſpoſition affords her. She has contracted debts at high intereſt, and arbitrarily redeems at twenty years purchaſe, to the immoderate prejudice of her public creditors. By which means, ſhe will perhaps ſink the capital ſhe pays off near a half of its real value, by which a number of Dutch and Engliſh fools and traitors will in common with her own well-intentioned ſubjects, become enormouſly bubbled. I own I pity poor Frenchmen who are ſo unmercifully fleeced; but as for my own countrymen and the Dutch, I heartily wiſh their avarice and treachery were rewarded with the entire loſs of what they have inveſted upon ſuch rotten ſecurity, as the faith of a court which has never ſcrupled to violate any engagement of any kind whatſoever.

A third object to be remarked upon is, her reſolving to redeem other debts; not at the real value, but at the prices at which they were purchaſed. Behold, ye infatuated Britons, the deluſions of your own ignorance, in imagining the Dutch and other nations were doing ye ſervice, by purchaſing into your funds at a third leſs than their real value! which purchaſes they are now reſelling at above thirty per cent. gain, and ſo draining ye of money, that your very national gold coins have been melting in crucibles, or exported without melting, at two or three per cent loſs, to redeem your mortgages to foreigners, at altogether, near the difference of forty pounds in the hundred to our national prejudice. Oh! fatal conjuration of deluſion upon ignorance! ſuch are the freſh diſcovered fruits of your generous and wiſe alliances, your glorious victories, and your much boaſted triumphs!

The fourth and laſt point to be conſidered is, the nature of the new taxations in France, for the retrieval of her national circumſtances. Theſe are made

made on ſolid property; the inheritances of the crown, the princes of the blood, the eccleſiaſtics, the nobles, and other PRIVILEGED perſons. O virtuous taxations of luxury and pomp, thoſe banes of vicious nations, for the ſake of eaſing labour, induſtry and traffic, thoſe trueſt bleſſings and ſupports of a country; and which grievous oppreſſions muſt gradually ſink and even annihilate. Patriotic miniſtry of France, and glorious parliament of Paris! proceed, and you muſt prevail over thoſe who have been extending hateful and ſlave-making exciſes on the neceſſaries of life, and who are daily ſacrificing all the reſtraints of wholeſome police to the corruptions of magiſtracy, and the inſatiable avarice of monopolizing dealers; practices which by their joint operations muſt deſtroy all the manufactories of a country, and its only traffic that is beneficial, which is that of exportation.

And what has Great-Britain been doing ſince the peace, but quarrelling; for what? why the plunder of the community. In which ſquabbles patriotiſm has been the word, while the thing has not been ſo much as thought of. Has ſhe been taxing the rich to eaſe the poor? or taking the loads off commerce, which is the ſinew of all ſtrength, and the ſource of all proſperity, in order to lay them upon luxury, which is the bane of vigour, virtue and ſecurity? Has ſhe been leſſening or augmenting the emoluments of harpies? Has ſhe been the practicer of oeconomy? the reſtrainer of corruption? the augmenter of profuſion? or only the talker of reformation?

FABRICIUS.

Subſtance of the letters to the duke of Devonſhire, publiſhed in January 1764.

AS theſe letters are too prolix to be inſerted at length, it is preſumed the reader will be pleaſed with a general account of their contents,

and ſome extracts from the whole.

The *firſt* letter, is againſt a coalition of parties, which was ſuppoſed to be in agitation at the above time.

'Notwithſtanding the pains which have been 'taken to ſmother, to extinguiſh, and, if poſſible, 'to aboliſh the remembrance of the diſtinctions of 'whig and tory, yet theſe diſtinctions, whilſt I live, 'with a tongue to ſpeak, or a hand to write, ſhall 'never be ſuppreſſed: not in order to create diſ-'ſentions between friends and neighbours in private 'life—I abhor the thought—but in-order to pre-'vent the liberties of England from being delivered 'up by prerogative miniſters, or trampled under 'foot by arbitrary princes. I know many tories; 'I live in friendſhip with many; I reſpect and 'honour many more as MEN, but as MINISTERS 'I would not lend myſelf to the ſupport of one of 'them for an hour. I beg I may not be miſtaken. 'It is not a ſpirit of *party* by which I am actuated 'in this reſolution, but a ſpirit of *liberty*, by which 'I hope I ſhall be actuated for ever."

In the *ſecond* letter the ſubject is continued, the author endeavouring to ſhew that there are caſes of ſuch importance, truſt and confidence, in which the diſtinctions of WHIG and TORY are ſo material, and ſo real; caſes wherein our liberty, our religion, our happineſs, as ſubjects, lie at ſtake; that if theſe have any weight with us, ſuch principles, and ſuch only, ſhould be adhered to by the friends of liberty and their country, as have begotten thoſe diſtinctions: not indeed in the odious, illiberal way of ſlander and abuſe, but by firmly ſupporting thoſe chiefs in the ſtate, whatever it may coſt in places or court favour, whoſe principles we can depend upon to ſecure us theſe enjoyments; and in a vigorous oppoſition

poſition to all others, by whatever name they are called, who ſupport and abet prerogative miniſters.

In letter the *third* the writer attacks the *upſtart minion* and his *favourite peace.*

'In the beginning of the reign of GEORGE the 'third our ſtate-empiric began, in order to beget 'our confidence in his ſkill, like a true quack; with 'vaſt profeſſions of regard for the health and wel-'fare of his patients: we were amuſed for a ſhort 'time with the hopes of the golden age of liberty, 'in which the votes of the electors, and the elected, 'ſhould be left unbiaſſed; and whilſt nothing was 'to be heard but the ſound of public oeconomy, 'among the turnſpits and kitchen-men at St. 'James's, honours, places and penſions, were pro-'fuſely ſquandered about, for a purpoſe eaſily to 'be gueſſed at, and with expences unknown be-'fore to the civil liſt. He had made a ſhort trial 'of the conſtitution of his patients, and found it 'was too ſickly to ſwallow medicines that were not 'highly ornamented or ſtrongly gilded. Afraid, 'therefore, leſt his quackery ſhould bring him to 'ſhame, and diſdaining to conſult with the regular 'bred phyſicians of long experience, he orna-'mented and gilded away at a great rate, till he 'found he could cram down the throats of his pa-'tients almoſt any medicines, ever ſo diſagreable 'or pernicious to their conſtitution. One medi-'dicine indeed there was, ſo highly diſtaſteful to 'his patients, and at which their ſtomachs ſo 'much revolted, even through the ordinary diſ-'guiſe of ornament and gilding, and yet on the 'ſucceſs of which depended his credit with the fa-'mily where he was moſt employed, and which 'was of more conſequence to him than all the reſt; 'that he exerted his whole ſkill in filtering and ab-'lution, and ornamented and gilt it ſo very highly, 'that by the time he could perſuade his patients to

'ſwallow it down, the expence that he had been 'at exceeded the advantages that he derived 'from it.

'But to lay aſide metaphor in a caſe of this im-'portance, let us recollect, in plain Engliſh, that in 'the three firſt years of the reign of GEORGE the 'third, a peace was approved, which gave back al-'moſt all our conqueſts to the enemy, for an inhoſ-'pitable country we can never people without our 'ruin; that laid no reſtraint on their fiſhery, the '*ſina qua non* of every good peace with France, than 'the word of their king: and which took the ſame 'ſlender ſecurity for the payment of the debt con-'tracted by the maintenance of his ſubjects whilſt 'in priſon. But I mean not to enter into the de-'merits of the peace of Paris. The ſenſe of 'the nation, whatever might be the motives of 'SOME to approve it, is evidently on the other ſide. 'The mean, the artful, and the wicked meaſures 'which have been taken, in begging, ſtealing or 'buying addreſſes to the throne, which call it ho-'nourable and advantageous, prove this. For it is 'very notorious, that not a ſingle addreſs has been 'ſent from any county, or large corporation, but 'by one of the ways abovementioned.'

The *fourth* letter contains the following juſt ob-ſervations, and remarkable anecdote.

'Though it is the higheſt inſolence that can be 'offered to the KING, to attempt to blend his in-'tereſt and his cauſe with thoſe of his miniſters, 'yet this, my lord, has been the conſtant uſage, 'of the laſt and preſent miniſtry—if in truth they 'are not the ſame——throughout their adminiſtra-'tion. Though all the duty and reſpect hath been 'paid to his majeſty, by thoſe in the oppoſition, 'which a wiſe king can deſire, or a good king re-'ceive, yet becauſe the national intereſts have been

'preferred

'preferred by them to the intereſts of the miniſters, 'a diſlike of their meaſures has been conſtrued into 'a diſlike of the king himſelf. By this kind of rea-'ſoning, the moſt eminent whigs in the kingdom, 'who have given the ſtrongeſt proofs of their af-'fection to the houſe of HANOVER, have been 'ſunk into jacobites, and the moſt notorious jaco-'bites have been exalted into whigs. But it hap-'pens a little unluckily, that the ſame way of rea-'ſoning will alſo prove, that the COCOA-TREE op-'poſition, carried on ſo many years in the late 'reign, and boaſted of ſo highly, was an oppoſition 'to the king, as KING, and not the meaſures of 'his miniſters. Abſurd and fallacious, however, as 'this way of reaſoning is, without any collateral 'proofs, they gave ſo many inſtances of perſonal 'diſreſpect to his late majeſty, as were ſufficient to 'recommend them to the tory miniſter of the pre-'ſent reign, and to puſh them into power.

'Suppoſe, my lord, it ſhould have happened, 'that in the FIRST year of the reign of GEORGE 'the third, ſo much beloved by tory converts, a 'parcel of lace from Flanders, with the picture of 'the young PRETENDER ſet round with diamonds 'incloſed in it, was brought to a perſon of the 'firſt diſtinction, thro' a miſtake, occaſioned by a 'very near ſimilarity of the title on the direction, 'and under the ſame miſtake——it being candle-'light——opened by him, but which was really 'directed to one of theſe new converts to loyalty, 'who has been rewarded with a place about his 'majeſty's perſon——I ſay, my lord, if we ſhould 'ſuppoſe ſuch a thing to have happened, for I am 'far from ſaying that it has, what opinion can we 'entertain of thoſe whigs, who are ſervile enough 'to draw tamely under an adminiſtration that in-'troduced ſuch men into power, or continue them 'in it? Other matters of a ſimilar nature, were it

'neceſſary, might be produced. It is now pub-
'licly ſaid, that the young PRETENDER himſelf
'came from Flanders to ſee the coronation, that
'he was in Weſtminſter-hall during the coro-
'nation, and in town two or three days before and
'after it, under the name of Mr. Brown; and
'being aſked by a gentleman, who knew him
'abroad, how he durſt venture hither, his anſwer
'was, *that he was very ſafe.* But after having
'ſeen the DUKE of DEVONSHIRE *ſtruck out of the*
'*liſt of privy counſellors*, in the reign of a prince
'of the HOUSE of HANOVER, every other turn in
'politics will ceaſe to be ſurpriſing.'

This paragraph made ſo much noiſe that Jemmy Twitcher was induced, with as much gravity as *he* can put on, to give it the following ridiculous anſwer, which ſerved more to confirm the fact than diſprove it.

'The anecdote given us at the cloſe of the
'fourth letter, if true, cannot affect the miniſtry
'in the leaſt, if he had proved it fact, unleſs it
'was as well known to them as to himſelf; no
'charge can lay againſt them for employing that
'perſon, whoever it is he has in his eye.'

In the *fifth* and laſt letter, the writer enters upon the ſubject of a national militia, which he condemns.

'When I inform your grace, that I am one
'of thoſe with whom words paſs for nothing more
'than what they are, you will not be ſurpriſed
'that the good word MILITIA has not faſcinated
'me, as it hath done the multitude; notwithſtand-
'ing the pains that have been taken to ſound it
'very high by great pretenders to patriotiſm, and
'to have it echoed back by the vulgar. For before
'I give up my underſtanding to this word, accord-
'ing to the idea which has been always affixed to
'it, I muſt be better convinced than I yet am of
the

'the utility of a militia to this country. I muſt 'firſt ſee, that we neither have nor can have, a 'ſufficient naval armament to defend us againſt in-'vaſions from the French which is the *only caſe* in 'which a militia can be of any uſe, and in the 'next place, I muſt ſee that it is ſafer, more ex-'peditious, and leſs expenſive to the nation to ſe-'cond the operations of ſuch a fleet by a militia 'than by regular troops. The articles of ſafety 'and expedition, I am apprehenſive, muſt be left as 'problematical to the end of the world, ſince I be-'lieve they will never be decided by any experience; 'but experience has already decided, that in the 'article of expence, a militia is a much greater bur-'den to this nation than a ſufficient regular force. 'If this experience has brought us enough to our 'ſenſes to aboliſh this quixote ſyſtem for the future, 'I will be bold enough to ſay, that it is the only 'good end that has been anſwered by above half a 'million of money.

'Whilſt this thing called a MILITIA ſubſiſted 'only in imagination, the liberty, the indepen-'dency, and almoſt every political bleſſing of En-'gliſhmen, ſeemed blended with the notion. The 'din and clamour that was raiſed about it, the 'pictures of it that were exhibited to the populace, 'and the caricaturas of thoſe who ſeemed averſe to 'it and which were expoſed to the factious, en-'flamed the fancy already heated with the ſound, 'and raiſed expectations in many people to an 'irreſiſtible ardor. In this fluſh of temper, when 'men acquired the name of patriots on the merits 'of this bill, all arguments from reaſon were en-'tirely thrown away. But if this heat is enough 'ſubſided to enable us to liſten to cool and im-'partial ſentiments, I hope to make men of ſenſe 'and candour aſhamed of having ſuffered them-'ſelves to be overborn by mere noiſe and vocife-

ration within doors and without, and of having co-operated in ſuch a wild and expenſive ſyſtem.

On the diſmiſſion of Major General A'COURT.

THE diſmiſſion of Major General A'Court from his majeſty's ſervice is a freſh inſtance of the wiſdom of the preſent a-----n, and cannot fail of having its proper influence on the people in general, and the gentlemen of the army in particular. I ſhall not attempt to explain the principles on which this extraordinary ſtep has been grounded, as I would not err deſignedly; and it is poſſible I might err, ſhould I attempt to comprehend the mechaniſm of ſo curious a piece of machinery, wherein wheels within wheels puzzle the obſerver, and leave him at a loſs how to account for the production even of the harlequin of a miniſter. The ſpectators ſee indeed the lawyer's wig, the fox's bruſh, and the andrew ferrara; and therefore, by the force of an happy imagination, fancy there muſt be wiſdom, cunning, and bravery; but in this ſtep there appears to be neither the ſmalleſt portion of wiſdom, or even of political cunning; and perhaps to ſome, fear and deſpair may ſeem the principal ingredients.

Though a particular number of the North Briton has, by, no doubt, a juſt and impartial ſentence, been conſigned to eternal ignominy and ſmoaky faggots, I am ſomewhat uncertain, whether the letter of a ſecretary at war, which was annexed to it, was condemned with that paper to the flames; if it was, no doubt that too was a juſt deciſion; however the matter of fact continues the ſame; and it may not be therefore improperto refreſh the reader's memory ſo far as to acquaint him, that this is the officer, who refuſed to diſcharge a private man at the dictatorial command of a ſecretary at war;

war; in whoſe letter even the name of his majeſty had been proſtituted to countenance orders expreſly contrary to an article of war; and that this is the officer, who by that proper exertion of ſpirit preſerved the independency of the gentlemen of the army and the credit of his poſt. I hope this behaviour has never been conſtrued by any of his majeſty's ſervants as an offence againſt our ſovereign; becauſe I ſhould be ſomewhat apprehenſive, leſt high treaſon by the ſame worthy expounders of the law ſhould be defined to be an offence committed in ſupport of the conſtitution againſt the ſacred perſons and government of any of the officers of ſtate. In this manner may ambitious miniſters deceive their ſovereign, pour poiſon into his ear, and make him believe, that the faithfulleſt of his ſubjects are traitors to him, when they wiſh to inſure to him the love and gratitude of a free people, inſtead of the forced homage of a few abject wretches ſlaves to miniſterial influence and corruption.

I have heard it confidently reported, that this gentleman has not in every parliamentary debate been exactly of the ſame opinion with the miniſterial party; I ſhould be extremely loth to believe, that any miniſter would act at the hazard of his head, in open defiance of the firſt baſis of our conſtitution, I mean the liberty of the members of both houſes of parliament; yet to what cauſe can his diſmiſſion be attributed?—None has appeared.

If then the rule ſhould ever be eſtabliſhed, that after long ſervices, and a life of ſuch fatigue, which nothing but a true ſenſe of honour can ſupport, an officer, being a member of parliament, might be diſcharged without reaſon given, I ſhould think the officers of the army, being members of parliament, muſt, for the good of the nation, as well as their own ſakes, join in legal amity to defend the honour of an Engliſh army; and ſhew the world that they act with or againſt miniſters, from principle

ciple, not dependency, otherwiſe they hold their ſtations in the army not from their merits, their experience, and the ſupport of a due military ſubordination, but on ſuch vague and abject terms, that they may be ruined at the blaſt of a miniſter's breath, and as ſome in bad times have gained places by the means of the miſtreſſes of miniſters, ſo the beſt and braveſt of a good and brave people, may be in future times, ſacrificed to the adultery of one, or the whoredom of another. I hope no miniſter in theſe times, commits adultery, or keeps miſtreſſes, whilſt the vengeance of the law is high lifted up againſt the crimes of other individuals.

PUBLICOLA.

A ſhort anſwer was made to the above letter, in which the principal paſſage was, viz. 'neither 'a civil requeſt from the ſecretary at war, nor his 'majeſty's commands could prevail on Major General A'Court to diſmiſs a private ſoldier, though 'there were many to be diſmiſſed out of each company.'

To which Publicola made the following reply.

THERE was no civil requeſt, but an *abſolute order*; if my antagoniſt allows there was ſuch a requeſt, the ſecretary at war ſeems to have doubted of the validity of the poſitive command, and attempted to ſtrengthen the order by his private intereſt with the general: if there was a requeſt, I do not think a field officer is obliged to comply with every requeſt of a ſecretary at war; under pain of incurring *his majeſty's diſpleaſure*, or running the riſque of being *turned out of the army:* it is a civil requeſt indeed, the refuſal of which may be productive of ſuch diſagreeable conſequences. However, if the ſecretary at war, *quatenus*, private gentlemen,

gentleman, had aſked the favour of the field off—, it is probable it would not have been refuſed. The caſe is altered, when an abſolute command comes directed from the office of the ſecretary at war; there the officer, to whom it is directed, will conſider how far he is bound to obey; and though he might be willing to comply with a civil requeſt, ſurely no officer will ever ſubmit to *any command*, which, by the laws of the land, and articles of war, allowed by thoſe laws, he is not poſitively ſubjected to; it would be a ſervility unworthy of any officer; an affront at which his honour muſt take alarm.

How far then is a field officer obliged to diſmiſs a private ſoldier, on receiving a letter like this from the ſecretary at war? contempt or diſreſpect to his majeſty is not the point; if the general had been called to a court-martial, and the ſecond ſect. of art. II. had been urged againſt him, I believe, the ſecretary-caſuiſt would have cauſed a ſmile, and the general would have been acquitted with honour, of a charge founded in ſophiſm, and not in the principles and known uſage of the army. For my part, it is clear to me, that he is not ſo obliged: it is the duty of officers to obey commands ſignified by the ſecretary at war in his majeſty's name, which the articles of war direct ſhall be obeyed: if any matter be left at the option of the officers, it ſeems neceſſary, in order to deſtroy the validity of the articles ſigned by his majeſty, and to take away that freedom of choice, that the command reverſing the former article, ſhould be under the ſame hand, otherwiſe the officer allows greater authority to a command ſignified by the ſecretary at war, than to articles under his majeſty's hand, which ſeems to me at leaſt, who am no officer, very abſurd. I argue not, that his majeſty, authoriſed as he is by the mutiny act, may not make new articles when he pleaſes; but,

I ſay,

I ſay, it is not in the power of a ſecretary at war, nor of my antagoniſt, to explain away articles of war, which cannot be altered but by the ſame authority which made them. As to the meaning of the third ſect. art. II. I judge the meaning from the words, which reſtrain not only the abuſes of the recruiting officers, but many other, poſſibly greater, inconveniences: the commander in chief, or his ſecretary, might otherwiſe, *in bad times*, ſell diſcharges, as well as recruiting officers, and poſſibly by ſuch practices might ruin the ſtock-purſe of a regiment, and conſequently ſpoil the regiment; they might, *ad libitum*, diſmiſs a ſtout able-bodied fellow, and keep a forcible feeble, a magnanimous woman's taylor. It is miſleading to the public to aſk, 'Cannot the king diſmiſs a private ſoldier, when he 'may and has diſmiſſed a general?' becauſe ſuch a diſmiſſion of a general is agreable to the law of the land: in the other caſe, the requiſites are not complied with; the article is in force, the field officer under that article has his option, and does not chuſe to be dictated to by a ſecretary at war, in a matter in which that ſecretary at war had no authority; if his majeſty annuls that article, and gives his power to the ſecretary at war, it will then be the duty of a field-officer to ſubmit to his majeſty's commands, becauſe this new article is, by virtue of the mutiny-act, become part of the law of the land. At preſent it is no where declared, that a field-officer is obliged to diſmiſs the man; and therefore, as he has it in his option, he may poſſibly *not chuſe it*; which ſeems to me a ſufficient anſwer.

Thus having refuted the arguments produced, I ſhall affirm, that it was not an obſtinate ſpirit of oppoſition, but the ſpirit of an experienced officer, who had, from his youth, been bred in the army, and had given up every other proſpect in life to that honourable profeſſion, which now is deprived of his

his ſervices; I hope not for this inattention to a ſecretary at war; for if this was the caſe, every officer, even of the higheſt rank, muſt, in all points ſubmit to the better experience of a new and young commiſſioned officer, a ſecretary at war.

I ſhall conclude with inſiſting, that major general A'Court meant not, on his part, to infringe the law; and, though it is the undoubted right of the crown to diſmiſs any officer, it is not always a prudent ſtep, even in the moſt popular miniſter, to adviſe ſuch a diſmiſſion, *without aſſigning a cauſe.*

PUBLICOLA.

On the diſmiſſion of lieutenant geneneral CONWAY.

Vis abeſto: *nihil eſt enim perniciojius civitatibus nihil tam contrarium juri et legibus, nihil minus civile et humanum, quam compoſita et conſtituta republica quicquam agi per* vim.

IT is now evident, beyond a doubt, by what diſgraceful tenure every office, in the gift and the reſumption of the *chieftains*, has been for ſome time, and at this hour is held. Ability, experience, and integrity, are not with *them* the means conducive to procure ſtability to the poſſeſſor; he muſt be able, with the ſatyr in the fable, to blow hot and cold; he muſt be diſciplined to ſay aye or no, at the word of command, he muſt feel no remorſe at puniſhing a printer, with the utmoſt rigour, for the ſmalleſt indiſcretion; yet be poſſeſſed with phlegm and moderation to acquit, in the next breath, the great delinquent, who ſhould apprehend *illegally*, commit to cloſe impriſonment *illegally*, and ſeize *illegally* the private papers even of a member of parliament. By *him* a privilege to-day muſt be held ſacred and inviolable, the ſame muſt be declared to-

morrow

morrow a rank nuiſance or non-entity. In ſhort, he muſt be ready and accommodating with his *vote*, his *lie*, his *oath*, if neceſſary; and then it matters not how deſtitute he is of every other qualification.

The perſecution, exerciſed upon the friends, dependents, and relations of the duke of Newcaſtle, affords us a moſt glaring proof, how far the malice and mean-ſpirited reſentment of the *clan* will carry them. Theſe modern Syllas have exceeded, in proſcription, their great pattern and original; they have extended *their* revenge, with inhumanity that is unprecedented, *beyond the grave*: even ſome, who owed their ſole ſupport to the benevolence and generoſity of the late Mr. Pelham, were turned adrift and left to ſtarve, without ſo much as the *pretence* of an offence. The brothers, couſins, and relations of the worthieſt patriots, who were too brave and honeſt to kneel down to the invaders, ſaw creatures of more pliant ſtuff put daily in poſſeſſion of their places, without impeachment of their conduct, or any intimation previous to their removal. The *northern politicians* thus have built their edifice of tyranny by *force* and *terror*, as the Jews did of old their temple, *ſword in hand.*

The nation (who can wonder at it?) took the alarm, and manifeſted an abhorrence of ſuch odious violences; nor will the ferment, raiſed by them, ſubſide, till the ſame diſpoſition ſhall appear to right the injuries of *Engliſhmen*, that operated with ſuch cordial energy to the relief of the beloved *Scotchman.*

The late diſmiſſion of lieutenant-general *Conway*, with the ſimilar fate of other worthy-officers before, revives the memory of paſt indignities, and has renewed the general conſternation. The gentlemen, particularly of the army, aſk one another with ſurprize, *of what offence he has been guilty? when*, and

and before *what court martial he was tried?* they ſuffer for their brother officer's misfortune; they are not without apprehenſions for themſelves; and they feel not a little for the honour of their profeſſion. It is not yet declared authentically, of what omiſſion or commiſſion, as an officer, he is accuſed. The character he bears, moſt amiable and unexceptionable in all reſpects, inclines them to believe he muſt have been *maliciouſly miſrepreſented*, as was the recent caſe of general *Monckton*.

It is, as I have ſhewn, the plan purſued by the *dictator of the north*, and his devoted *vaſſals*, to *turn out* every perſon, great and ſmall, who will not take their covenant, and yield to their imperious edicts. The gracious ſyſtem of theſe honeſt freebooters, is *abſolute ſubmiſſion*, or the *bow-ſtring*.

When loſs of rank and office is the *certain* conſequence of not approving *all* the meaſures of the miniſter, the approbation of them *in the lump*, will be ſuſpected to proceed from *fear alone of his diſpleaſure*. But fear, the uſual prop of tyrants, is too weak a ſtaff for power to lean upon for any time with confidence and with ſecurity.

HONESTUS.

Written on the ſame occaſion.

IT has been the ſtale and hackneyed artifice of miniſters, (eſpecially of *bad* ones) in paſt times, and we muſt not wonder therefore if it ſhould be practiſed in the preſent, to call *their own meaſures the meaſures of the king*, and to load their royal maſter with their *perſonal guilt*. Indeed if any of them proved ſucceſsful, they were forward enough to arrogate the whole merit to themſelves. Whenever they were queſtioned and became unpopular, theſe *undertakers of affairs* and *farmers of majeſtic authority*,

authority, retired moſt daſtardly behind the ſeven-fold ſhield of the prerogative, and by that paltry ſtratagem endeavoured to remove the weight from their own ſhoulders. In the firſt inſtance, they could make their boaſt, that they were the immediate and conſummate adviſers; but in the laſt, the *cant* word generally was, that *they were ſorry for it, the king would have it ſo*; or (as the more categorical anſwerer of the Budget chuſes to expreſs it, by what authority he beſt can tell) *the king would think and act for himſelf*. Thus weaving their own intereſt and that of their ſovereign together, to make them appear *one common cauſe*, they drew *him* into their quarrels, as the prieſts do God Almighty into theirs, and by placing his reſpectable perſon before you, attempted to make *themſelves* ſafe, not caring how much they expoſed *him*. They did the *king's buſineſs*, as they called it; and if any man ventured to blame their manner of conducting it, they cried out with one mouth, that the *king was wounded through their ſides*; and all, who liked not their proceedings, were proſcribed as enemies to *him* and to the government.

Theſe poſitions being laid down, that their own meaſures were the king's, and that any oppoſition to them was an oppoſition to the king himſelf, the notable concluſion, which reſulted from theſe premiſes, was, to adviſe the king to let the heavy axe of power fall down upon the necks of thoſe, who ſhould have the preſumption to oppoſe *him*, or rather *them*,

But ever ſince the happy ſucceſſion of the houſe of *Hanover*, this unconſtitutional doctrine of *paſſive obedience* to the meaſures of the temporary miniſter, has been exploded; as indeed it ought to be, with the utmoſt contempt, in a free country; ſince it is abſolutely deſtructive of the very fundamentals of all liberty.

In

In the two laſt auſpicious reigns, the patriots of thoſe times *inſiſted* always, that the meaſures recommended to the crown by the then miniſters, were to be regarded only as the meaſures of the adminiſtration; nor would they ever allow, that an oppoſition to the *ſervant*, who was reſponſible to the nation for his conduct, ought to be conſidered as a diſreſpect or inſult to the *maſter*.

It was under the ſanction of this declaration that the *very ſervants of the king's ſon* (many of whom are now placed in ſtations of the greateſt truſt, in recompence for their diſtinguiſhed patriotiſm) oppoſed the miniſter for twenty years together; which *they*, we muſt ſuppoſe, would *not* have done, if they had thought ſuch oppoſition could be juſtly deemed an inſult to the king himſelf. And we muſt do this juſtice to the miniſters whom they ſo ſteadily oppoſed, that they diſdained to *ſneak behind the throne for ſhelter*; but manfully confeſſed themſelves accountable to the tribunal of the public for all the acts of government they had adviſed. Let it not be forgotten neither, that every ſeſſion, eſpecially for the laſt fourteen years, produced in parliament, examples of placemen, in the higheſt offices, oppoſing ſtrenuouſly each others ſentiments. The miniſter of *thoſe days* meant honeſtly; he therefore ſcourged not his opponents, *with an iron rod*, but, as the hiſtorian, *Tacitus*, obſerves, the Romans did, in times of liberty, *verba verbis ultus eſt*, he ſcorned to have recourſe to force and violence, that *ratio ultima regum*, or more properly, the laſt and deſperate reſource of tottering adminiſtration.

I ſhall conclude with a paſſage or two out of the celebrated *monſieur Balzac*, which were formerly quoted upon the ſame ſubject by the Craftſman.

'What therefore ſhall we ſay to thoſe *inſolent* 'favourites of fortune, who, with flying colours, 'attack the authority of the *laws*, and of *common* 'juſtice; who bring to the government of the ſtate, 'a premeditated deſign to deſtroy it?

'What ſhall we ſay to thoſe *inſupportable ſer-* 'vants who revenge *their own little quarrels* with 'the arms and weapons *of their maſter*; who de- 'clare all perſons, who will not become their 'tools and *proſtitutes*, to be enemies to his *majeſty*; 'who, by a cruel, bloody, and moſt deteſtable 'peace, throw the people into *deſpair*, and endea- 'vour to precipitate them into *rebellion* for their 'own preſervation.

On granting a patent of precedence to a great lawyer.

AN honourable perſon having lately kiſſed his majeſty's hand on his having a patent of precedence at the bar, it may not be unacceptable to ſome of your readers, to enquire into the nature of this office, its uſe in the commonwealth, the relation it has to the crown, and how it came into the conſtitution, and what degree of honour it confers upon the patentee.

It is well known, that the kings of this country, have always been attended by a military guard for the ſafety and protection of their perſon; and by a civil guard of lawyers, for the ſecurity of their property. The latter were called the king's council learned in the law; and, until the reign of the Stuarts, conſiſted of a very ſmall corps, made up of four of the ſerjeants, the attorney and ſolicitor general. The ancient kings of this country were contented with this ſmall and reverend guard, which in thoſe times was thought ſufficient to defend the king, and occaſionally to annoy his ſubjects.

When

When the bleſſed family of Stuart took poſſeſſion of the Engliſh throne, the firſt of that anointed family began to ſet up a narrow and tyrannical intereſt ſeparate from the people; and he and his royal poſterity may be truly ſaid to have conſtantly been at law with their ſubjects. Princes of ſuch litgious diſpoſitions muſt have been under an abſolute neceſſity of increaſing their band of lawyers.

About the end of James, and the beginning of Charles the firſt, Sir Edward Coke, Mr. Selden, and other lawyers, who were in the houſe of commons, oppoſed the arbitrary meaſures of the court with ſo much zeal, ability and integrity, as has never been equalled ſince (but by the lawyers of our time.) They conſtantly oppoſed and impeached the validity of ſtate prerogative warrants, and raiſed that ſpirit and love of the laws, and liberty of their country, which laid the foundation of the glorious revolution, which is now as much forgot as the expulſion of the Danes.

To oppoſe the advocates of the people, it became expedient for this king to recruit his corps of mercenary lawyers, and raiſe a new company of black huſſars, to be advocates for prerogative againſt the rights of the people. As prerogative ſupplied all defects in the conſtitution, his majeſty thought fit to create by patent, a new ſet of amphibious ſtate lawyers, and called them by the title of the king's council extraordinary. Theſe gentlemen penſioners were very uſeful in the houſe of commons, to perplex and confound with their jargon, to vote againſt the people who elected them, to miſlead in the cabinet, and brawl for prerogative in the courts of juſtice. This patent, attended with a ſalary, was a retainer for the king againſt his country. It was, and has ſince been granted during pleaſure only: it kept the patentee in a conſtant ſtate of dependance and proſtitution.

In the reign of the moſt religious and gracious king, Charles the ſecond, theſe prerogative lawyers had, by the neceſſities of the ſtate, increaſed to a conſiderable number, and began, by the ſtrength of their majority, to claim and ſtruggle for precedence at the bar next to the king's ſerjeants, and before all others either ſerjeants or barriſters. The judges of theſe times had ſuffered theſe new created crown tools, to be heard before the ſerjeants, who, after an ineffectual ſtruggle in Weſtminſter hall to obtain their right, brought this matter of precedence before the king in council. After a very learned hearing and debate, in which the aukward gravity and habit of the ſerjeants, produced much entertainment to his majeſty; a conſiderable majority of that privy council, decided the precedence in favour of the ſerjeants. But as my friend, a lawyer, who furniſhed me with this anecdote informs me, one of theſe patent council having been promoted to his dignity, by a miſtreſs of that godly king, his majeſty was pleaſed to declare, that as he had a prerogative right to give precedence to whom he ſhould graciouſly pleaſe in his own court, he did then command, that his council extraordinary, ſhould from thenceforth have precedence of his ſolicitor general, and before the reſt of the bar. From that time to the preſent, theſe advocates have taken upon them the ſtile of king's council, and are diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of the bar, by wearing a ſilk gown, and a very large full bottom wig, the latter of which they ſay is wore in honour to their founder. This amphibious law-office has been in great eſtimation at court from that time till the preſent, and the body filled up with proper recruits by all ſucceeding miniſters; as a ſet of court dependents, bought at the public expence, and ſecured by continual hope of ſucceeding to the bench.

The

The injuſtice of giving prerogative precedence has been continually complained of, and the legality of the patent always doubted. But a dependent majority in the houſe of commons has been thought ſo neceſſary a ſupport to our conſtitution, that the moſt virtuous and frugal miniſters, have not ſcrupled to ſacrifice every other conſideration to that important purpoſe.

But this civil body guard of the crown, have, after a full enjoyment of the rewards of this parliamentary eloquence, and after having moſt deſervedly engroſſed the judgment ſeats, from which they removed their great grandmothers, the ſerjeants, had a new ſet of lawyers, more amphibious than themſelves, raiſed up againſt them, and ſeem to have thruſt them from their ſtools. This modern company of black gowns, who have not as yet obtained a name, have been created by a patent called a patent of precedence, which ſeems to be a further extenſion of the prerogative. But as theſe have been thought more convenient tools in the hands of a miniſter, than the other, it is much to be apprehended, they will be the majority, and moſt likely to be in the meridian of the court favour, and to outſtrip others in the political reward of preferment.

What uſe this officer is to the commonwealth, it is above my knowledge, in ſuch nice political matters to determine. What relation it has to the crown, or how it came into the conſtitution, I do not know. What degree of honour it confers, I ſhall leave the patentees to determine.

It may be conſidered in one light, as a great advantage to the public; for if a popular advocate can be ſecured to turn his voice againſt his country, for ſo ſmall conſideration as a patent to ſit above his elder brethren, it would, in corrupt times, have been a real ſaving of a penſion or ſalary to the public. It

Dear birds! repeats the fair, and heaves a ſigh,
Congenial fondneſs kindling in her eye.
Poll ſcreams: away, thou art no bird for me,
She crys; you parrots talk, as well as ſee.

A ſketch of Louis the XIIIth's character, as given in the life of lord Herbert.

HIS underſtanding and natural parts were as good as could be expected in one that was brought up in ſo much ignorance, which was on purpoſe ſo done, that he might be the longer governed, nor did he even in time acquire any great knowledge in affairs, as converſing for the moſt part, with weak and inactive miniſters. He was noted to have two qualities almoſt inſeparably incident to all who have been ignorantly brought up, ſuſpicion, and diſſimulation; for as ignorant perſons walk ſo much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from fear of ſtumbling; and as they are likewiſe deprived of, or deficient in thoſe true principles, by which they ſhould govern both public and private affairs in a wiſe, ſolid, and demonſtrative way, they ſtrive commonly to ſupply thoſe imperfections with covert-acts, which though it may be excuſable in neceſſitous perſons, and though it be indeed often practiſed amongſt thoſe, who negociate in ſmall matters, yet is condemnable in princes; who, proceeding upon foundations of ſtrength and reaſon, ought not to ſubmit to ſuch poor helps.

His favourite was one monſieur de Luynes, who in his non-age had gained much upon the king, by making hawks fly at little birds in his garden, and again, making ſome of thoſe little birds catch butterflies; and indeed, had the king uſed him for no other purpoſe, he might have been tolerated; but as when the king came to a riper age, the government of public affairs was drawn chiefly from his counſels,

not

not a few errors were committed, which the parliament of Paris reſenting, impeached and brought him to judgment.

Princes deceived by wicked miniſters.

THE unhappy condition of princes, into which they are for the moſt part betrayed by their pre-eminence and greatneſs, has been lamented by the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous amongſt them in all ages. The profligate, the needy men of abandoned characters, and of deſperate fortunes, the falſe flatterer, and the baſe betrayer, preſs impudently forward to ſurround and to beſiege the throne. It was a ſenſe of theſe diſadvantages and deluſions, which made the great emperor *Diocleſian* declare, in his retirement, 'that of all undertakings, the 'moſt difficult and arduous was, to govern well.' He uſed to ſay, [Hiſtor. Auguſt. Scriptor, tom. ii. p. 531. *Colligant ſe quatuor vel quinque*, &c.] that '*Four or five men uſually form themſelves into a ca-* '*bal, and conſpire together to deceive and to betray* '*their royal maſter. This knot of knaves preſcribes* '*what he is to think, and puts into his mouth the* '*very words he is inſtructed to utter. They ſhut him* '*up, and, as it were, impriſon him in his own pa-* '*lace, ſo that truth ſhall never be able to come near* '*him. He is permitted to know nothing but what they,* '*or their ſpies planted about him, think fit to tell him.* '*By their intrigues and influence, he prefers the moſt* '*undeſerving men to the firſt dignities and poſts in the* '*empire; and, to make way for them, diſgraces and* '*diſpoſſeſſes the moſt worthy of his ſubjects, and the* '*moſt devoted to his intereſt. In ſhort, in this* '*ſhameful, miſerable manner, are often the moſt vir-* '*tuous, the beſt intention, and the wiſeſt emperors, ta-* '*ken captive, made a property of, bought and ſold.*'— Thus far Diocleſian.

That

That ſuch has generally been the fate of arbitrary ſovereigns, whoſe wills alone were a law to their ſubjects, the hiſtories of paſt times ſufficiently have manifeſted; but the obſervation has not been ſo frequently verified in limited monarchies; and the caſe is far otherwiſe, *at preſent*, in this happier land of liberty; where the prince muſt govern his people by fixed and known ſtatutes, to which all have given their conſent, and by which *himſelf* is bound alike with the pooreſt peaſant.

Nor can a prince, under our well-tempered conſtitution, have his eyes long *muffled*, or be kept in *total* ignorance of the opinion entertained, by the *majority* of the nation, of his adminiſtration, or of the hardſhips they may at any time endure, from the *intemperance* or *ignorance* of his ſtate-officers. The Engliſh are an honeſt, ingenuous, and not to mince the truth, a blunt people. As they have no reaſon to harbour fear, the laws of the land being their protection, ſo neither are they, as in the countries of oppreſſion and ſlavery, obliged to wear the maſk of ſmiles upon the face of anguiſh, and cover diſcontent and miſery with diſſimulation. Beſides the privilege they have by the *bill of rights*, and the *act of ſettlement*, to petition for redreſs, they never fail diſcovering, *daily*, upon every occaſion that offers, by their words, their actions, nay, their very looks, the judgment they have formed of the conduct and characters of thoſe who have the direction of their public concerns. Their joyful acclamations, or their gloomy ſilence, their marked expreſſions of reſpect and zeal *at one period*, or their no leſs remarkable neglect, and even oppoſition at another, will indicate, and demonſtrate to a diſcerning prince, to what degree the *credit* of his miniſters at any time riſes, or how low it is continually ſinking in the great *national barometer*.

Whereby

Whereby that prince who has a ſincere affection for his people, and does not hold his regard for prerogative above every other conſideration, will be directed to take the proper means to avoid the great riſk he would otherwiſe run, of loſing the hearts of his people, by a miſtaken and ill placed firmneſs, in ſupport of an unpopular and deteſted ſet of miniſters. He may, with a little pains, diſcover beyond a doubt, when his miniſters are become *odious* or *contemptible*, and conſequently when it highly concerns his own as well as the public happineſs and tranquility, to diſmiſs them from his ſervice.

It was the declaration of that great and wiſe monarch *Henry the fourth of France*, ſo far was *he* from thinking himſelf under any tie of honour to maintain a bad miniſter againſt the cries of his people, that a *general odium*, or *ſuſpicion* only, was ſufficient grounds for the diſcarding him. Indeed the famous *earl of Strafford*, as lord Clarendon obſerves, held the ſenſe of the nation in the utmoſt *contempt*; and no doubt inſtilled the ſame bad opinion of them in his royal maſter; but the error and the *danger* of advancing ſuch an arbitrary doctrine amongſt free-born *Engliſhmen*, were evinced by the event; for his deſtruction, (according to the ſame noble writer) was at laſt brought upon him, by *two things*, that he had moſt deſpiſed, *the people*, and Sir *Harry Vane*.

A lover of the king and conſtitution.

Power of the treaſury in elections.

WE have been often told by miniſterial writers, that our conſtitution hath not been in the leaſt injured or violated, that we are now as free a people as can be, and enjoy all the liberty human

human nature is capable of, as we are ſubject to no laws, but ſuch as are of our own making; that is, by our own repreſentatives freely choſen to parliament. But, Sir, though the people were as free in their choice of repreſentatives, as ſuch writers aſſert, yet may not ſuch members be afterwards biaſſed by the crown? And ſhould we ever live to ſee an houſe of commons wherein there were near two hundred placemen and penſioners, could ſuch a parliament be ſaid to be free and independent? But indeed, the freedom of electing our own repreſentatives, though ſo much boaſted of, is not ſo perfect as every friend to the conſtitution of his country could wiſh; for may it not be truly ſaid, that a fifth part, at leaſt, of the boroughs, take, according to the modern phraſe, a recommendation from the treaſury, and chuſe ſuch perſons as are utterly ſtrangers to them? Now, in ſuch caſe, I ſhould be glad to know, whether perſons ſo elected, can be properly called repreſentatives of the people; or whether they are not rather commiſſioners from the treaſury; and whether laws made by the force of their votes, can be juſtly called laws made by the conſent of the people? In our maritime counties is not the power of the admiralty exceſſive? Are not the number of dockmen and cinque-port officers as regularly computed at ſuch county elections, as a gentleman reckons his own tenants? And what is ſtill worſe, are not many of our boroughs totally governed by this miſchievous dependence? Hence we ſee little, low creatures, ſent down from above, and forced upon ſuch electors, in prejudice to the neighbouring gentlemen, whom they love and honour, as much as they deſpiſe and abhor the muſhrooms whom they are compelled to chuſe. But they have places in the cinque-ports, or work in the docks, and are therefore looked upon as the properties of the admiralty. The candidate comes to them with a letter

letter from thence, and it is well known, that they muſt pay obedience to it, or forfeit their bread. By theſe means, little dirty tools of power have often been dragged into parliament, and preferred to gentlemen of the beſt families, characters, and intereſts in the neighbourhood.——For my own part, Sir, I know not how to call ſuch perſons repreſentatives of the people. I cannot help looking upon ſuch members in the ſame light with my lords the B——s who are elected by a *conge d'elire* from the crown; and, like them, I think they ought to be placed on ſeparate benches, apart from thoſe honeſt county gentlemen, who are choſen by the free and uninfluenced voice of their fellow ſubjects.

Curious deſcription of Weſt Wycombe church, &c.

I AM juſt returned from a tour into *Buckinghamſhire*, which has afforded me much pleaſure. The noble proſpect from CLIEFDEN HOUSE enchanted me, and I was in raptures with the many elegant beauties of *Stowe*. As an *Engliſhman*, I was pleaſed that all the great patriots and heroes of *my* country, *Alfred*, *king William the third*, *Hampden*, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, &c. receive *there* that juſt tribute of praiſe, which this nation, while it remains free, will continue to pay to ſuperior virtue. At *Stowe* both *antient* and *modern* virtue are enſhrined with grateful magnificence. Not only *good taſte*, but *patriotiſm*, are conſpicuous in that delightful Paradiſe, the favourite abode of the *virtues*, *graces*, and *muſes*. STOWE, however, has ſo often been deſcribed by abler pens, that I ſhall dwell no longer there, though I never leave it without the moſt ſenſible regret.

I returned by *Weſt-Wycombe*, and paſſed a day in viewing the villa of lord *Le Deſpencer*, and the *church* he has juſt built on the TOP of a hill, for the

the *convenience* and *devotion* of the town at the BOTTOM of it. I muſt own, the noble lord's gardens gave me no ſtronger idea of his *virtue* or *patriotiſm*, than the ſituation of the *new built church* did of his *piety*. Some *churches* have been built from *devotion*, others from *parade* or *vanity*. I believe this is the firſt *church*, which has ever been built for a *proſpect*. The word *memento* in immenſe letters on the ſteeple ſurpriſed and perplexed me. I could not find the *mori*, or perhaps the other word was *meri*, from the *practice* as well as the *precept* of the noble lord. As to the elegance of the *Latin*, his lordſhip has embarraſſed himſelf as little about that, as he has about the elegance of his *Engliſh*. *Memento meri* is beſides more *monkiſh*, and therefore more becoming *St. Francis*. This conjecture, that the other word on the outſide muſt be *meri*, is farther ſtrengthened by the magnificent *gilt ball* at the top of the ſteeple, which is hollowed and made ſo very convenient on the inſide for the celebration, not of *devotional*, but of *convivial* rites, that it is the beſt *globe tavern* I was ever in; but I muſt own that I was afraid my deſcent from it would have been as precipitate, as his lordſhip's was from a *high* ſtation, which TURNED HIS HEAD TOO. I admire likewiſe the ſilence and ſecrecy which reign in that *great globe*, undiſturbed but by his jolly ſongs, very unfit for the profane ears of the world below. As to *ſecrecy*, it is the moſt convenient place imaginable; and it is whiſpered, that a negotiation was here *entamée* by the noble lord himſelf, with meſſrs. *Wilkes* and *Churchill*. The event will ſhew the amazing power of his lordſhip's oratory; but if from perverſeneſs neither of thoſe gentlemen then yielded to his wiſe reaſons, nor to his dazzling offers, they were both delighted with his *divine milk punch*.

There is one remarkable temple in the gardens at *Weſt-Wycombe*, dedicated to—the *Egyptian Hieroglyphic* for ****. To *this* object his lordſhip's *devotion*

votion is undoubtedly ſincere, though I believe now not *fervent*, nor do I take him to be often *proſtrate*, or indeed in any way very regular in his *ejaculations*. He is however *here* conſiſtent, for he keeps up the ſame *public worſhip* in the county, which he has been accuſtomed to in town. There was for many years in the great room at the *king's arms tavern*, in *Old Palace-yard*, an original picture of *Sir Francis Daſhwood* preſented by himſelf to the *Dilettanti* club. He is in the habit of a *Franciſcan*, kneeling before the *Venus of Medicis*, his gloating eyes fixed, as in a trance, on what the modeſty of nature ſeems moſt deſirous to conceal, and a bumper in his hand, with the words MATRI SANCTORUM in capitals. The *glory* too, which till then had only encircled the ſacred heads of our Saviour and the Apoſtles, is made to beam on that favourite ſpot, and ſeems to pearce the hollowed gloom of *Maidenhead Thicket*. The public ſaw, and were for many years offended with ſo infamous a picture, yet it remained there, till that club left the houſe. As to the temple I have mentioned, you find at firſt what is called an *error in limine*; for the entrance to it is the ſame entrance by which we all come into the world, and the *door* is what ſome idle wits have called *the door of life*. It is reported that, on a late viſit to *his* chancellor, lord *Bute* particularly admired this building, and adviſed the noble owner to lay out the 500l. bequeathed to him by lord *Melcombe*'s will *for an erection*, in a *Paphian* column to *ſtand* at the entrance, and it is ſaid he adviſed it to be made of *Scottiſh* pebbles. There are in theſe gardens no buſts of *Socrates*, *Epaminondas*, or *Hampden*, but there is a moſt indecent ſtatue of the unnatural ſatyr; and, at the entrance to the temple I have mentioned, are two urns *ſacred* to the *Epheſian matron*, and to *Potiphar's wife*, with the inſcriptions *Matronæ Epheſiæ Cineres*, *Dominæ Potiphar Cineres*. Between theſe urns, containing

taining *the ſacred aſhes of the great and virtuous dead*, which are, with a happy propriety, DOUBLY GILT (though not quite ſo ſtrongly as that at *Hammerſmith* for the aſhes of lord *Melcombe*'s—wife) you aſcend to the top of the building, which is crowned with a particular column, deſigned, I ſuppoſe, to repreſent our former very *upright* ſtate, when we could ſay *fuimus tories, fuit ingens gloria*, and is ſkirted with very pretty underwood, the *Cyprian myrtle*, &c. the meaning of which I could not find out.

The houſe contains nothing remarkable, excepting only that there is on the grand ſtair-caſe a very moral painting of a maid ſtealing to her maſter's bed, laying at the ſame time her fingers on her lips, as if ſhe were the *Dea Angerona* of *Weſt Wycombe*.

On my return I had the pleaſure of ſeeing the noble lord's elegant *japanned* coach; but while I was reading his new motto in Gothic letters, *Pro Magna Charta*, the mob were hollowing, LIBERTY, PROPERTY, AND NO EXCISE; and I was forced to make the beſt of my way to the park, where I found a very odd thing, which I mean to preſent to the ſociety of antiquaries. It is a gold button, with IHS and the ſign of the *croſs*, enamelled on it, which I gueſſed to belong to ſome concealed brother of the ſociety of *Jeſus*, though a ſervant in *green* claimed it as the property of St. *Francis*, and ſaid that it was a part of the *pontificalibus* worn by his maſter when he officiated on certain feſtivals of high laugh at the myſteries of ——

I made afterwards a little tour to the celebrated abbey of *Medmenham*, the deſcription of which I am ſure would entertain you; but I am too fair a man to diſcloſe to the public the *Engliſh Eleuſinian* myſteries of that renowned convent.

A PARODY

A PARODY *upon the famous Battle of* CHEVY-CHACE.

GOD proſper long our noble king,
Our lives and ſafeties all;
What woeful diſcord once there did
In Britain's iſle befall!
To drive three kingdoms, hound and horn,
Earl St——t took his way,
The child may rue that was not born,
A Scotſman on that day.
The ſtout earl of Northumberland
A vow to God did make,
A daughter of this Scottiſh peer's,
His ſon to wife ſhould take;
The choiceſt honours of the land
To win and bear away;
The tidings to e— T—— came,
At Cotes's where he lay;
Who ſent lord Percy preſent word
He would prevent his ſport,
The ſtately earl not fearing this,
Did daily go to court,
With five and forty Bowmans * bold,
All choſen men of might,
Who knew full well in time of need,
To cringe and bow aright.
Theſe gallant heroes ſoon began
To gain the R—— ear,
At Chriſtmas they great places got,
As plainly doth appear;
And, e'er the ſpring was o'er, they did
A thouſand boons obtain,
Which once poſſeſs'd, they ſhrewdly went
To crave for more again.
The Bowmans muſter'd at Whitehall †,
Their votes were all ſecure;
And ſixteen of the U—r H——e
Each day were guarded ſure.

* See Bowman, in the farce of Lethe.
† The Cockpit.

Wild Highlanders forſook their holds,
Proud offices to take;
And Commiſſaries from the dales,
Did princely fortunes make.
To Sion-houſe earl P-rcy went,
('Twas in the Gazetteer;)
Quoth he, lord B— hath promiſed
This day to meet me here:
If that I thought he would not come,
No longer would I ſtay;
With that his lordſhip's gentleman,
Did on the ſtair-caſe ſay,
" Lo! yonder doth lord B— appear,
" I ſee his ſtar ſo bright,
" Full twenty yeomen, clad in plaids,
" Are marching in our ſight.
" All men of pleaſant Tiviotdale,
" Faſt by the river Tweed;"
Then call my ſon, (the C——s ſaid)
And ſign the deeds with ſpeed.
For now to the degree of duke
My huſband I'll advance;
And while he pranks it here at home,
Why I'll parade in France.
The bridegroom ſpoke the lady fair,
Then mounted on his horſe,
And ſo without his beaver rode,
Like Charles at Charing-croſs.
He wiſh'd for tilts and tournaments,
That he might break a ſpear.
The C———s, with a herald's voice,
Proclaim'd it far and near.
Young Percy on his long-tail'd ſteed,
Moſt like a warrior bold,
Pranc'd foremoſt of the company,
His houſing fring'd with gold.
Now all the chiefs in pow'r agreed,
That they might nothing fear,
To ſend ſuch terms to W-ll—m P—t
As he might deign to hear.
The firſt that did the tender make,
Was noble S——t, he,
Who ſaid, If thou will liſt with us,
Thou Pr—y S—l ſhalt be:

So

So we'll cajole the clam'rous throng,
Whilſt I am ſtill in play;
And half the charges of the ſtate
Thyſelf ſhalt give away.

Nay hear me, B—, the patriot cry'd,
For e'er I hold with thee,
I know thee well, an earl thou art,
I too an earl muſt be.

Thy meaſures I will then adopt,
And all employments fill,
With Sh—lb—e, B——è, and ſuch folk,
For they have done me ill.

Let thou and I the burden try,
And ſet the reſt aſide;
Mackenzie to his poſt reſtor'd,
Nor C—md—n's ſuit deny'd.

Then ſtepp'd a gallant 'ſquire forth,
Will. B—ckf—d was his name;
Who ſaid, I would not have it told
On London 'Change, for ſhame,

That e'er ſuch treaty was on foot,
While I ſtood looking on;
You are two earls, ſaid Will B—ckf—d,
And I a 'ſquire alone:

I'll do the beſt that do I may,
This ſeſſion—if you ſtand,
And, for reward, I then ſhall claim
A peerage of the land.——

Our new allies did ſuch diſmiſs
Were found not ſtaunch and true,
The Yorkſhire and the Suſſex whigs
At once they overthrew.

To drive the city, hound and horn,
Lord Ch——m had the bent,
To move addreſſes at Guildhall,
In vain Hal. C—nw— ſent.

To quell a mob themſelves had rais'd,
Were new expedients found,
Whilſt many of our faireſt laws
Lay trampled on the ground.

O Lord! it was a grief to ſee,
And likewiſe for to hear,
The dire reproaches Ch——m bore
From t'other patriot p—r.

At laſt theſe two great e—ls did meet,
Like miniſters of might,
But for the nation's intereſt,
Of that they made but ſlight.

They talk'd until they both did ſweat,
With an outrageous zeal;
And hugely ſtrugled which of them
Should rule the commonweal.

Yield thou, e— T——, C—— cry'd,
In faith I will thee bring,
Where thou ſhalt high advanced be
By G—— our Britiſh ——.

The public good I'll freely give,
And thus report of thee,
Thou art by far the fitteſt man
To head the tr—ſ—y.

To th'earl of Ch—— T—— ſaid,
Thy proffers I do ſcorn;
I will not yield to any Scot
That ever yet was born.

Then ſtalking off, E—l C—— took
The tall man by the hand,
And ſaid, e— T——, for thy eaſe,
I'd give half Py—ſ—t's land.

O Lord! my very heart doth bleed
With ſorrow for thy ſake;
For ſure there's ſcarce a lord alive
But would ſuch bargain take.

A knight among the Scots there is,
Whom no one dare deny;
For him my couſin H—gl-y's wrath
I muſt and ſhall defy.

Sir H—y R-chf-rt is he call'd,
Of head and heart moſt bright;
Nor do I know ſo quick a man
For parlance or for fight.

He led our expeditions all,
Without or dread or fear,
And is in war as politics,
A hardy pioneer.

And there's a duke of force and might
Is full a match for Go—'r;
Nor did he treat like Ro—k———m,
Who turn'd me from his door.

So

So thus did both theſe patriots jarr,
Whoſe virtue none could ſtain;
E—l Ch—— ſaid, I ſtill perceive
We may be friends again.

He had a crutch beneath his arm,
Made of a truſty tree;
A paper in his gouty hand,
A cloth-yard long had he.

To this new liſt of pen——rs,
Some friends of Stowe he ſet;
E— T—— took and rubb'd them out,
E'en whilſt the ink was wet.

Their ſquabbles held till cloſe of day,
From the meridian ſun;
And when they rung the dinner bell,
The meat was overdone.

With the e— T—— there remain'd
The lord of L-ttl-t—n;
And with his Grace of Bloomſbury,
R—gb—y that bold baron.

With ſtout Sir Fl-tch-r fell Sir C—les,
A ſcribe of good account;
And D-dſw-ll the exchequer man,
Whoſe proweſs did ſurmount.

Now poor Sir John I needs muſt wail
Like one in doleful dumps;
For, getting on the tr—ſ—y bench,
He never ſtirr'd his ſtumps.

And with old Winc—— did fall
The ſturdy doctor H—y;
Nor New—— would quit the field
While he had ſtrength to ſtay.

Nor S—d—h, nor yet Hal——x,
Could either ſaved be;
Lord Car—f—t was carried off,
Againſt his will went he.

And the lord Eg—t in like wiſe
Forſook the admiralty;
And twenty more, or knights or p—rs,
Were ſhortly forc'd to fly.

Of fifty true born Engliſhmen,
Staid in but two or three;
The reſt live at their country ſeats,
Under the green-wood tree.

Next month will many m-mb-rs come,
Their raſhneſs to bewail;
And ſay if they are not reſtor'd,
Why they muſt go to jail.

Their wives do play ſo much at cards,
And throw ſuch ſums away;
Would ſerve to keep a ſcore of w—s,
If they were clad in clay.

The news was unto Paris brought,
And eke the court of Spain;
E— T—— in the miniſtry
Would ſcarce have weight again.

Oh heavy news! John Wilkes did ſay,
Churchill * can witneſs be,
I have not any patron more
Of ſuch account as he.

Like tidings to St. J—s's came,
Within a ſhorter ſpace,
That R—— G———, lord of Stow,
Refus'd to take a pl--ce.

Then God be with him, ſaid the court,
Sith 'twill no better be;
We truſt there is about the helm,
Five hundred good as he.

Yet ſhall not G——r nor W--tw--h ſay
But we will vengeance take:
And juſt revenge ſhall on them fall,
For deareſt St——'s ſake.

This vow was then full well perform'd,
When ——— ——— came to town;
With P--s and P—— C———rs,
Men but of ſl--t renown.

And of the reſt of true account,
Why they were all p--t by;
To make a D—— of Sir H—— S——,
Who made himſelf P——y.

God ſave the King, and bleſs the land,
In plenty, joy, and peace;
And grant henceforth that all regard
To b—th and m-rit ceaſe.

W. Y. W.

* See Churchill's Satires.

FINIS.

A

NEW AND IMPARTIAL COLLECTION OF INTERESTING LETTERS, FROM THE PUBLIC PAPERS;

MANY OF THEM

Written by Perſons of Eminence,

On a great Variety of IMPORTANT SUBJECTS, which have occaſionally engaged the Public Attention:

From the Acceſſion of his preſent MAJESTY, in *September* 1760, to *May* 1767.

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A COLLECTION OF INTERESTING PAPERS.

[*In July, 1765, an almoſt total change was made* IN THE ADMINISTRATION, Which gave riſe to the following LETTERS.]

All wiſe and good Princes will liſten to the complaints of their people, and diſcard a FAVOURITE, *even contrary to their own inclination, when he becomes generally odious among his fellow ſubjects.*

Craftſman, No. 67.

THERE is not a more ungrateful word in the Engliſh language than that of *Favourite:* It raiſes a very complex idea; every part of which is odious and ſhocking. It is compounded of pride, inſolence, and tyranny; and one may venture to ſay, theſe ingredients are every one of them ſo diſguſtful, that though there was nothing beſides diſagreeable in it, the word could not fail *to grate harſh diſcord* on the ear. Accordingly the perſon, to whom this name has been applied, has, in every age and nation, been an object of univerſal contempt and hatred. From Sejanus down to the Earl of Bute, the people have curſed him; and indeed not without juſtice, as he has generally conducted himſelf in the moſt imperious manner, and behaved with all the wantonneſs of oppreſſion and cruelty.

I muſt beg leave, through the channel of your paper, to lay before the public ſome few particulars, not unworthy of their notice, eſpecially as they ſeem to be at a loſs who is the occaſion of all thoſe unhappy convulſions that have of late ſo torn and diſtracted us. They were owing entirely to the reſtleſs ſpirit of that *over-bearing Favourite*, who is never happy but when he is ſhewing his power by abuſing it. It was *his* pernicious council that removed Mr. Pitt from the adminiſtration, becauſe he was the darling of the people, and would not ſubmit to act under *his* governance and direction. A crime of the ſame nature has made him determine, if poſſible, to overturn the preſent miniſtry; and as far as I am able to ſee, nothing continues them in their ſeveral departments but an impoſſibility to diſpoſe of them to perſons mean enough to act in ſuch an *underling* capacity. 'Tis to our credit, that amongſt the number of thoſe who, either through ambition or neceſſity, are gaping after employments, he cannot form a junto who will accept of them upon his own terms; that is, ſuffer themſelves to be converted into ſo many ſtate-puppets, to be dandled up and down by this great maſter of the drama. He can never forgive the gentlemen, who form the adminiſtration, the part they have acted; weary to death with being regarded as little better than ſo many cyphers in office, while HE, the ſovereign arbiter, diſpoſed imperiouſly of every place of profit and honour, they were determined either to reſign, or to ſhake off ſuch a ſhameful dependance. To convince the Minion that they were in earneſt, Mr. Mackenzie, and two or three others were immediately removed from their employments. A bold and perilous ſtep, that could not paſs off with impunity, unleſs he had given up all pretenſions to his national motto, *Nemo me impune laceſſit*. But a true Scot, you know, never gives up any thing

thing that belongs to his dear country; and one may venture to ſay of the great *Favourite*, that he is *every inch a* Scot. Stung to the quick by this ſpirited behaviour of the preſent miniſtry, he has ever ſince been indefatigable in his endeavours to remove them; and, careleſs of the repoſe of his Sovereign, and the quiet of the nation, has moved heaven and earth to effect it. I own myſelf extremely ſhocked to ſee a gentleman, of Mr. Grenville's character, made the ſport and paſtime of this muſhroom-upſtart; a man of whom we may ſay with Shakeſpeare, 'Take him for all in all, we ne'er 'ſhall look upon his like again;' of unblemiſhed reputation, of known abilities, and unſullied integrity; a man who has conducted the affairs of the nation with the utmoſt reſolution, wiſdom, and prudence; one in whom all the monied men in the kingdom place the moſt perfect confidence, and all honeſt men wiſh to ſee long continued in the adminiſtration. That *ſuch* a man ſhould be diſplaced and replaced, employed or thrown by, at the *wanton* pleaſure of a *Favourite*, muſt needs be a lamentable reflection to every one, who is concerned for the peace and proſperity of the kingdom.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

Si poſſis, recte; ſi non—quocunque modo. HOR.

IT is a remark of Biſhop Burnet's, that though no man has a *natural right* to a place at Court, yet every man *has a right* to get one—*if he can*. What a pity it is that the good Biſhop did not advance ſtill further, and affirm, that it is a duty which every man owes to himſelf and his family, to *accept* of a place at Court, let the conditions, on which it is offered, be *what they will*. Such ſtate-doctrine as this, if it had once been firmly eſtabliſhed, would have proved, at the preſent juncture, of very ſin-

gular ſervice to the SCOTCH FAVOURITE, and his faction. He would not then, poor man, have been at a loſs for proper perſons on whom to confer thoſe ſeveral departments, which he has of late ſo frequently and publicly ſet up to ſale. He would ſtill have had all the game *in his own hands*, and never at a loſs for *pam*, might have loo'd the whole nation. Unhappily, as matters are at preſent circumſtanced, the places at Court ſeem to go a begging; and I almoſt doubt whether any one will be hardy enough to accept them *on the Favourite's terms*. Perhaps he may be able to lay hold on two or three BOYS, who have never been trained up to office; who are entirely rude and ignorant of buſineſs; and as they have no credit to loſe, may take a deſperate leap, and plunge over head and ears at once, without ſhivering about it. He has been tampering over and over again with Mr. *Pitt*: But who can imagine that a perſon of his popularity will directly forfeit all, by co-operating with one whoſe uniform conduct has been ſeverely cenſured by the whole kingdom, who has no reputation of his own to loſe, as he is curſed by men of every rank and condition? The bad effects of being *ſuppoſed only* to be connected with him, are apparent from the behaviour of the late Spitalfields mob to his Grace the Duke of B. I was at a loſs how to account for all that virulence, which theſe ignorant and miſguided people ſhewed againſt this Nobleman, till I overheard a dialogue between one of the ringleaders and a perſon of a ſober and decent appearance, who was endeavouring to diſſuade him from his undertaking. I may ſome time or other ſend you the *queſtions* and *replies*, as near as I can recollect them, word for word, from their own mouths; as they will prove no diſagreeable entertainment to your readers: At preſent I ſhall only remark, that the ſum of his Grace's crimes was

neither

neither more nor leſs than this, that he was connected with the Scotchman, whom he ſupported with all his power and influence. How little did theſe people know of the matter; when at that very time not light and darkneſs were more directly oppoſite than his Grace and Sawney? It is well known, that the Duke of Bedford is a man of revolution-principles, and an Engliſhman. How was it poſſible, then, for him to ſupport a man of ſo different a turn, as the mighty Favourite; one who glories in the name of *Stuart*, and acts up to the vileſt kind of prerogative, HIS OWN WILL; a Scotchman by family, by birth, by inclination; one who obtrudes his needy countrymen upon us without mercy, and thruſts them into every public employment that he can poſſibly lay his hands on. No, his Grace is a man of too much honour to be connected with one who is plotting the ruin of this unhappy kingdom. It is remarkable, that the Favourite is the only perſon about Court who was not greatly ſhocked at the late inſurrection of the weavers: He ſat, good eaſy man, wrapt up, no doubt, in conſcious integrity, and enjoyed the ſtorm: So far from being apprehenſive where the tumult would end, he exulted at its beginning; and gladly embraced that opportunity of perſuading his M—— to diſcard the miniſtry, who could not fail of being HIGHLY UNPOPULAR, *as they had broken off all connection with, and dependance upon* HIM. It muſt be owned, indeed, there was a ſpice of vanity in this proceeding, as he was in hopes of acquiring popularity *by Mr. Pitt's being recalled into power*. A fallacious way of reaſoning. For my own part, I cannot conceive a more ridiculous ſight in the whole creation, than the Scotchman riding on our patriot's ſhoulders, unleſs, indeed, it ſhould be our patriot's riding on his.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

——Importunus adeſt atque omnia turbat.

WHAT a contemptible figure has this country made of late, in compariſon of what it might have done, had it not been for the fluctuation of our councils? And what, may I aſk, has that fluctuation been owing to but the timid, reſtleſs, and ſuſpicious diſpoſition of a FAVOURITE, to whoſe paſſions and fear, and revenge, the welfare of the nation has been alternately ſacrificed?

Is there a ſet of men that have not been taken up for a time, and diſmiſſed again *at his inſtigation?* In the courſe of five years there have been no leſs than *eight* Secretaries of State, *three* Firſt Lords of the Treaſury, and *five* of the Admiralty. Have they ALL miſbehaved in their offices? Is there none that has done well? No, not one. If this is the caſe, why have they not been brought to account for their crimes, and made to anſwer for them publicly? But, indeed, their crimes have been of a very different nature from what are cognizable in an Engliſh parliament, or an Engliſh court of juſtice. They are only ſuch as can be canvaſſed in the *Conſiliabulum* of a timid and revengeful FAVOURITE; where ſerving the public too well, and gaining too much credit with the nation, are conſidered as crimes of the blackeſt dye. *Hinc illæ Lachrymæ!* Such were the charges brought againſt Mr. PITT; and ſuch was the Court, by which he was *tried* and *ſentenced!* Such too, in all likelihood, will be the fate of thoſe, whoſe cauſe is now in actual hearing, before this *impartial* Tribunal. Never, one may venture to ſay, was public œconomy more ſtrictly attended to than by the preſent Treaſury: Never did a Miniſter acquire more reputation for his diſintereſtedneſs, and for his able management of our finances, than the very worthy and reſpectable perſon

ſon who, *as yet*, preſides at that board. But, alas! as he began to gain credit in the cloſet, in parliament, and in the nation in general, he became formidable to the FAVOURITE, who, from that moment, determined to work his ruin; and his ſentence, I fear, is inevitable! for beſides the odium under which every good and great man labours in the eye of the *Chief of the Conciliabulum*, he has committed an overt act of a moſt daring and atrocious nature, has ventured to think that power was not to be truſted with ſafety to the *brother* of the FAVOURITE. This is an inexpiable crime, and will draw upon him the ſevereſt ſentence that the offended Majeſty of the FAVOURITE can poſſibly inflict.

What, then, have we *now* to expect?—A ſummer adminiſtration compoſed of raſhneſs, timidity, and corruption! ANTI-SEJANUS.

I HAVE often lamented, that in party-diſputes ſo much warmth and acrimony ſhould be made uſe of even in points which ſeem to require nothing more than cool reaſoning and ſound argument. As this is a rock which too many political writers have ſplit upon, I ſhall endeavour to ſteer clear of it as much as poſſible; and whatever indignation I may expreſs againſt *meaſures*, I ſhall have little or nothing to do with *men*. I am the rather perſuaded to this, becauſe I have remarked, that thoſe perſons, whoſe conduct is ſo flagitious as to authorize any ſeverities they may meet with, are the moſt callous and inſenſible mortals breathing. Abuſe and vilify them ever ſo much, they only laugh in your face; they are endued with true chriſtian patience and reſignation; for if you ſmite them on one cheek, they turn to you the other alſo.

Dean Swift having written a very galling ſatire againſt the Earl of Wharton when he was Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, went the day after it was publiſhed to pay his compliments at Court. As ſoon as the Earl ſaw him, he took him aſide, and told him, "I hear, Doctor, that a pamphlet is juſt come "out that ſwinges me damnably: Egad, I'll be "even with the fellow; for I am determined *never* "*to read it.*" It is not unlikely but the SCOTCH FAVOURITE and his faction may treat theſe papers of mine in the ſame manner: If they do, I can heartily forgive them; for I am not vain enough to imagine, that any *gentle reproofs*, which are thrown out by ſo inconſiderable a perſon as myſelf, will work much reformation in their manners and principles. I ſhall be very well contented, if they ſerve to inſtruct and open the eyes of my fellow ſubjects, the generality of whom have been groſsly impoſed upon by inſinuations that the FAVOURITE is not concerned in adviſing the ſeveral changes in the miniſtry. Whereas it is notorious to every one, who is poſſeſſed of the leaſt penetration, that they are all the projects of his diſtempered brain—diſtempered with a variety of uneaſy paſſions, ſuch as pride, jealouſy, and revenge. It is ſome comfort, however, that his malice is weak and impotent; and one cannot help ſmiling to ſee what wretched tools he employs to work out his infamous purpoſes. It is ſomething remarkable, that he has not been able to prevail on one ſingle perſon of character and experience to co-operate with him. The poor creatures, whom he has *preſſed* into his ſervice, remind me of the ragamuffins headed by his nameſake in the rebellion, who were compoſed of raw, ignorant lads and decrepid old men. What makes it ſtill worſe is, that they are the very perſons who have always expreſſed the moſt virulent hatred to the FAVOURITE and his faction. They have catch'd at every opportunity of blackening his character, and have accuſtomed themſelves ſo long

to

to think and ſpeak of him in the vileſt manner, that I am perſuaded they are unable *now* to leave it off. They may, indeed, for a little time, juſt to ſerve their ambitious purpoſes, "keep their mouths, as "it were, with a bridle;" but while their hearts are ſo hot within them, the fire muſt inevitably kindle, and they will at laſt ſpeak with their tongues. In the mean time it will be no ſmall amuſement to us, who are only byeſtanders, to obſerve with what *awkward grace* they will implicitly obey the commands of the dictator; and how *unwillingly* they will *compliment* him with the diſpoſal of every place of truſt or profit. I am aware, indeed, that, as a *Chart Blanche* has been offered to them, they may imagine they are to come in *on their own terms*: But I will venture to prophecy, that they will find themſelves, in the end, very woefully miſtaken; for by what I know of the FAVOURITE, he never will part with his *bis power*, which he has uniformly ſhewn, with amazing perſeverance, is the ſole dear *idol* of his ſoul. ANTI-SEJANUS.

Vulneris auxilium Pelias haſta tulit. OVID.

I HAVE already, in a former letter, mentioned the frequent changes that, to the eternal diſgrace of this country, have happened within the ſpace of five years, and the cauſe to which they are to be attributed. But as the ſole object of theſe letters is to open the eyes of the public, with regard to the ſacrifices both of men and meaſures, which have been owing to the influence of our MODERN SEJANUS; I hope I ſhall not be accuſed of tautology, if I dwell upon the ſame ſubject, and expatiate a little further on the events of that period. One of your late correſpondents ſeems to approve of my purpoſe, though he doubts of its effect, thinking it out of my power to ſhake the *Coloſſus*. His obſervation

vation is at firſt ſight well founded; but my friend *Philanglia* will alter his opinion, when he conſiders, that I have a moſt powerful aſſiſtant, in my attack upon this Gargantua; one who has overthrown a ſtill greater idol, the idol of a free people; who hitherto has never failed in any project that his paſſions of pride, revenge, or ambition, have engendered in his breaſt. After having ſaid this, it will be eaſy to conclude, that I mean the great giant himſelf. I ſincerely engage myſelf to omit nothing that my talents will allow me to do, to accompliſh the ſalutary end for which the whole nation ſo ardently wiſhes; but I fear my new ally will have more merit to plead in this overthrow than myſelf, having been at work upon it for ſome years; whereas my appearance in the political world is not of many days date. His abſurdities, contradictory conduct, and ignorance of the very rudiments of government, have brought ſuch a load of public reſentment againſt him, that there is little left for me to do; and I moſt ſincerely believe, that, without the ſpirit of prophecy, I may venture to declare *his final ruin is not now very diſtant.*

The wickedeſt Miniſters, the moſt contemptible and deteſted Favourites, that have diſgraced the reigns of our Britiſh Kings, have never been without their friends, or without having retained ſome party in their ſupport; but it has been reſerved to our days to ſee the prodigy of a minion veſted with unlimited authority, for a long time the diſpenſer of the choiceſt honours and pecuniary bounties of the Crown, and that in ſo liberal a manner as quickly to make the Crown poor in both; to ſee him, I ſay, reduced, by his own miſmanagement, to the ſingularly miſerable and forlorn ſtate of having neither party to eſpouſe, nor friend to protect him.

Uncommon as this phœnomenon is, it may be accounted for by recollecting that he has by turns deceived

deceived and deſerted all parties, and ſets of men in this country, and is therefore equally diſavowed, deteſted, and deſerted by all.

Let us look a little back to the beginning of the period, alluded to in my former letter, what has been the conduct of this reſtleſs and inſidious adviſer. His firſt exploit, when his power was eſtabliſhed, appeared in the removal of Mr. Pitt, who had conducted the war with all the ſucceſs that was due to ſo great and enterpriſing a genius. This great man was obliged, by Scotch machinations and intrigue, to quit the helm; and the public loſt not only the ſupport of his abilities, but his ſpirited and and diſintereſted kinſman, the Earl of Temple, followed him in his retreat, reſolving, and, as we have lately ſeen, adhering to his reſolution, never to take a ſhare in the government while there remained the leaſt appearance of its being under the influence of a SCOTCH FAVOURITE. By this, two of the ableſt and beſt men in the kingdom, with all thoſe who were friends to them and their popular ſyſtem, were at once diſguſted, and commenced open and declared war with the *Coloſſus*. It is from this period that he began to act *againſt himſelf*, and lay the foundation of that fall, which it would be my happineſs to be able to accelerate.

It would have been natural to imagine, that when he had ſet ſo powerful a party at defiance, he would have ſtrengthened himſelf by forming connections with thoſe that remained; but this was by no means the caſe; another victim was immediately doomed a ſacrifice; an aged Duke (who, though his miniſterial talents were not eminent, had ſerved the Crown as well as he could, poor man, for upwards of forty years) was ignominiouſly driven from office. Nor was this ſufficient, but a whole hecatomb was to be ſacrificed at the altar of Scotch revenge and inſolence; and, what was hitherto unheard

heard of in this country, the lists of the inferior offices were carefully scrutinized, and numbers of worthy innocent men, who had no crime, but that their employments had been given them by the *discarded Duke*, were deprived of subsistence. I could draw the dismal picture of many reputable families, reduced by this Herodian act of cruelty to such penury and distress, as would shock the heart of the rudest Barbarian.

By these acts he had estranged from him another numerous party of men; and *then* he had no dependance, but on his own personal interest with the ****, and a few wretched adherents whom his ignorance of mankind made him imagine to be men of popularity. But he soon perceived his error; and so far did his timidity operate over his pride, that he hung his tail, and slunk out of office; protesting, at the same time, in the most solemn manner, that he would never again interfere in the business of government. How those engagements have been performed, the world is witness, as it is well known that they were scarcely made before they were shamefully broken.—Every one has heard of a treaty with Mr. Pitt in the year 1763, which was entirely brought upon the carpet by the FAVOURITE. This alone is sufficient to prove my assertion of his faithlessness and breach of promise. Happy would it have been for this nation if that treaty had succeeded; for if that excellent person had *then* taken the reigns of government, in all probability the power of that dangerous man had soon been blasted. But, unfortunately for us, he was reserved for future mischief; he was reserved when all was peace, when the wheels of government moved smoothly on, when Faction drooped her head, and party was almost no more, he was reserved to disturb, by his weak and wicked counsels, the public repose, and plunge the government into

into difficulties, of which it is not eaſy to ſee the end.

Non ſemper ea ſunt, quæ videntur; decipit
Frons prima multos; rara mens intelligit
Quod interiore condidit Cura angulo. PHÆD.

SIR,

IT is not from any apprehenſion that the word *Favourite*, though often repeated, will be tireſome to the public, as a late writer in one of the papers has ſuggeſted, that I have not addreſſed myſelf to you for ſome days paſt; but I will fairly own, my ſilence aroſe from an apprehenſion, that the name and ſtile of *Anti-Sejanus* might pall the appetites of your readers, by being ſerved up too frequently. I cannot have ſo much vanity as to imagine, that from one ſingle topic I ſhall find reſources enough to diverſify the ſubject in ſuch a manner as to afford amuſement or inſtruction ſix days in the week: But for that reaſon do not let it be imagined, that you will loſe me for a correſpondent, as long as the *Giant* remains in poſſeſſion of the *ſmalleſt* degree of power. During that period, I have no cauſe to believe that the public will diſapprove of the repetition of the word *Favourite*, or be tired with my doctrine, which is calculated ſingly to that one purpoſe, of opening the eyes of the nation, as to the injuries they have ſuffered from the influence of that pernicious perſon. Believe me, they are not acquainted with half his crimes, with half his abſurdities: Some ſtill conſider him as all powerful; others as an innocent, injured man, ſuffering for events that ought not to be laid to his charge; and a few (though I believe they are very few indeed) ſtill take him for a man of talents, and an able ſtateſman. If I flatter myſelf with imagining, that my former letters have not been altogether uſeleſs, in undeceiving

undeceiving the world in ſome of theſe particulars: But much is ſtill left to be done; and if you do not think me tedious, nor find, by a diminution of the ſale of your paper, that I am thought ſo by the public, I ſhall perſevere in my undertaking, and now and then trouble you with a letter, till I have compleatd the great work, and reduced him to that abject ſtate which is ſuited to the meanneſs of his capacity, and the corruption of his heart.

Though my former letters may, perhaps, incline you to think that I am particularly connected with the late adminiſtration, and ſee their conduct with an eye of partiality, I do aſſure you that it is by no means the caſe. I am a friend to truth; and I mean no more than to diſabuſe the world, as to a few particular prejudices which they have imbibed againſt thoſe gentlemen. Let them be judged fairly; but do not arraign them for crimes which no perſon, who has any information, ſuſpects them to be guilty of. Such is the charge brought againſt them for having condeſcended to act under the influence of the *Favourite*; a charge to which they may boldly plead *not guilty*, without fearing conviction, though they were tried even by a Scotch jury. I have already touched upon this point; and I again throw down my gauntlet, and deſire to be contradicted, if what I aſſert is not true, "that during the whole courſe of their adminiſtration they have continually reſiſted the efforts of this ambitious and reſtleſs man; that they have been the firſt who gave any conſiderable and public blow to his power; and that the ſole cauſe of their diſgrace is the open teſtimony they gave of their reſolution not to act under his influence." In ſhort, it muſt be allowed, they have been ſtruggling with an antagoniſt at the top of a precipice; and though they have tumbled themſelves, they have carried him part of the way with them in their fall. This is all

I will

I will now ſay with regard to thoſe who have juſt left the helm: My point is to overcome *Sejanus*; and whether it is to be done by this or that ſet of men, is to me a matter of extreme indifference. I may, however, be allowed to give my opinion who are, and who are not, likely to effect that ſalutary purpoſe; and I am not fearful to ſay, that I do not think thoſe, who are now placed in the ſtations of the late diſcarded Miniſters, are the perſons on whom the nation called to reſcue them from the tyranny of the *Favourite*. Was the Duke of N— the popular miniſter that the nation cried aloud for? Was a perſon of higher rank than him, who (from reſpect I bear to every thing which he is by birth allied to) ſhall not be named in my writings; was *he*, I ſay, the Patriot, whom the landed gentlemen of property in this country look up to as their protector? Do they wiſh for an extenſion of the military power? Are the young unexperienced gentlemen, who are called in to ſupport the preſent fabric, ſuch as will pleaſe the *ſedate* and *thinking* part of mankind? I am determined not to be abuſive, becauſe I conſider abuſe as a low and illiberal engine; and having ſo good a cauſe to treat, I will not ſuffer the attention of the public to be drawn from my arguments, by their contempt and diſapprobation of my manners and language. For this reaſon, I will draw a veil over the private characters of thoſe individuals who have *now* the direction of this great machine; and only ſay, in general terms, that neither the monied men nor the country gentlemen, neither thoſe who conſider our connections with foreign powers, nor thoſe who attend to our interior eaſe and tranquility, will pretend that theſe are the perſons we looked up to with eyes of expectation and deſire. Had Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* been placed at the head of affairs, the nation would have been ſatisfied: They have ſhewed their abilities,

and

and we admire them: they have ſhewed their integrity, and we honour them: But when they are ſet aſide, and others employed, whoſe only recommendation is their experience, can there be a ſtronger demonſtration that a malignant *influence* ſtill prevails over our councils, and that the nation can never proſper in the preſent hands? To this I know it will be anſwered, that Mr. *Pitt* approves the ſyſtem, and wiſhes it well; that he will aſſiſt them with his advice, and that *his* meaſures will be purſued; but let thoſe, who will, believe ſuch ridiculous aſſertions: *Anti-Sejanus* is not to be duped with language, that would not make an impreſſion upon a ſenſible child of ten years old. Mr. *Pitt* withdrew from the adminiſtration, of which he was a member, becauſe he could not guide their counſels; he declines taking a part in this, for the ſame reaſon. It is plain to perceive for what purpoſe theſe *new gentlemen* pretend the contrary: Driven, poor ſouls, to their laſt ſhift, they catch at every ſhadow, and endeavour to impoſe upon the public *appearance* for *reality*: They mean to magnify their importance by ſtrutting in ſtilts; and, like the fooliſh daw in the fable, would fain cover their own nakedneſs with the plumage of a peacock. While I ſmile at the little artifices they make uſe of, I cannot help pitying the poverty of their invention: The removal of a few individuals, who have *formerly* been connected with the *Favourite*, (while a hundred of his *creatures* ſtill remain *unmoleſted* in office) is to make mankind believe that they are not his tools and inſtruments; and a dignity or an employment, conferred on a friend or two of the Great Commoner, is to convince the world that he approves, at preſent, both of men and meaſures. But *credat Judæus!*—till he gives the teſtimony of his approbation, by ſupporting them in parliament, and aſſiſting in perſon at the ſecret councils, that decide about the weighty

affairs

affairs of the ſtate; till the *Favourite* is baniſhed to a long, long diſtance from Court, and thoſe who are *able*, not thoſe *only* who are *willing* to ſerve the crown, are entruſted with offices of buſineſs and reſponſibility; I ſhall think Mr. *Pitt* and Lord *Temple* diſſatisfied with the general ſituation of things; and that they lament, with me, the hopeleſs ſtate to which this unhappy kingdom is reduced, and from which it will never extricate itſelf, till the laſt dregs of that curſed poiſon, the power of the *Favourite*, are drained off, and the direction of affairs entruſted with thoſe miniſters who are called upon by the joint voice of the people to afford us their aſſiſtance and protection. ANTI-SEJANUS.

——*Pugnat Sententia ſecum*
Quod petiit ſpernit, repetit quod nuper omiſit. HOR.

AS I have been rather liberal in my epithets, whenever I have mentioned the name of *Sejanus*, having ventured more than once to make uſe of the words *abſurd*, *ambitious*, and *revengeful*, it ſeems particularly incumbent upon me to ſhew that they have not been miſapplied. And this is ſo eaſy a taſk, that it requires little more than a bare narrative to prove that I have not been miſled by paſſion, or warped with prejudice, when I have expreſſed myſelf in thoſe terms.

There is another particular, in which, perhaps, it may be expected that I ſhould vindicate myſelf, namely, in affirming that the power of the Coloſſus is ſhaken to its very foundation: and this likewiſe (Heaven be praiſed) is no very difficult matter; for I verily believe that, if I continue much longer your correſpondent, it will be objected to me, that I am trampling on the dead, and inſulting the memory of a conquered and fallen enemy.

To illuſtrate theſe points in the fulleſt manner, it will not be neceſſary for me to go farther back

than to the changes that have lately happened in the adminiſtration. Six weeks thorough knowledge of the meaſures of *Sejanus* will be ſufficient to prove his abſurdity and wickedneſs; and when theſe are once made out, they will not only juſtify my having made uſe of expreſſions rather harſh and ſevere, but convince the world that his reign is almoſt over, and his ruin at hand. When he ſaw the late miniſtry riſing in the eſteem of the public, he concluded, with reaſon, that the ſame conduct, which gained them the good opinion of the thinking part of the nation, would not fail to recommend them to their virtuous and well-diſpoſed maſter. This at once alarmed his jealouſy, and determined him, by ſecret emiſſaries and falſe inſinuations, to preclude them from a free acceſs to their Sovereign. His wicked project unhappily ſucceeded; and when he found that he had blaſted the power of his rivals, ambition ſeized upon his ſoul. He reſolved immediately to form a new adminiſtration; an adminiſtration, that ſhould never thwart or oppoſe him; an adminiſtration of his own creatures and dependents. His brother was to have the direction of Scotland, and his *brother-in-law* to be placed at the head of the finances, and be principal miniſter of ſtate. What made this plan of his more ridiculous and chimerical, was, that he imagined our *Patriot Commoner* would condeſcend to act under his influence, and that of his tools and creatures: But he found himſelf miſerably miſtaken; his fooliſh ſcheme was accordingly exploded, and the diſcarded miniſters were recalled, who immediately diſmiſſed the inſtrument of *Sejanus*'s power over his native country. This, it muſt be owned, was a glorious, but at the ſame time it was the laſt blow they could make at the *Favourite*. He was exaſperated to the greateſt degree, and all the ſulphur of his ſoul took fire; His revenge, at all events, muſt

muſt be gratified, and a new ſet of people called in; yet even here a difficulty remained behind; though he was determined to work the fall of his enemies, he could not bear to drop the dear idea of eſtabling a *family influence.* Some medium, therefore, was to be propoſed; and his noble kinſman, (who, from reading the groſs flattery, *which he pays for*, in the public papers, fondly thinks himſelf a man of popularity) though not the principal miniſter, was ſtill to bear ſome high office in the ſtate, and his brother to be reſtored at leaſt to the income of his former ſtation. This *ſecond* project, however, miſcarried; for after having tried every man of rank in the kingdom, after the Treaſury had been *refuſed by four different perſons in one day*, he was reduced to lower his demands, and with them give up a farther portion of his ſtrength and influence.

He dropt at laſt, unwillingly indeed, his darling ſcheme of governing, by means of a family compact; and, to gratify his revenge and quiet his fears, (which painted to him the fatal conſequences that might happen from the reſentment of the nation, if he perſiſted in his ambitious purpoſes) he ſet on foot a freſh negociation.

Who can forbear lamenting with me, that the credit, the repoſe, the proſperity of the kingdom, are to be thus frequently and wantonly ſacrificed to the private paſſions of this reſtleſs and all-graſping *Favourite?*

No one, I imagine, will pretend to deny, that I have here given a true hiſtory of what has lately happened in the adminiſtration. Three different plans have been agitated; and the laſt of them would not have taken place, if the gentlemen, who were lately in power, would have demeaned themſelves ſo low as to negociate with the Scotchman. He never, I believe, *much* wiſhed to carry it into execution: He

would rather have chofen, that the two ſets of men ſhould have bid againſt each other for his protection; and then would have inclined the ſcale in favour of that party, who would have done the moſt to repair his ſhattered power. He has failed in this, as in all his former projects; for though the auction was opened, and the places fairly put up, he could get no ſetters to enhance the price, and *but one bidder* appeared!

The conſequence of the whole is, that a miniſtry is formed without one man of buſineſs and experience. It ſets out with pretenſions to popularity, and yet is headed by the D. of ——, the Duke of N——, and the Earl of B—. It claims the name of a *Whig adminiſtration*, with a Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer, the only Tory who has been truſted with any office of power or buſineſs ſince the beginning of his Majeſty's reign. In ſhort, it is compoſed of weakneſs, falſhood, and contradiction, and is a perfect model of the great original that gave it birth.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

——TRES *ſunt ante omnia.*——

WHEN Octavius, Mark Antony, and Lepidus, formed that ill-connected triumvirate, which put a final period to the liberties of Rome, they ſhewed a wonderful tenderneſs for each other, not in *ſecuring their friends*, but in *ſacrificing their enemies* to their mutual reſentment. In this general proſcription, the ties of blood were alternately diſregarded, and the more ſacred bonds of friendſhip readily broken through, provided it tended, upon the whole, to gratify the hatred and revenge of thoſe deſtroyers of the public freedom. The leaders of the preſent unnatural coalition of men in power ſeem to have adopted the ſame principles, as far as circumſtances will admit; not, indeed, by ſticking up

up the heads of the men of eloquence and ability, among their adverſaries, at the bar of the two houſes, (which, however, I would adviſe them to effect, *if they can*, before the meeting of parliament) but by removing all perſons from employment who have the moſt diſtant connection with thoſe whom they ſtile their enemies.

In this point, the enterprizing Antonius, the doating Lepidus, and the timid Octavius, ſeem perfectly agreed. There is, however, this manifeſt inequality, as to Octavius's ſhare in this extenſive proſcription, that *he* is obliged to ſacrifice ſome of his friends, in order to preſerve the others; whilſt his aſſociates in power give a full ſweep to their revenge, by marking out as victims whoever were honoured with the friendſhip, or bore relation by office to thoſe whoſe places have been lately uſurped by a motley band of mock-ſtateſmen. I call it uſurped, becauſe, though the ——— has an undoubted right to diſpoſe of theſe employments, nature and reaſon never intended them for ſuch as the preſent poſſeſſors.

If the public cannot diſpute the authority, by which men of ability and experience are removed, to make way for thoſe who have ſhewn themſelves deficient in the one, or who cannot lay any claim to the other, yet ſurely they have a right to enquire why thoſe, who are ſubordinate in offices of the utmoſt truſt and importance, ſhould be wantonly laid aſide, only becauſe the Triumvirate will have it ſo.

That the whole board of Treaſury ſhould be changed, is an act of neceſſity; becauſe thoſe, who had been joined with the gentleman, who laſt preſided there, could never be brought to ſubmit to his inadequate ſucceſſors: But that the two Secretaries of that department ſhould be diſmiſſed, the one becauſe he has been faithful to his late ſuperior, and the other becauſe it is a neceſſary ſtep to

impoſe upon the public, I cannot admit as ſatisfactory reaſoning. Beſides, can this impoſition operate for any long continuance? The latter of theſe gentlemen, formerly the confidential Secretary of Octavius, could not be continued without an open declaration of what the Triumvirate labours ſo much to conceal. For the ſame reaſon, this timid Stateſman acquieſces in his brother's diſgrace; and allows his former partner in the Treaſury to be thrown out of the wardrobe like a caſt-off ſuit of cloaths. But will this ſubterfuge impoſe upon men of experience and knowledge of the world? Will *they* ſubmit to dignify this adminiſtration with the title of Whig, and Anti-Favourite, whilſt Mr. D—— is ſingled out to lead one band of penſioners, and the E— of L——— ſtill ſtands at the head of the other? whilſt T——— continues in poſſeſſion of his ſtaff, and O———d and E———tt quietly enjoy their lucrative employments? For what merit of their own is this indulgence ſhewn to the two laſt? Not upon account of their abilities, for that would be a ſufficient reaſon why they ſhould be diſcarded: It is their *merit with their countryman*; it is the reward of their inaction during the laſt parliamentary campaign, where the one carefully concealed his talent *wrapt up in a napkin*, and the other uſed his ſparingly, as loath to wear it out in any other cauſe than that of the *Favourite?*

I forbear to mention others, as too inconſiderable to be named in the liſt: It is ſufficient to ſay that thoſe ſnarlers in politics, who followed the *Favourite* in couples, are ſtill retained to fill up the cry, and are ſtill fed from the trencher.

Whilſt ſuch juggling is carrying on, and that too in ſo bungling a manner, will any perſon dare to aſſert, that the *Favourite* has *no* hand in theſe tranſactions, and that Mr. PITT has *any?* Will he lend his ſupport to eſtabliſh thoſe men in power, whom

Volpone

Volpone approves, and has promiſed to ſecond? Will the *Great Commoner*, whoſe name is to fill ſo many ſhining pages in hiſtory, ſuffer it to be ſullied by an intercourſe with ſuch men as theſe? Will *his* ſuperior ſpirit ſubmit to imitate the daſtardly *Favourite*, by keeping clear of all reſponſibility, and yet aſpiring to direct? Or, if his ill ſtate of health will not permit him to ſupport the fatigue of office, and he ſhould be prevailed on to guide the machine, would he truſt to untempered tools of *other peoples' providing*.

We have ſeen, indeed, inſtances where a great genius, who is ſure of his effect, will produce wonders of art with almoſt any tool that comes to hand; but there never was that man who would riſk his reputation by preferring ſuch inſtruments as ſhould be brought by the loweſt in the trade, when he had the whole profeſſion before him, and might ſupply himſelf from the ableſt and moſt experienced artiſts. ANTI-SEJANUS.

SEE here the hopeful ſtate in which this country is repreſented by the writers for the preſent Miniſtry; who tell us, that the beſt thing which could at preſent happen, would be for them all to be immediately turned out of their employments, and ſucceeded by Mr. Pitt, and thoſe whom he thinks of principal ability, and fitteſt to be employed. In this opinion I agree with them heartily; but I am of a different way of thinking from their flatterers, who give it out that Mr. Pitt believes the doating Stateſman and his aſſociates qualified for any employments; whereas I am humbly of opinion, that he thinks them fit for none; for if he did not, would he thus, in their preſent ſtate of weakneſs and diſtreſs, turn his back upon them, and fairly leave them to ſhuffle and cut for themſelves? ... Would he not rather, out of pure compaſſion, reach out a

helping hand, when they call upon him, poor ſouls, with their chins juſt above water, and aſſure him that they can ſwim no more than ſo many pigs of lead? But they cry, alas, in vain! the love of his country prevails in his breaſt far beyond the feelings of pity, or any other conſideration: He knows the kingdom is undone under ſuch management—he abandons them to their fate, and turns away his face from the melancholy ſight, juſt as we do from the execution of a malefactor, without attempting to give him aſſiſtance.

What I am now ſaying is too clearly manifeſted, by Mr. Pitt's retiring from the preſent ſcene of buſineſs, when the new Miniſters ſtand in the greateſt need of his counſels, and have ridiculouſly given it out for a month together, that he would ſupport their meaſures. This ſtep of the great and truly amiable Patriot will ſurely open the eyes of the public, and convince them that theſe vain and empty daws *reckoned without their hoſt*. There remains, however, another point, ſtill to be cleared up, before we entirely give the new gentlemen over to perdition. I profeſs myſelf an admirer of Mr. Pitt, and I heartily wiſh that he and Lord Temple, with ſome other noble perſons, who have refuſed to accept even of the higheſt offices, becauſe thoſe great men would not be concerned in the preſent ſyſtem; I wiſh, I ſay, that they could be induced to alter their reſolution in this particular. But though there are no hopes of ſuch a change, the new Miniſtry will deſerve much of the public eſteem, if they would effectually and entirely put an end to the influence of the *Favourite*. But they themſelves are too well conſcious, that it is out of their power: I really believe ſome of the *young and unexperienced* perſons among them mean to do it: But none of their leaders think it practicable, or even intend to attempt it. Let me aſk them fairly,

whether

whether, when the late convulſions began, the great point of miſmanagement, laid to the charge of the old Miniſters, was not their puſhing things too far, by the removal of *Sejanus*'s brother? And how could the new ones mean to eſtabliſh their power, but by a contrary conduct? The *Favourite*, they ſay, does not take the lead in the preſent moment; perhaps not, but what then? Does he not intend to reſume it, after he has let the new Miniſtry take a ſhort run? He knows that the taſte of power is very alluring; and therefore, like an expert angler, lets them nibble and run away with the bait, that he may ſtrike at a proper time, and make ſure of his game. If this is not the caſe, and he really intends to lay down his rod, why does not he gratify the public with every demonſtration of his honeſt and upright purpoſes? Why does not he retire, in earneſt, to a diſtance from buſineſs, and abſtain not only from evil, but from all its appearances and temptations? Look only into certain aſſemblies, and you will find that the perſons there, who are moſt willing and moſt able to ſupport him, ſtill remain unmoleſted in their offices. What is it, in the name of wonder, that protects them? Where do they find a ſhield to cover them from the preſent havock and devaſtation? Is it their attachment to the gentlemen who are now Miniſters? No, there is no one, who has the leaſt knowledge of men and things, that does not ſee they would diſplace them if they could, both becauſe they cannot truſt them, and becauſe it would give their adminiſtration ſuch a weight and credit in the nation, as would render them ſuperior to every attempt of their opponents to overthrow them. Self-intereſt calls upon them loudly to give theſe proofs of their being no longer encumbered with the load of *favouritiſm*; and common-ſenſe calls upon us all not to ſuffer ourſelves to be amuſed any longer with vain and idle ſuppoſitions,

ſitions, which are calculated merely to gain time, and give a month or two more to the new Triumvirate to reward ſome of their hungry followers, and to diſpoſe of the higheſt honours to their favourites, of which, by the nature of thoſe honours, they cannot be hereafter diveſted. ANTI-SEJANUS.

IT is a curſe, which has attended all *favourites of Princes*, from the darling of Tiberius down to our *modern Sejanus*, that they are never happy, unleſs they are wantonly abuſing their extravagant power, or oſtentatiouſly diſplaying their enormous riches. They cannot poſſeſs either the one or the other in quiet, but muſt needs affront the ſelf-love and underſtanding of mankind, by a vain and unreaſonable exerciſe of both. There is no other way of accounting for ſuch abſurd behaviour, which muſt neceſſarily ſubject them to the hatred and envy of the world, than from a mixture of pride, folly and infatuation. While a man battens and baſks himſelf in Royal favour, he is ſure to be attended with a numerous train of ſummer-friends, who flutter and buzz about him inceſſantly, and are ſuch troubleſome and impertinent creatures, that they effectually keep off every honeſt and ingenious perſon. Having thus entirely poſſeſſed him to themſelves, the poiſon that they diſtill into his ear, is ten times more fatal and noxious than that which deſtroyed the *Royal Dane*, as it corrupts the underſtanding, and ſtupifies all the nobler faculties of the ſoul. Its operation, indeed, is mighty and wonderful, as it transforms a man almoſt in an inſtant from his original ſelf. Though his intrinſic worth was before poor and inſignificant, he acquires I know not what of importance; and having the image of his Prince imprinted, as it were, upon him, endeavours to paſs current in the world for ten times his real value. To accompliſh this moſt deſirable end, he finds

finds it neceſſary to bear down *ſome* with irreſiſtible inſolence, and dazzle the eyes of *others* with the glare of honour and tinſel trappings of greatneſs.

If we conſider a little the behaviour of different Favourites in different ages and countries, we ſhall find that their conduct in theſe reſpects has been uniformly the ſame. With what ſelf-aſſuming arrogance did *Wolſey* behave, and ſecure of the ear of his Prince, treat the oldeſt and moſt potent of the nobility with contempt and inſolence? Surrounded by ſycophants, he kept aloof from others, like an Eaſtern monarch, and would not deign to hold converſe with the moſt illuſtrious perſons, unleſs they truckled to his power, and bowed the knee to Baal. What a rapid and exorbitant fortune did he amaſs together, though he lived with all the ſtate and magnificence of an Emperor? How many palaces did he erect, as trophies of his folly, and proofs of his rapine and extortion? How many country ſeats did he adorn and furniſh with all the curioſities of art and nature? What a train of glittering equipages, what a hoſt of livery'd ſlaves attended him in his tours? One thing, however, may be remarked of Wolſey, which cannot be ſaid of a *more modern Favourite*, that he had *viſible means* of acquiring his riches and ſupporting his grandeur; as, beſides the office of Lord High Chancellor, he was poſſeſſed at once of five biſhopricks, and ſeveral other profitable benefices.

What has been here related of the great overgrown Cardinal, may be applied with little alteration to all other Royal favourites; whether it be Sejanus, the darling of Tiberius, or Count Bruhl, the minion of the late Elector of Saxony; ſome particulars of whoſe life and conduct I may very probably hereafter lay before my readers: At preſent it is not neceſſary to have recourſe either to ſtale or foreign examples, when we have a *Sejanus of our own*

own, who is a living inſtance of the truth of what has been here aſſerted. Has he not all along affected to keep aloof, and treated our nobles with ſupercilious reſerve and inſolence? Have we not ſeen him for a long time diſplaying his exorbitant treaſures in every kind of princely profuſion? Has not he purchaſed eſtates, built and adorned villas, erected palaces, and furniſhed them with ſumptuous magnificence? I am ſure I ſpeak within compaſs, when I aſſert, that within theſe laſt three years he has expended between *two and three hundred thouſand pounds*. An enormous ſum, equal almoſt to the whole revenues of the kingdom from which he draws his original! I could wiſh to be informed by ſome of thoſe, who are in the ſecret, how he has acquired ſuch prodigious wealth. I will not ſuppoſe that he *embezzled the public money*, when he officiouſly thruſt himſelf into office; becauſe there were ſo many checks upon him in that department, that he could not eaſily have done it without aſſociates, or poſſeſſing more courage or cunning than I take him to be maſter of. But how, then, has he acquired ſuch amazing riches? Tell me, ye flatterers of his, was it by *ſtate-jobbing* or ſtock-jobbing, that he is become, from a needy Northern Thane, a potent Britiſh Noble? What ſiniſter method has he taken to plunder the nation, and eſcape the iron hand of juſtice? I am aware of the anſwer, that he has been able to make a purchaſe, to the amount of ninety-ſeven thouſand pounds, to lay out a large park, and adorn and build two magnificent houſes out of the eſtate which was left him by a relation three years ago. But ſuch a reply is ſo falſe and fooliſh, that it ſcarce deſerves a moment's conſideration; for I will venture to maintain, that the whole ſum of his *viſible* income, for the laſt *ten years* put together, will not amount to above 50,000l. As to the eſtate, it is not *his*; he

is

is entitled only to part of the annual produce; for two thouſand pounds a year were left to his injured brother, on whom he *affectionately turned his back*, as ſoon as he had poſſeſſed himſelf of his natural inheritance. When this 2000l. per annum is deducted, there will not remain *clear to the Favourite* above 5000l. a year: And whether this is ſufficient to account for all thoſe immenſe ſums, which, to our amazement and indignation, he has lately expended, I leave every impartial perſon to judge.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

[*The above letter occaſioned a very ſingular and extraordinary diſpute in the public papers. One of the E. of Bute's friends immediately anſwered it as follows.*]

THE public may recollect, if they think it worth while, that *Anti-Sejanus* did, in his paper of Auguſt 3, endeavour to faſten upon the Earl of Bute's reputation a ſtain of the foulеſt corruption; no leſs than that of having plundered the public of an immenſe treaſure: grounding this his concluſion upon the greatneſs of the Favourite's expences within three years paſt beyond his income, taken even for ſo long a period as ten years backwards. I have ſhewn in my laſt letter what credit the writer's aſſertion deſerves with regard to the head of income, and will now proceed to the other half of his argument, relative to the Favourite's expences within three years paſt; reckoned by the writer at between two and three hundred thouſand pounds, *i. e.* as I muſt underſtand it at about 250,000l. Theſe expences he divides into four heads, viz. 1. The purchaſing of eſtates. 2. The building and adorning of villas. 3. The erecting of palaces and furniſhing them with ſumptuous magnificence. 4. A general ſweeping item of every kind of princely profuſion. The purchaſing of eſtates he reckons at ninety-ſeven thouſand pounds;

ſo

ſo that there is a ſum of about one hundred and fifty-three thouſand pounds left for the reſt of the Favourite's expenditure in three years time, being at the rate of fifty-one thouſand pounds per annum. How much the writer is pleaſed to allot to every kind of princely profuſion he hath not been ſo good as to impart; but it is manifeſt, by the affected pomp of his deſcription, that the villas and palaces are to be conſidered as conſuming a large part of that vaſt heap. So that theſe two articles are eſſential circumſtances to the validity of his eſtimate. I love to catch one of theſe declaimers at a matter of fact, of which any common man hath an opportunity to know the truth or falſhood. The only villa that the Earl of Bute hath had within the compaſs of three years, is a ſmall old houſe upon Kew green, with a new detached brick building on one ſide of the garden uſed by him in part for a library, and in part occupied by an under ſervant of the Royal Family. Theſe two ſtructures compoſe the villas which the Favourite is ſuppoſed to have built and adorned at vaſt expence. Let any reader go to Kew-green, and he will, upon enquiry, find one of the villas built before *Sejanus* was born, and the other not more magnificent in the building or fitting up than what might ſuit the Sunday's retreat of a ſubſtantial citizen. I might ſay the ſame of the furniture, except, perhaps, that two or three moderate rooms of books are more than a freeman of the grocer's or fiſhmonger's companies might want for his own and his wife's amuſement. Then for the palaces he hath erected, let not the reader imagine, that the word *palaces* is put in the plural number for the ſake of gracing a period with a rhetorical flouriſh; no, it is deſigned in ſober fraud. For the writer repeats his tale, ſaying, in another place of the ſame letter, that the Favourite has laid out a large park, and adorned and built two magnificent

cent houſes, by which we are to underſtand one town-houſe in Berkley-ſquare, and one country-houſe near Luton in Bedfordſhire. Now I prithee, gentle reader, take a walk into Berkley-ſquare, and there thou wilt ſee an edifice which will be noble indeed when finiſhed; but at preſent ſo far from built and *furniſhed with ſumptuous magnificence*, that it is not yet covered with a roof; and ſince Luton lies too far off for a walk, or even for a ride of ſimple curioſity, be pleaſed to aſk of any body who hath happened to ſee the Favourite's palace in that neighbourhood, and you will learn authentically that he hath neither added to nor taken from the houſe which his predeceſſor left upon the premiſes; and this is the true hiſtory both of the villas which the Wolſey of George III. hath built and adorned, and of the palaces he hath erected and furniſhed with ſumptuous magnificence; and from whence, as one main ingredient, it is argued that he muſt, of neceſſity, have plundered the nation. An hiſtory rather too long, except for the ſake of the inference, which is plain and pregnant. *Anti-Sejanus* being thus detected in materially falſifying the things that I have ſeen, how ſhall I believe him in the things that I have not ſeen? In affirming that the *Favourite* contrived the removal of Mr. Pitt from the King's councils, the diſmiſſion of the late miniſtry, the private direction of all public affairs, the appointment of the new adminiſtration, tranſactions of a ſecret, as well as complicated nature? How ſhall I truſt him as to any vice, folly, or indiſcretion, which this writer has aſcribed, or ſhall aſcribe to the *Favourite*, where the queſtion turns at all upon the matter of fact?

As to the writer's perſon, I ſhall uſe no hard words, chuſing to leave theſe to your readers, and the man himſelf to the caſtigation of his own melancholy thoughts. But as to his ill-choſen contumely,

tumely, I muſt beg leave to add, that if there be a gentleman in the King's dominions of a liberal, diſintereſted, uncorrupt heart, above all unbecoming regards to money, in my conſcience it is the vilified *Favourite*. So ſlender a ſecurity is the poſſeſſion of any good quality againſt the calumnies of party-enmity.

Doth not *Anti-Sejanus* conſider how eaſy a taſk it would be to prefer a croſs bill of indictment for corruption againſt ſome of his friends, with more effect than he hath began the proſecution? Does he not ſee how readily his own miſcarried arrow might be returned upon one of his party-favourites? Does he not know that the blaſt of a like obloquy hath already bruſhed a character which he pretends to reſpect? Is he ignorant that a ſlander once ſown needs little cultivation to make it thrive, produce and multiply, and that any ſtory ſo faſhioned as to countenance the whiſper alluded to, would meet with greedy attention from minds prediſpoſed to that ſuſpicion? This is an advantage ſuch as *Anti-Sejanus* wanted againſt the Earl of Bute. For no whiſper of malice, none at leaſt that ever reached my ear, did ever give preparation to ſuch an abominable aſperſion of his character as this writer hath committed to a public news-paper. But as I diſbelieve and reject the detraction of rumour in the caſe above referred to, becauſe unſupported by proof, therefore neither the example of this injudicious advocate, nor the provocation of a more plauſible ſlander than any of this writer's production, ſhall ſeduce or drive me to propagate an injurious and diſhonouring report, which my own mind does not tell me is true. If I acted otherwiſe, I ſhould think I committed a crime no more pardonable than his is, who, truſting to the hopes of concealment, mixes poiſon in his neighbour's food. J. J.

Among

AMONG the wonders that theſe laſt weeks have produced, one of the greateſt is, that any author ſhould be found ſo fooliſh and deſperate as to write in favour of the Earl of Bute; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, chuſe his private life and character as the objects of their adulation. We were told ſome circumſtances, relative to his profuſion, by that ſenſible and ſpirited writer *Anti-Sejanus*; but as he profeſſes his reſolution never to engage in any controverſy, I ſuppoſe he will take no notice of thoſe falſhoods that have been buzzed about by the very injudicious friends of the *Favourite*; I ſhall therefore take this taſk upon myſelf.

One of the Favourite's advocates tells us, that the Earl of Bute is a very good friend to his brother-in-law, Mr. Mackenzie, and has not treated him with inhumanity. The truth of this gentleman's caſe will ſurely ſufficiently diſprove this bold aſſertion. He has honeſtly given up above half his annuity, to be divided among his creditors, and is now ſtarving in the remoteſt part of the Eaſt. An office under the government which his abilities would have enabled him to have filled with credit, was his earneſt deſire: He aſked it of the *Favourite*, when he was all-powerful; but he turned his back upon him, and left him to the wide world to ſhift for himſelf, and ſtruggle with every diſtreſs, and all the variety of wretchedneſs that human nature could poſſibly experience.

I will now tell *Anti-Sejanus*, that notwithſtanding his ſeeming ſagacity, he is not ſufficiently inſtructed, as to the vanity and profuſion of *Sejanus*. He is not acquainted with all the immenſe ſums of money, that he has laviſhly expended, without any *viſible means* of their coming into his coffers. As to the eſtate that his family will inherit in prejudice to

the unhappy Mr. Mackenzie, I am poſitive he has not coffered a ſhilling from it; for he has laid out more than the annual income of it, ſince it was in the poſſeſſion of his Lady, in purchaſing mines that belong to the truſt eſtate itſelf. Beſides which, he has indulged a ridiculous paſſion for *Virtu*, in the moſt oſtentatious and extravagant degree, and heaped together God knows how many *thouſand inſtances* of his falſe taſte and infatuation. Not a ſcarce book or manuſcript could come in his way (though he was utterly ignorant of the characters in which it was written) but he purchaſed it at a moſt exorbitant price, and the very *binding together* of his *prints* and *drawings* amounted (if I am not miſinformed) to the *amazing ſum* of *fifteen hundred pounds*.

PHILANGLIA.

THOUGH it would be well for Mr. J. J.'s patron if he would pleaſe to forget both what Anti-Sejanus has told the public, and every thing which he has ſaid in vindication of the Favourite: yet, as he will not, let him take what follows; it is the fruit of his writer's own doing; for I appeal to the candid part of mankind, which ſide began firſt of all their inveſtigation of *private characters*; and whether theſe controverſies do not owe their riſe to the attempts made by the Sejanian party to draw our attention from their principal as a miniſter, in order that we might conſider him in another capacity, in which I imagine their prejudices led them to think him leſs blameable. It is, therefore, a ſufficient anſwer to the panegyrics that have been beſtowed on this obnoxious perſon, that the friends of truth have thought it their duty to diſabuſe mankind; and his friends muſt blame themſelves if they have already heard more than they expected on this ſubject, or if they hear any thing

thing further from me, or any of thoſe with whom I am connected.

Though I heartily deſpiſe abuſe and ſcurrility, as the vile ſpawn of low and illiberal minds, yet I am not of ſo milky a diſpoſition as to ſuffer it to operate, without any antidote, againſt thoſe whoſe characters I admire: Beſides, I am too much a friend to the public to ſuffer them to be impoſed upon by falſe colours, held out to their humanity, in order that it may operate againſt their reaſon.

Mr. J. J. ſeems to controvert the information which has been given us by *Anti-Sejanus* of the vaſt expences incurred by his idol in the ſpace of three or four years, ſo infinitely beyond his viſible income. He may have convinced himſelf, perhaps, that this charge is not well grounded; but I am firmly perſuaded, that he has not drawn in one ſingle perſon beſides to be of his opinion. The purchaſe which was made by the Favourite, in a neighbouring county, amounted to 97,000l. and he has made great and conſiderable alterations there, to the amount of a large ſum of money. This firſt expence *alone* is *twice* as much as is *apparent*. Receipt has been for ten years back; and as he has been a kind and tender father, (for I am glad to allow him every degree of merit he is entitled to) it is to be ſuppoſed that the education of his numerous family has taken off, at leaſt, the income of his northern iſland, which Mr. J. J. ſays was not brought to account. As to the villa near London, we are told, it is only fit for the reception of a grocer's wife; and yet I believe he will find a moſt aſtoniſhing expence incurred there in books, *prints*, pictures, and virtu of every kind. The palace that is now riſing to the ſkies, and fills the end of one of the principal ſquares in this metropolis, has not, with the purchaſe of the land, coſt much leſs than 20,000l. I am ſorry to find that

Mr. J. J. is ſo unfair an advocate as to forget the mines which have been purchaſed by the Favourite from the Truſt eſtate; I muſt therefore beg that he will inform himſelf, againſt his next refutation of *Anti-Sejanus*'s aſſertions, what that purchaſe amounted to. For as I have not any knowledge of the truſtees myſelf, and Mr. J. J. ſeems to intimate that he has, we ſhall both of us be more accurate in our future correſpondence upon this point. Till he ſets me right I own I cannot ſay, with preciſion, whether it was 20,000l. 40,000l. or 60,000l. though I believe it was nearer the greater than the ſmaller ſums. There are two other articles, which Mr. J. J. entirely paſſes over; a great houſe and coſtly furniture in London, which, joined to the current expences neceſſarily incurred by a nobleman at the head of affairs in this opulent and luxurious country, will, I believe, fully account for the 250,000l. which *Anti-Sejanus* has ſuppoſed to have been expended by the Favourite, in the courſe of three or four years.

As to the other article, which is his cruel and unparalled treatment of the poor diſappointed heir, whoſe inheritance he poſſeſſes, I will inform Mr. J. J. that I have ſeen a letter, not many months old, from that unhappy gentleman who is at this preſent time ſtarving in a remote part of the Eaſt, a letter which would move the moſt flinty boſom to compaſſionate his unfortunate ſituation, in want of the common neceſſaries of life, and under the deepeſt and blackeſt of all horrors, the dread of leaving ſeveral unhappy children to ſtruggle in the wide world with hunger and thirſt, cold and nakedneſs.

Mr. J. J. mentions a croſs bill, which he tells us may be brought againſt ſome of the friends of *Anti-Sejanus*. In the name of juſtice, let it be preferred: I know their innocence, their integrity; if

if there is the leaſt ſuſpicion of their guilt, let them be brought to their trial; they have nothing dark or myſterious about them; they live in the light, and love it. So far from being found guilty of corruption, I am confident, that the more their conduct is examined, the whiter their characters will appear. Let them be ſifted, and *bolted to the bran*; and it will then be found, that of all the infamous falſhoods that were ever urged againſt any ſet of men, none could be more void of foundation than that any of the late Miniſters ever increaſed their private fortunes by baſe and indirect practices, or received the value of a ſingle ſhilling for the diſpoſal of any favours of the Crown during the many years in which moſt of them had opportunities of recommending perſons to employments in almoſt every department of the ſtate.

Aug. 30. PHILANGLIA.

P. S. Since this letter was written, I have ſeen another anſwer from Mr. J. J. in yeſterday's paper, who affirms, that the income of the eſtate which was bequeathed to the Favourite by Mr. W——, is ſufficient to account for all the expences that he has incurred. This is an abſolute impoſſibility; for I here repeat it again, that *Sejanus* does not receive from that bequeſt above 5000l. per annum *clear*. As to the expreſſion of *ſtate-jobbing*, Mr. J. J. is too good a writer himſelf not to perceive that *Anti-Sejanus* is very little likely to be *guilty of nonſenſe*. For my own part, the word appears to me to be very expreſſive; but if Mr. J. J. really does not know the meaning of it, I would adviſe him, by all means, to aſk his patron, who, I will venture to ſay, underſtands the word as well as any in the Engliſh language.

HAVING endeavoured in a former letter to ſhew, that the computations publiſhed by *Anti-Sejanus* of the *Favourite*'s income and out-goings, whereby he charges that nobleman with having plundered the public, are, as to the firſt point of income, arbitrarily taken up at random, or invented for the occaſion; and as to the ſecond point of out-goings, abſolutely falſe and contradictory to indiſputable facts, which are within the reach of any man's knowledge; I ſhall now perform the promiſe of my laſt letter, to conſider the charge of peculation againſt the *Favourite*, independently of ſuch matters as the writer thought fit to aſſign for his reaſon, and to anſwer the accuſation with materials furniſhed by the accuſer.

The *Favourite* hath been in three offices under the Crown; thoſe of groom of the ſtole, ſecretary of ſtate, and firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury. A ſecretary of ſtate in this country hath no opportunity to poſſeſs himſelf of the nation's treaſure: He may, if he be wicked enough, ſell the ſecrets of his office to foreign powers, accumulating wealth by betraying his King and Country: But to purloin the money of the ſtate, is a crime out of his reach, let the iniquity of his heart be what it will, becauſe not a penny belonging to the nation paſſes, or can paſs through his fingers. A groom of the ſtole might, if he be a low rogue, ſecret the King's old cloaths, for ought I know, but never yet got his hands into the cheſts of the Exchequer. The only ſituation, therefore, where the moſt raging party jealouſy can ſuſpect the *Favourite* to have been capable of plundering the public, is that of his eleven months preſiding at the board of treaſury; and there *Anti-Sejanus* does, by plain confeſſion, extorted by the force of truth, acquit him of embezzling the nation's money. For (ſays he) "I will

"not

" not ſuppoſe that he imbezzled the public money,
" when he officiouſly thruſt himſelf into office; be-
" cauſe there were ſo many checks upon him in
" that department that he could not eaſily have done
" it without aſſociates, or poſſeſſing more courage
" or cunning than I take him to be maſter of."
Does the writer particularize any method by which *Sejanus* might be ſuppoſed to plunder the public, ſince by imbezzlement he neither did nor could do it? Did he partake in the profits of unreaſonable contracts, or paſs exorbitant treaſury accounts by bribery? Not a word to any ſuch purpoſe.—And why not?—becauſe the writer's imagination did not ſerve him with any feaſible project of defrauding the ſtate, which might be colourably aſcribed to *Sejanus*. As he ſtates the matter, *Sejanus* hath filched one hundred and fifty, or two hundred thouſand pounds out of the national purſe, during his eleven months continuance at the treaſury: At the ſame time he never did imbezzle one ſhilling in that office: and yet this willing witneſs, *Anti-Sejanus*, with the help of all his own friends and *Sejanus*'s other enemies, in and out of office, whether furious authors or gentle readers, cannot track any ſtep that he took, or unravel the craft he practiced to effect that enormous depredation. The obvious concluſions from hence are, that, in truth, he uſed no method of plundering, either common or uncommon; and that the letter-writer did not believe his own calumny; that the party traduced may be a very honeſt man, and the author traducing is no other than a party advocate. Neither of which poſitions do I pretend to advance as new diſcoveries. A very ordinary invention ſtraining to produce methods whereby an abandoned Royal *Favourite* is capable of raiſing a great eſtate, might, no doubt, ſuggeſt ſeveral poſſible expedients to that purpoſe, ſuch as wheedling the Crown out of its money, re-

ceiving an over-grown bribe from France for turning Mr. Pitt out of adminiſtration, touching half a million for procuring to the French a ſcandalous peace, with many other devices equally ſpecious. But the letter-writer having ſhaped his accuſation to his own mind, and laid it to be plundering of the public, I do hereby enter my caveat againſt any after-claps of a tardy invention, or inſinuations of any other ſpecies of rapine, by which the *Favourite* collected his treaſure.

He goes on to aſk how *Sejanus*'s riches could be acquired but by public ſpoil. "Tell me, (ſays he, "with a noble pride of virtue) tell me, ye flatterers "of his, was it by ſtock-jobbing or ſtate-jobbing "that, from a needy northern Thane, he is be-"come a potent Britiſh Noble?" It does ſometimes happen, even to tolerable orators, that in the career of their eloquence, wanting matter to anſwer their intentions, they are forced to fill up and round a period with a chance word that carries no idea. I ſhould not wonder, therefore, if this misfortune ſhould befall *Anti-Sejanus*; and I much ſuſpect that, in his fit of ſublime contempt for the pernicious *Favourite* and his Paraſites, common-ſenſe hath ſlipt from under his virtuous enthuſiaſm. I am at a loſs to gueſs what he points at in the word ſtate-jobbing; and am apt to fancy, that the jingling of this term, with the other of ſtock-jobbing, was the only circumſtance which recommended the former to his choice, and that otherwiſe he intended by ſtate-jobbing neither one thing nor another. If I was one of thoſe flatterers whom he calls upon with ſo much dignity for an anſwer, or if I held a place of profit, as he ſays the late miniſtry did for above two years, upon the tenor of pleaſing *Sejanus*, I declare I could not anſwer one word in particular to this queſtion, not comprehending what it refers to. But in general I can anſwer, without flattery to any body,

body, that, conſidering from what quarter the queſtion iſſues, if it contains any meaning, this will come out to be ſome foul and falſe inſinuation. As I cannot flatter *Sejanus* upon the head of ſtate-jobbing, neither can I compliment him upon the topic of ſtock-jobbing, having always heard that in Bloomſbury-ſquare, at White's, and Arthur's, and Newmarket too, his Lordſhip paſſed for a ſhallow fellow at all kinds of gaming. To ſay the truth, he never was a dealer in ſtocks: Nor if he ſhould walk into the Alley, would any Jew or ſtock-broker know his face. Loving candour, I am ready to acknowledge the ſtate of the caſe as it really is, however diſadvantageous the conceſſion may prove to *Sejanus* in the polite aſſemblies before-mentioned, or how much ſoever it may turn to his diſcredit among the monied men at Jonathan's. I will anſwer further, not in flattery, but in ſingleneſs of heart, that I do not believe the *Favourite* got his riches by plunder and rapine, by ſtock-jobbing or ſtate-jobbing, if that ſignifies any indirect practice, becauſe I know, with the reſt of the world, the fair means by which they came to his poſſeſſion; and again, that I do believe his intereſt in the princely fortune left by Mr. Wortley, has been ſufficient to enable him to make ſuch a purchaſe as he did, and to gratify a polite taſte in many articles of elegant expence. J. J.

I Will very readily acknowledge to Mr. J. J. that I do not know the yearly revenue of the Iſle of Bute; and if that income has been ſufficient to pay for the eſtates, the palaces, and the improvements which excite the amazement of all mankind, I ſhall think *Anti-Sejanus* much in the wrong, as it it not the buſineſs of any political writer to take the matter under his conſideration, every man having an undoubted right to diſpoſe of his private fortune

fortune as he thinks proper. But I adhere to what *Anti-Sejanus* originally ſaid, and what is known to every body, that the income of the late Mr. Wortley's whole fortune, that was at the diſpoſal of the Thane, has not amounted to above 5000l. per ann. and neither of the employments he held produced 6000l. Theſe are things in which there is no myſtery, and which five hundred people know as well as myſelf; therefore nothing remains for me but to deſire Mr. J. J. to caſt up what can have been the produce of theſe funds, viz. the employments which he held about two years and a half, and the eſtate which he has had, I think about five, not forgetting before he ſtrikes the ballance, to deduct the intereſt of the money laid out in the purchaſe of coal mines from the truſt eſtate.

However, I will be a better friend to the noble perſon he means to ſupport than he is, by letting him know that he will ſerve him more effectually *by being ſilent*. I ſhall conclude this letter with a ſhort extract from a Roman hiſtorian, who, ſpeaking of a gentleman that, from *mean circumſtances*, became in a few years *very rich and powerful*, goes on thus, "He raiſed *magnificent piles of building*; he "purchaſed *great quantities of coſtly furniture*, as "well as *books and pictures*; his expences were "exceſſive. He gave prodigious ſums in marriage "with his children. At laſt he was *accuſed*, and "interrogated who was his father? What *eſtate* he "left him? What *other acceſſions* had fallen to him? "What *ſervices* he had done the public? How he "became ſo immoderately rich? What preſents he "had received from the Emperor or others? What "his *expences* were? And to *how much* his whole "eſtate amounted?"---Upon his not being able to give a ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe queſtions, he was found guilty immediately of *crimen peculatus*, and was condemned accordingly. PHILANGLIA.

[*On*

[*On demoliſhing the Jettees, in Sept.* 1765, *by Anti-Sejanus, and a continuation of his letters.*]

I AM deſirous to talk a little ſeriouſly to the gentlemen who compoſe the preſent adminiſtration; but their conduct, conſidered in the moſt favourable and good-natured light imaginable, will at beſt move our contempt and deriſion. Can any thing, let me aſk, be more ridiculous, than to ſee how they plume themſelves, and are extolled by their ſycophants, becauſe the French have condeſcended to promiſe they will deſtroy the Jettees of the harbour of Dunkirk? A point which they voluntarily offered to the late miniſtry over and over again; but it was ſuch a poor piece of fineſſe, ſuch a bare-faced evaſion of the treaty of peace, that they would not hear of it a moment, unleſs attended with other, and infinitely more eſſential articles. Theſe able and expert negotiators were well aware that the harbour itſelf, which is the principal point under conſideration, could not be effectually deſtroyed any other way, than by demoliſhing the Sluice of Bergues, and paſſing off the waters through the canal of Mardyke. As to the Jettees, if they were entirely removed from the very foundation (which I know they will not be, for they talk of deſtroying nothing but a few faſcines and upper works to give a momentary amuſement) the harbour would ſtill remain, for a vaſt number of years, as open and uſeful as ever. This is a point, which the late miniſtry demonſtrated to the French court, by able and experienced engineers, who were ſent thither for that very purpoſe: And this is a point which I am confident the late miniſters would have compleated, if they had not too prematurely fallen a ſacrifice to the wicked deſigns and intrigues of the Favourite. I cannot help remarking that as theſe gentlemen had too much ſagacity and experience

rience to be impoſed upon themſelves, ſo they had too much veracity and honour to impoſe on the reſt of mankind. They did not ſuffer themſelves to be the dupes and bubbles of our artful and perfidious neighbours; and afterwards publiſh a pompous Gazette, to inform the intelligent part of the world, how much they intended to impoſe on their country. No—they reſolutely inſiſted on the treaty of peace being fulfilled, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner; and left it to theſe young, inexperienced, ignorant negotiators to be the dupes to foreign kingdoms, as they are the ſcorn and deriſion of their own. ANTI-SEJANUS.

THERE is one point which I have advanced in a former letter, and muſt beg my readers will forgive me, if I here repeat it again; as it has been confidently denied, by a ſhameleſs and abandoned ſcribler on the other ſide. What I am now ſpeaking of alludes to the demolition of the harbour of Dunkirk; which can never be effected, by removing a few faſcines and upper-works, on the Jettees, as the preſent ignorant and boaſtful miniſters would endeavour to perſuade us. The only way of doing it to any purpoſe muſt be by deſtroying the Sluice of Bergues, and paſſing off the waters through the canal of Mardyke. I could wiſh that thoſe perſons, who are ſo loſt to ſhame, as to accuſe the late miniſtry of remiſsneſs in this material point, would call for the papers containing the whole negociation, and let them be laid before the parliament and the public. They will there ſee the reports of thoſe able engineers, who were ſent to Dunkirk to inſpect the harbour, and the ſpirited remonſtrances that were made from time to time, by the late adminiſtration, to the French court. How would it cover them with confuſion, to ſee the caution and ſpirit with which theſe experienced ſtateſmen proceeded

ceeded in this arduous affair, and baffled all the fineſſe and artifice of our treacherous neighbours! I am perſuaded in my conſcience that they would have compleated this material article, if they had continued in power a few months longer: but it is difficult to ſay whether the French will do more than *amuſe* the preſent negotiators, as they are ſo well acquainted with their inexperience and incapacity. I am too great a lover of my country not to wiſh they may compleat what their predeceſſors have ſo happily begun; and though I only laugh at them for the little low artifice, which they have uſed in relation to the Jettees, yet if they procure the *full* performance of the treaty, in the entire demolition of the harbour, I will return them my warmeſt thanks in the moſt grateful and public manner.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

Monſtrum horrendum, informe, ingens, CUI LUMEN ADEMTUM. VIRG.

THE deſcription which is given by Virgil of Polyphemus, in the line above quoted, ſeems to ſuit exactly with a monſter, that has for ſome time paſt moſt grievouſly infeſted this iſland; and committed greater outrages and barbarities, than any fiery dragon in romance or even the *wild beaſt of Marvejol.* It is a horrid, ſhapeleſs, unwieldy creature, without either eyes or underſtanding; falling upon every thing that comes in its way, with blind and undiſtinguiſhed fury. There is nothing ſo pure and innocent, ſo great and ſacred, as to eſcape its madneſs: we have ſeen it tear to pieces the honeſty of *Bedford*, the integrity of *Grenville*, and the ſpirit and abilities of the *two Montagues.* Having committed theſe ſhocking ravages, it prowls about for further prey, to glut its inſatiable appetite; and falls with aſtoniſhing rapacity upon the blooming virtues of our great, and patriot commoner.

The

The next ſtep that it will take is not difficult to foreſee: at a loſs for further rapine, we ſhall ſoon find it direct all its vengeance againſt itſelf, and with true viperous rage prey upon its own bowels. This is generally the end of that hideous monſter PARTY; and one may venture to foretell that it will certainly, and ſpeedily happen, to the ſtrange and unnatural Junto, who are now poſſeſſed of the adminiſtration. It is impoſſible that they ſhould long continue in the ſituation they are in at preſent; they carry with them the principles of their own decay, and muſt in the nature of things very ſhortly

——————diſſolve,
And like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion
Leave not a wreck behind.

The accounts which we have lately received from Newfoundland, cannot fail of perplexing and alarming them, to the higheſt degree. They are ignorant of the common forms, and routine of office: how then can it be expected that they ſhould ſee into every nice, intricate, and ſecret movement? That they ſhould be ſo ſhrewd and circumſpect in their negotiations, as to counterplot the deep and ſubtle intrigues of foreign courts? That when the treaties, which we have concluded, are undermined by cunning, or broken by violence, they ſhould be poſſeſſed of craft and fineſſe enough to reſtore them on one hand, or of ſpirit, and agility, to aſſert them on the other? Will they dare to reſiſt the encroachments of foreign powers, with half that reſolution, courage, and ability, which the late miniſtry ſhewed in all their negotiations? Is it not rather probable that, inſufficient as they are to ſupport and maintain our rights, they will either tamely ſubmit to ſee them invaded, or by their weak and blundering meaſures involve us in all the miſeries of war. I do not aſk theſe queſtions wantonly, and

at

at random: They ariſe from the love that I bear to my country, and the preſent critical ſituation of our affairs. If ever there was a period, when the greateſt *ſkill* and *experience*, the greateſt ſpirit and activity, the greateſt honeſty and uprightneſs were neceſſary in our leaders; it is at this preſent inſtant, when our perfidious neighbours are watchful to undermine us, and take every opportunity of encroaching upon our rights; and yet ſuch is the ſituation of our finances, that a new war is juſtly to be dreaded, as one of the greateſt, and moſt fatal evils. When our affairs are thus intricate and urgent, why are they committed to the management of raw, inexperienced youth, and dilatory doating age? Why is the malignant influence of SEJANUS ſo great and prevalent, that no perſon of ability and uprightneſs will come near to aſſiſt us? It has extended itſelf, like a large and baneful tree, under the ſhadow of which nothing will grow, but contemptible weeds, and cold and torpid hemlock. Our noble and ſpirited patriot flies from it, as he would from the peſtilence: And with him are flown all our hopes of ſeeing the welfare and glory of this kingdom promoted! It is not to me at all ſurpriſing that Mr. Pitt ſhould refuſe to have any concern, or connection with the preſent ſet of miniſters. It might reaſonably be expected from his ſpirit, his prudence and his honour; all which forbad him to co-operate with ſuch a pye-ball'd Junto, who can never be regarded in any other light, than as tools to a proud and pernicious *Favourite*. It is rather extraordinary that theſe gentlemen ſhould have ſo little modeſty, or ſo much ſelf love, as to flatter themſelves, and give it out to the world, that they were ſure of the aſſiſtance of his ſpirit and abilities. I have candour enough to think that *ſome* of them believed it would happen, when they ſo confidently aſſerted it; and we muſt impute it to their diſappointment

appointment and vexation, that they are now ſo eager in depreciating and abuſing the commoner. In ſhort, I cannot help pitying them ſincerely and heartily: They have thruſt out to ſea, without rudder to ſteer, or compaſs to guide them—they have no light to direct themſelves by, but the dim faint twinkling of their own poor abilities—the ocean is tempeſtuous—the channel rocky—and the paſſage dangerous; it is about a million to one that they are caſt away—but ſhould they eſcape, they will find themſelves at laſt—only in FOOLS PARADISE, under the dominion and tyranny of the *uſurping* SEJANUS.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

——— *Ridiculum acri*
Fortius et melius magnas plerumq; ſecat res. HOR.

I HAVE vanity enough to think, from the kind reception, which theſe papers have met with from the world, that if I had ſooner taken up the pen, and oppoſed the pernicious power of the *Favourite*, he would not have dared to have let looſe his wanton imagination, in planning ſo many wild and viſionary ſchemes, to the ruin of this unhappy kingdom. There is no other way of making amends to my country for this ſad neglect, than by promiſing that I will never leave him, till I have hunted him down, and ſtript him as bare of power, as a blighted tree is of leaves, on the bleakeſt barreneſt moor in Scotland. If ever an oppoſition to the meaſures of government was allowable, it muſt be ſo at this preſent criſis, when through the caprice and intrigues of a pernicious *Favourite*, the reins are entruſted with a ſet of men, who are as unable to conduct the wheels of ſtate, as Phæton was the chariot of the ſun; and who like him, after diſperſing for awhile, in their ſhort career of glory, unequal light and heat, ſcorching up ſome parts, and leaving others to ſtarve with cold, cannot fail of tumbling headlong

headlong down into the abyſs of infamy. Could any thing degrade the dignity of government lower, than the abſurd behaviour of this abſurd junto, during the late famous negotiations? At a meeting in the country, where a buſy, buſtling, ſelf-important OLD WOMAN ſat in the chair, it was abſolutely *put to the vote* whether or no they ſhould accept of the higheſt and moſt honourable offices in the ſtate, which at that time went a begging. A few of them, who had more grace and modeſty than their fellows, were totally againſt it; alledging their want of experience, ability, conſequence, and ſeveral other ingredients, which are neceſſary to the compoſition of a perfect ſtateſman. But it did not all ſignify a farthing; it was carried in the *affirmative* by a conſiderable majority of voices, and nothing remained but to ſit down quietly, and have their ſeveral employments *tried on.* Some of them proteſted aloud that they *did not fit*; but the *old woman*, who acted in this caſe as ſtate-taylor, and *cut them out* for them, ſwore very poſitively, that by G— they became them excellently well, and ſat upon them with the greateſt eaſe and propriety imaginable. A ſpare thin gentleman in particular, who was to be dreſt up in one of the largeſt ſuits, full trimmed, and embroidered, begged for God's ſake that he might be excuſed, as it was ſo much too big for him that he could not half fill it, and was afraid of being laughed at for his ridiculous and tawdry appearance. But the *old woman* inſiſted upon his wearing it; telling him that he would grow bigger every day; and as to the lace and embroidery, if he did not know what to do with it himſelf, ſhe would readily take it off his hands. By this means the ſeveral employments were at laſt diſpoſed of; but how ſhamefully and improperly it was done, may be ſeen by the ridiculous and contemptible figure which the perſons make on whom they were beſtowed. In-

deed they put me in mind of a high ſheriff's retinue, when he ſallies forth to meet my Lord Judge: A ſet of fellows are picked up, from the highways and hedges, and *put into* cloaths, that have been made time out of mind: it does not ſignify a button whether their liveries fit them or not, ſo as they are all of one colour; for you may frequently ſee a tall, raw-boned, lubberly fellow ſqueezed into a coat, that was made for a young lad of thirteen; and a little, ſlim, ſpindle-ſhanked creature almoſt loſt in one, that is big enough for the famous Mr. Bright. ANTI-SEJANUS.

O Faciles dare ſumma deos, eademq; tueri
Difficiles! LUCAN.

HOW deplorable is the ſituation of this unhappy country, under the direction of the preſent ill-aſſorted miniſters, who are diſtracted by ſuch a variety of intereſts, appetites, and connections? And yet—how little proſpect is there that our ſituation can be mended, while we are under the malignant influence of an all-directing Favourite; who in the ſudden and ſurprizing revolutions that he effects has no other oracle to conſult than his own deceitful and prepoſterous WILL? I cannot ſay that I feel myſelf elated with the hopes of happier days, though a multiplicity of reaſons induces me to think another change of adminiſtration at preſent on the tapis. The diſagreement of our motley miniſters among themſelves; the prorogation of parliament, at a time when the whole nation is looking up to it for redreſs; the variety, and diſtraction of our councils; the uncertainty of the ſyſtem, if there is any, chalked out by our leaders; the fulſome flattery, which is paid to a pernicious and deteſted Favourite—all theſe are ſo many convincing proofs, that the miniſtry can never ſtand on its preſent ill-cemented, and tottering baſis. Whether from the rubbiſh,

biſh, that may be gathered up when they fall, duly tempered together with other freſh materials, one more uſeful and permanent is likely to be formed, is a queſtion that will not be very difficult to anſwer, if we can once find out who will be the architect, or maſter builder of the new fabric. Will the great commoner be called forward to draw out the plan, and overlook the operations? Will his upright kinſman, the generous and patriotic Earl Temple, whoſe unſhaken firmneſs we have experienced for ſuch a number of years, be the chief pillar and ſupport of the new ſtructure? Then may we expect a firm and well proportioned edifice, in which both uſe and ornament, ſtrength and harmony, will be equally conſulted. But, alas, there is no *immediate* proſpect of ſuch an event happening, though it is ſo ardently, ſo univerſally wiſhed for by every one, who has the welfare of his country at heart. I am ſorry to ſay that the reigning taſte is too gothic, too northern!—inſtead of this able maſter, a blundering Favourite will be employed, to put together *another* BABEL adminiſtration, which will end like the preſent in confuſion and uproar. The materials, he will make uſe of, are part of them old and rotten to the very core; and part of them ſo warped and crooked, that it is as impoſſible they ſhould ever be firmly united, as that iron and clay ſhould incorporate. He has no other cement to bind them, than that of intereſt; and this will very ſoon crumble and moulder away into nothing. It is eaſy to foretell that ſuch an ill-compacted ſtructure will not, cannot be durable; it is like the fooliſh man's houſe, which the ſcripture tells us was built upon the ſand; when the reign of diſcontent deſcends, and the torrent of faction foams, and the wind of party beats againſt it, it muſt inevitably fall, and bury the deſpicable architect in its ruins!

That what I have here laid down is not mere conjecture and ſuppoſition, muſt be evident to every one, who takes the trouble of conſidering the temper and complexion of the times. How totally are they altered, within theſe laſt two months, from their former diſpoſition and colour? Where is that virulent hatred, which the miniſtry ſo loudly expreſſed againſt the deteſted *Sejanus?* It is converted (proh pudor, inverſiq; mores!) into love and friendſhip. Convinced of the impoſſibility of proceeding upon the plan, which the leſs experienced and leſs temporizing amongſt them, hoped formerly to purſue, they have altered their ground, and fly for ſhelter to the baleful power of the Favourite. The old and hackney'd politicians have already cry'd out *peccavi*, and are prepared to undergo any penance, that the lordly Thane may pleaſe to inflict. I would not wiſh the moſt inveterate enemy that I have, a more cruel and ignominious fate, than to be preſſed into the ſervice of *Sejanus*, and compelled to fight under his uſurping ſtandard. Yet dreadful as the ſituation is, the horrors of it may be ſhockingly aggravated, if we ſuppoſe an unweildly veteran engaged in the ſame ſyſtem, who is goaded by thoſe turbulent paſſions revenge and rancour, and graſps, with a rapacity unparallelled, at every preferment eccleſiaſtical, civil, and military, to aggrandize a family, whom one would think he intends to *overlay* with riches and honours. Who can enumerate all the miſeries that are in ſtore for this devoted kingdom, if we are thus notoriouſly to be oppreſſed with the load of favouritiſm, and continue to be governed by the blind and erring ſpirit of partial prejudice? Who can foreſee all the confuſion, uproar, and anarchy that awaits us, if men of the moſt ſhining talents, and ſtedfaſt integrity, are to be wantonly thrown aſide, becauſe they have too much honeſt pride and ſpirit to truckle, and bow the

the knee to Baal? I will venture to affirm that it is impoſſible, in the nature of things, there ſhould be the leaſt harmony, or ſtability in our councils, while a perverſe and fickle Favourite is the animating ſoul of the ill-digeſted ſyſtem. His altar will be for ever ſmoaking with the ſacrifice of men and meaſures: faith and honour, which are the baſis of government, as well as commerce, will every hour be ſhamefully diſregarded: perſons of ability and uprightneſs will keep aloof, unwilling to be reſponſible for meaſures, which they have neither plan'd nor executed: There will be a conſtant ſucceſſion of *weak or wicked tools*, to carry on his infamous purpoſes: The welfare of the kingdom will be neglected, in the general ſtruggle and ſcramble for ſelf: every change will leſſen the dignity of the ſtate, and the power of the magiſtracy, by begetting in the minds of the people *a contempt for government*, and an impatience of ſubordination. It is not difficult to ſay where this confuſion will end; but I muſt beg leave to throw a veil over the melancholy proſpect, which will be chequered, unleſs the hand of Providence interpoſes, with ghaſtly ſcenes of blood and horror. ANTI-SEJANUS.

About forty ſailors, eager to get on ſhore, crouded all into one boat, *which had no ſooner hoiſted ſail than it overſet and ſunk; whereby thirty of them were drowned.* Lond. Gazette, Oct. 12.

AFTER turning over ſeveral of the claſſics, in ſearch of a motto for this day's paper, which I meant to be deſcriptive of the origin and fate of the new adminiſtration; an author, whom they muſt allow to belong to their party (though I ſhould much doubt of his real attachment to them, as he has not yet, like their other writers, be-praiſed and be-flattered the Favourite) has happily furniſhed me with the ſentence above quoted, which exactly an-

ſwers my purpoſe. It contains ſo true and lively a deſcription of certain poor *unfortunate adventurers*, that if I had found it in any other paper, I ſhould have conſidered it as a ſatire on the gentlemen now in office; and ſhould have concluded it came from ſome friendly hand, who joins in the pleaſant and laudible undertaking of laughing them out of thoſe ſtations, for which their very advocates are by this time pretty well convinced of their unfitneſs and inſufficiency.

At the beginning of the late convulſions, when the caprice and intrigues of the Favourite had rendered the poſſeſſion of power diſagreeable and dangerous to thoſe, who were at that time the occupyers, the faireſt opportunity offered to remedy every *imaginary* national grievance, and to eſtabliſh his Majeſty's government on a ſure and ſolid baſis. The *miniſters of the people* might have had the principal ſway; the final abdication of the Favourite might have been effected; and men of the firſt abilities and credit might have been ſelected, indiſcriminately *from all parties*, to fill the higheſt offices of the ſtate. An adminiſtration thus formed would have given univerſal ſatisfaction to the kingdom, would have put an end to our diviſions at home, and eſtabliſhed our credit abroad. It was the higheſt, nay the only ambition of the Great-Commoner, and his truly patriotic kinſman, to have ſettled matters on this permanent and deſirable foundation: A few weeks, or perhaps a few days delay would inevitably have effected this ſalutary purpoſe: Thoſe ſtateſmen, who were really called aloud for by the people, begged and entreated that the gentlemen now in office would have a little patience; telling them that the ſhip was aground, and it required the united effort of the whole crew to get her off, and bring her ſafe to port. But in vain—they began a mutiny

mutiny on the forecaſtle, *and crouding all into one boat* declared they would *ſhift for themſelves.*

I will not purſue the metaphor any further, though it is applicable in every part; but aſk thoſe, who are impartial and informed, whether this is not a true picture of what happened at the late change; and whether I am juſtly accuſed of miſleading the nation, in affirming that the preſent crew are diſcountenanced by the two patriots and their friends, who were formerly embarked in the ſame ſhip, and met with this injurous treatment from them? What purpoſe can it ſerve to amuſe the public, as the miniſterial writers continue to do, by diſputing a point that is given up, every where but in the news-papers; and which (if the parliament is not FARTHER PROROGUED) will be proved to their confuſion ſoon after Chriſtmas? Had thoſe who compoſe the preſent miniſtry acted in conjuction, and according to their engagements with Lord Temple, and Mr. Pitt, every thing might have been obtained, that the public deſired; but their vanity, raſhneſs, and ambition, made them forget the obligations they were under, and ſacrifice the welfare of the public to their own ſordid views of private intereſt and advantage.

Theſe are facts which have not yet been touched upon, and I own it will excite my curioſity to obſerve what anſwer will be attempted to be made to them. I am perſuaded the world will ſee that unleſs it is contradicted by authority, from the patriots themſelves, it will be taken for what it really is, an authentic hiſtory of the able negotiations of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and will account for the retreat of the Great Commoner, as well as the patriotic and ſpirited behaviour of that unſhaken friend to England, Earl Temple.

And now before I conclude, it may not be improper to take a ſhort view of the forty mutineers,

who raſhly put to ſea in the boat; or in other words, of the preſent adminiſtration, who ſo baſely deſerted their comrades, and crouding into their ſeveral offices, *hoiſted ſail*, and launched out on their own bottoms. It is impoſſible in the nature of things but they muſt ſoon *overſet* and *ſink*: unſupported by thoſe on whom alone they ſhould have relied for credit, popularity, and parliamentary aſſiſtance, it is univerſally allowed they cannot *weather the ſtorm* till the meeting of the great council of the nation. Cabals are already forming to compoſe a freſh plan of adminiſtration: if fame ſays true, there has been a political congreſs on the ſea coaſt, by which it has been agreed that they ſhould ſet all popularity at defiance, and call forth the Favourite to appear publickly in their ſupport. Far be it from me, to affirm that this idea is reliſhed by *all* our preſent rulers: *Some* of the younger part among them I well know, are as adverſe to it as other independent members of the community: but when once ſuch a matter is agitated, and liſtened to, by any leaders of the miniſtry, it proves to demonſtration, that they are convinced they cannot ſtand their ground. Indeed every day's experience ſhews us what a poor opinion they have of their own ſtrength and permanency. Would a powerful and ſpirited adminiſtration put off the combat to the laſt moment? Have they forgot how they triumphed, when in oppoſition two years ago, over the late miniſters, upon a *report* only that they did not mean to face the parliament before Chriſtmas? And when that report was found to be falſe, was it not the language every where that the miniſtry knew their ſtrength and deſerved ſupport, which they would not have met with, had they ſhewn puſillanimity by a contrary conduct?

Another ſymptom of their decline, is the apparent diſunion among them, and the violent ſcramble

ble that is raiſed, by every piece of preferment that drops, either in the army, the church, or the ſtate. Indeed I am the leſs ſurpriſed at the eagerneſs with which every one ſnatches for himſelf, when I conſider the rapacity of one of their leaders, who would engroſs them entirely to his own ſhare. We have ſeen him already ſtruggling for a regiment, and diſpoſing of a conſiderable dignity in the church; and I ſhall be much diſappointed if the greateſt mark of honour in the kingdom, and a high rank in the navy, are not very ſhortly transferred into the ſame channel. He is ſenſible that the preſent fabric cannot ſtand; and therefore thinks it adviſeable to provide for his friends without loſs of time; regardleſs whether he thereby offends the other members of the party, who preſume to think that they ought ſometimes to be admitted into a ſhare of the advantages, as they partake of the burden of being miniſters of ſtate. ANTI-SEJANUS.

Ad illa tempora perventum eſt, quibus nec vitia noſtra, nec remedia pati poſſumus. LIV.

AS the day is at laſt fixed for the meeting of the preſent parliament, it may not be improper to give my readers a ſhort view of the ſtate of this country; from which they may collect the dangers and difficulties, that, like a cloud big with ruin and horror, hang over the preſent adminiſtration.

I am ſorry to ſay that a ſpirit of luxury and diſſipation, of diſcontent and riot, ſeems to have pervaded all ranks and conditions of men. The nobility and gentry, enſlaved by a train of faſhionable and expenſive vices, out-live the current incomes of their fortunes, and feel all the *real* diſtreſſes of an *artificial* poverty; while the lower ſort of people imitate the manners, as well as dreſs of their ſuperiors, and ſquander away their little all in gaming and intemperance. By this means their minds

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are debaſed and enervated; thought and reflection are irkſome, labour and induſtry are intolerable. They are encompaſſed by a croud of clamorous wants and neceſſities, that too often goad them on to acts of violence and deſperation. A general ſpirit of murmuring and diſſatisfaction prevails; all ſubordination is diſregarded; the laws are broken, and the power of the magiſtrate is inſulted: Tumults and inſurrections are frequent; and we ſeem ripe for the miſeries and horrors of a civil war.

Whether this is not a true, though a faint picture of the preſent times, I leave every one to judge, who conſiders the late riots and commotions with that ſerious attention which they certainly deſerve. In how deplorable and deſperate a ſituation is this unhappy country, when one of the higheſt branches of the legiſlative power is not ſacred from injury and inſult? But what ſhall we ſay, if this ſeditious ſpirit of tumult and inſurrection has been foſtered in the boſom of the great and noble?---Surely it calls aloud for the earlieſt attention, and moſt ſtrenuous interpoſition of P-----t, to find out and cruſh this dangerous viper, that preys with ſuch unnatural rage on the vitals of its mother country! There never was a period in the Engliſh hiſtory, when the affairs of this kingdom were in a more deſperate ſtate than at preſent: We are diſtracted with tumults and diſſentions at home, and our colonies abroad are in a ſtate of almoſt open rebellion; unwilling to bear the leaſt ſhare in the burdens of government, though they enjoy the privileges, the ſupport, and protection of it. What aggravates, and I am afraid will perpetuate our diſtreſſes, is, that the authority of government is weakened, by the capricious removal of men, who were every way qualified for their arduous employments; and by committing the reins of power into the hands of thoſe, who are utterly unqualified to manage them

them properly. It is no injury to the preſent adminiſtration, to ſay that they are not the men, whom the nation called for, nor the men whom the nation can truſt. There is a general diſſatisfaction and jealouſy; the former occaſioned by the inexperience of one part of our miniſters, and the latter by the well known corruption and venality of the other. Nothing can remove our diſcontent, or ſilence our fears, but the baniſhment of the Favourite; which will be ſucceeded by the happieſt of all events, the downfall of the preſent junto, and the promotion of Lord T——e, and his patriotic adherents. Till this moſt deſirable period arrives, all will be diſcord and confuſion; our diviſions at home will encreaſe every moment, and our colonies abroad, acquainted with the weakneſs and unſettled ſtate of our affairs, will be impatient of controul, and wax wanton with licentiouſneſs. I will venture to maintain that there is not one man in the kingdom, who has the leaſt affection for his country, the leaſt regard for his friends, the leaſt anxiety for himſelf (and without any of theſe he muſt be a very ſtock or ſtone) but longs to ſee an adminiſtration eſtabliſhed, which Lord T——e ſupports, and Mr. P——t approves. Even ſome of our preſent mock miniſters, intoxicating as the love of power is, begin to grow ſick of the poſſeſſion, and are trying to rid themſelves of it. They have deferred the meeting of P——t to the very laſt moment; (for notwithſtanding the day appointed is *before*, no buſineſs can be tranſacted till *after* Chriſtmas) conſcious that it was impoſſible for them to ſtand the ſhock of that illuſtrious aſſembly. They now begin to reflect on the difficulties that ſurround them, and the dangers to which they are expoſed, from the perplexity of the times, and their own weakneſs and inability. The Chancellor of the Ex——r finds himſelf called upon in the moſt ſerious manner

ner to fulfil that precipitate promiſe, which he unhappily made to his unreaſonable conſtituents. The principal gentlemen of ſeveral cyder counties are aſſembling together to draw up inſtructions for their repreſentatives, to procure the repeal of the cyder tax: a point, which the C-----r of the Exchequer, has given them reaſon to believe HE HIMSELF would effect; thus arrogantly aſſuming a power, by far too great for a ſubject, and ſcarce tolerable even in a —— over a free people. The anſwer that has been given to this, by his injudicious advocates, is that the cyder tax is unpopular and oppreſſive; which might, with equal juſtice and propriety, be ſaid of any other duty whatever. Every maltſter and hop-planter has as good reaſon to complain of the unpopularity and oppreſſion of the duties upon malt and hops, as the cyder merchant. And if every individual is to ſet himſelf up for a judge of every particular tax that is impoſed; if every pert, imperious R—p—ſ---t---ve ſhall pretend that he will repeal thoſe duties, which are a partial grievance to his own county; how, in the name of wonder, ſhall we be able to pay the intereſt of that enormous debt, which we have contracted, or provide for the dignity of the crown, and the exigencies of government? if this be *popularity*, I will venture to ſay that it will over-turn the credit, and tranquillity of the nation, will expoſe us to the deteſtation of foreign countries, and reduce us to a melancholy ſtate of anarchy and confuſion.

ANTI-SEJANUS.

Incitabant præterea corrupti Civitatis Mores; quos peſſima ac diverſa inter ſe Mala, Luxuria atque Avaritia vexabant. SAL.

IT is a manifeſt, but a melancholy truth, that there never was any particular criſis recorded in hiſtory, when a commotion, either at home or abroad, was

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ſo likely to be productive of fatal conſequences to the conſtitution as the preſent, and that for the following reaſons: The frequent changes that have happened in all the great departments of ſtate within theſe laſt five years have ſhaken the very foundations of government, by deſtroying all opinion of its ſteadineſs and reſolution, thoſe two main pillars on which its credit and authority muſt principally depend. Another reaſon is, the weakneſs and inſufficiency of our preſent Miniſters, which, as they are known to our enemies, cannot fail of inducing them to throw every difficulty in their way, and to be indefatigable in tying ſuch Gordian knots as they will never be able to looſe. For theſe two bleſſings we are indebted to the *Favourite*, who, whether deſignedly or no, I will not pretend to ſay, has ſerved the cauſe of France more effectually by his reſtleſs and capricious conduct, than if he had ſteadily and uniformly ſupported the intereſts of his luckleſs kinſman, the TRAITEROUS STEWART, who, I will venture to affirm, has not been a greater curſe to this nation than himſelf.

But there are other reaſons of a melancholy and ill-boding aſpect that ariſe immediately from ourſelves. It grieves me to remark that, among the lower claſs of people, the poor remains of public ſpirit, which has long ago been drawn off to the very laſt dregs, begin to loſe their original virtue, and to ferment into diſorder and licentiouſneſs, while thoſe of a ſuperior degree ſeem to have laid aſide that common regard for their country, which ſhould be the regulating ſpring of all their actions, and to be guided by ſordid ſelfiſhneſs, unmanly prejudice, and head-long paſſion. Were ever patriots more rare, or factions more frequent than at preſent? Indeed, nothing can be more applicable to theſe times than the remark, which was made by a celebrated hiſtorian, on the Roman Senate, at that

that particular criſis when Liberty was juſt expiring of the wounds which ſhe had received from anarchy on one hand and tyranny on the other, "*Lepidus* had a party, *Antony* had a party, and *Cæſar* a party—but ROME had none." This, I am afraid, is exactly the caſe in our preſent political conteſt: Among the ſeveral factions that diſtract and harraſs the kingdom, how few are there who have the good of their country only at heart, and make it their ſole object, to which every action is directed? Peradventure there may be *ten ſuch righteous perſons* found in the nation; and theſe, perhaps, might be ſufficient to ſave us from impending ruin, if they were not prevented by a pernicious *Favourite* from putting their honeſt intentions into execution. It is evident to every one, who can at all reflect on the preſent poſture of affairs, that there is no other impediment to an immediate and general coalition of parties than the deteſted influence of a pertinacious minion: It is This that deprives us of the aſſiſtance of the Great and Good of every denomination, who are taught by experience how dangerous and dreadful it is to ſwim down the rapid ſtream of politics with a companion of his hardened caſt, who will be ſure, in the end, to bulge and break them to pieces.

If we conſider the depravity and corruption of the preſent age, it is not at all ſurpriſing that the *Favourite*, deteſtable as he is, and will ever be to the Engliſh nation, ſhould be able to pick up one deſperate champion to defend him. But though it is not to be wondered at, it is to be lamented ſeriouſly, as the fulſome panegyrics that he beſtows may be the means of turning the brain of his patron, unaccuſtomed, Gods knows, as he is to praiſe, and preventing him from ſeeing his true and only intereſt, which is to retire immediately, till the preſent ſtorm be over. If he delays much longer, it will

will be too late; it will be out of the reach of palliatives to relieve us. Whoever conſults the annals of different countries, and obſerves the *prevailing principles*, at thoſe particular periods which have been marked by ſome violent convulſions or fatal cataſtrophe, will find that they bear too melancholy a reſemblance to our own. Indeed we ſeem to be ripe for ſome dreadful calamity: There are, in every form of government, however wiſe and excellent, ſome evils interwoven with their very conſtitution, that grow up along with them, as worms and flies with particular trees and plants, in which they have been engendered. The ſeeds of theſe evils might, perhaps, at firſt be too minute to be diſcovered; but they are ſure of encreaſing, by degrees, till they become at laſt ſo formidable as to endanger the very being of the government, with which they have regularly grown up. Hence it has been found neceſſary in every ſtate, after a particular period, to weed the government of theſe noxious qualities, and reduce it back again to its firſt principles. This is what Machiavel and other Italian writers call *ripigliare il Stato*, which cannot be effected but by two methods; one is by the joint aſſiſtance of the able, upright, and great of every party, whoſe influence and example may, in time, correct every abuſe, and rekindle in our breaſts the dying embers of public virtue; the other method is more expeditious, indeed, but at the ſame time truly dreadful: It is by ſome fierce and violent convulſion, which will ſhake the government to its very centre, and may, perhaps, ſo diſorder it, that it will never recover its original ſtrength and beauty. How ardently muſt every one, who loves his country, pray for the ſpeedy aſſiſtance of thoſe worthies and patriots, who are driven by the deteſted *Favourite* into retirement, and can only at preſent, in ſilent ſorrow, bewail the dangers that threaten this devoted kingdom?

ANTI-SEJANUS.

A ſingular defence of Lord BUTE.

IN April 1763, the Earl of Bute reſigned his office of firſt commiſſioner of the Treaſury; and through his own recommendation, was ſucceeded in that department by Mr. Grenville. The Earl of Sandwich, by the intereſt of Mr. Fox, now Lord Holland, took Mr. Grenville's ſeat at the head of the Admiralty. The reſt of the adminiſtration remained in their former places; Earl Grenville, Preſident of the Council, Lord Henley, Lord Chancellor (or keeper of the Great Seal) the Earls of Halifax and Egremont, Secretaries of State.

Upon Lord Bute's return to town from Knareſborough, where he had paſſed a month or ſix weeks in the neighbourhood of Harrogate Waters for the recovery of his health, he lived upon good terms with all the King's Miniſters, till the death of Earl Grenville, towards the end of the ſummer 1763.

This was the incident which occaſioned the firſt material difference of opinion between the Miniſters of that time and the Earl of Bute, the former inſiſting that the buſineſs of government could not go on, unleſs the Duke of Leeds was made Preſident of the Council in Lord Grenville's room, and the Earl of Bute, with whom they conferred upon this ſubject, adviſing, with all deference and juſtice to the worth and honour of his Grace the Duke of Leeds, that they ſhould think of ſome other great perſon more trained to public buſineſs, and the fitteſt that could be found to ſupply the place of the able Miniſter, deceaſed.

The diverſity of opinion upon this point was not decided, when the Earl of Egremont alſo died. The conſequence of two ſuch vacancies, in a ſmall circle of five or ſix Miniſters, was to ſuſpend all buſineſs of cabinet council; a condition of public affairs which could not endure a long delay.

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It muſt be remembered too, that the adminiſtration which the Earl of Bute left behind him, at his retirement from the Treaſury, was not thought to be ſufficiently ſtrong, when entire: Mr. Grenville, the intended Miniſter in the Houſe of Commons, being deſtitute of connections there, untried, and not fortified with the world's opinion. But when that Miniſtry had loſt the ſupport of the Earls of Granville and Egremont, the remnant was univerſally conſidered as too feeble and ruinous to admit of common repair or amendment.

The urgent neceſſity, therefore, of filling up the cabinet council for the ſake of daily buſineſs, and the conjunctural neceſſity of doing it by the moſt powerful auxiliaries, ſuggeſted to the Earl of Bute the thought of compoſing a firm adminiſtration by a coalition of Mr. Pitt with the then ſurviving Miniſters, as a meaſure rendered ſeemingly practicable by thoſe openings which the hand of Providence had made in two of the higheſt offices. He met Mr. Pitt, and tried to conciliate him to the King's ſervice in conjunction with his brother-in-law, Mr. Grenville. The attempt met with inſuperable difficulties on the part of Mr. Pitt, who would not liſten to any propoſition by which he ſhould be yoked in buſineſs with Mr. Grenville. When the Earl of Bute found his firſt project of a coalition inadmiſſible, he reſorted to a ſecond expedient for the gaining of Mr. Pitt to the public, by ſuch arrangements as might ſoften the removal of thoſe among the K.'s ſervants, whom that gentleman did not approve of in the ſtations they then held; and he parted at laſt from that meeting with Mr. Pitt in a belief that the latter would engage in adminiſtration.

Mr. P. was ſoon afterwards admitted to the honour of two or three conferences with a much higher perſon, in which his conditions were fully propoſed

and conſidered, and which ended unfortunately in his excuſing himſelf from then entering into the K.'s ſervice.

As my meaning is not either to blame or excuſe any body for the iſſue of this negotiation, I ſhall not ſtate here the conditions upon which that treaty ſplit; further than negatively, that they had no relation to the E. of B.'s political ſituation, which had never been mentioned or pointed at in the converſation between Mr. P. and him, or in the ſubſequent conferences before-mentioned.

The E. of B.'s ſucceſſive plans of a new adminiſtration proving thus abortive in the experiment, the K. permitted the ſubſiſting members of his cabinet council to remain in their ſeveral departments, and to fill up the vacancies in that body according to their own judgment; and they accepted of his gracious indulgence, offering no terms whatſoever relative to the E. of B. nor making any ſtipulations whatſoever with him.

In purſuance of their powers, they promoted the Earl of Sandwich to the late Lord Egremont's Seals, and the Duke of Bedford to the Council Chair of the late Lord Granville. By what inducements or change of circumſtances thoſe gentlemen were led from their former purpoſe of placing the Duke of Leeds at the head of the K.'s Council, is a ſecret to themſelves. Certain it is, the E. of B. had no hand in either of the two promotions juſt now ſpoke of; for, upon the failure of his ſyſtem, he reſolved to concern himſelf no more in the affairs of adminiſtration. He ſaw it impoſſible to mix in their conſultations with friendly intercourſe, a miniſter being at the head of the Treaſury whom he had ſo lately conſented to diſplace for the ſake of Mr. Pitt. He ſaw it to be equally impracticable, if he was willing, to offer ſecret advice to his Sovereign, independently of his official miniſters; for, if they had a

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ſpark of dignity, or even a grain of pride in their compoſitions, they could not continue a day in the K.'s ſervice, after finding their ſentiments in buſineſs, or recommendations to office, over-ruled, or other meaſures and promotions obtruded upon them, by a perſon with whom they had ſo recently been offended. He wrote a letter, therefore, (not to Mr. Grenville, or any other of the miniſters) but to his gracious Sovereign, humbly ſtating the reſolution, which, for the K.'s ſervice, as well as for his own eaſe, he had thought himſelf obliged to take; and then to remove, if poſſible, all occaſions of jealouſy, he retired to his houſe in Bedfordſhire for the whole enſuing winter 1763-4.

Now, becauſe it is not my purpoſe to dreſs up an artificial tale, I do aſſert what I moſt ſincerely and honeſtly believe, and think I have ſolid grounds for believing, that, from the period when his plan miſcarried of ſtrengthening government by the acquiſition of Mr. Pitt, in Autumn 1763, he hath been a private man, taking no ſhare or part whatſoever in any of the proceedings of adminiſtration, or acts of ſtate, either by conſultation with the ſervants of the Crown, or by diſcourſe and ſecret ſuggeſtion to the high perſonage who ſo worthily wears it.

The letter abovementioned gave Mr. Grenville no claim to expect of the E. of B. his retirement from the concerns of ſtate; no right to complain of breach of faith, if he ſhould afterwards have ſtepped forwards and been received by the Crown into the management of affairs, either open and avowed, or ſecret and confidential; becauſe that letter had nothing in it of the nature of a compact with Mr. Grenville, or any other perſon: it could not poſſibly be any part of his inducements for continuing in office, after the ſlight he had met with in ſeeing Mr. Pitt ſo much preferred before him by the ne-

gotiation of September 1763; for the letter was not wrote till he had digeſted that indignity, and agreed to ſtay in the K—'s ſervice; nay, there was a paſſage in the letter, which expreſsly mentioned Mr. Grenville's determination to keep his employment, as an event that had then actually taken place.

The letter, as I have ſaid, was declaratory of the E. of B.'s wiſh and intention to withdraw from the K.'s buſineſs, for reaſons which concerned the quiet of his M———'s government, as well as the repoſe of the E. of B. himſelf. He has, however, ſince the period abovementioned, obſerved his reſolution with as much punctuality, as if he had been bound by the moſt ſolemn engagement; 1ſt, he hath not ſince that time offered advice to the K. for the taking or forbearing of any ſtep in public affairs, domeſtic, provincial, or foreign; in particular, he did not lead the Royal opinion upon the ſubject of the late Regency-bill either in its firſt concoction or ſubſequent alterations, or in the removal of the late Miniſtry, or the appointment of the preſent. Neither hath he aſked his M. for any place, penſion or emolument, for his acquaintance, friends, relations, or for himſelf.

2dly, He hath not conſulted or diſcourſed with the late Miniſters upon any branch of public buſineſs, ſince the time ſpecified: Indeed he hath ſcarce been in the ſame room with any of them, except, perhaps, in a public place, and that very rarely; nor hath he applied to thoſe gentlemen for any favour of government, except a ſmall place of about 100l. per annum, which he employed an acquaintance to aſk in his Lordſhip's name of Mr. Grenville in the ſummer 1764, and which that gentleman promiſed to give when it ſhould fall; and this has not happened.

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Thus I have taken the freedom to aſſert this nobleman's inactivity in the adminiſtration of affairs from a certain æra abſolutely and univerſally. I have, indeed, laid down this aſſertion much more largely than any purpoſe of his defence required; for I could give inſtances where every body beſides the late miniſters would allow he might have interfered without cenſure, nor have I any reaſon for taking my ground ſo widely, but a full conviction that the truth is as I have ſtated it. The contrary opinion which I am ſenſible has prevailed with many, owed its commencement to the laſt oppoſition, who gave out their doctrine of the E. of B.'s ſupremacy behind the curtain with a party deſign of throwing odium and contempt upon the late miniſters, as his ſubordinate tools and underlings; which the preſent advocates for thoſe gentlemen not diſcerning, they have, by vague, general, declamatory charges of a ſecret influence, exerciſed by the ſame nobleman, (as far as in them lay) confirmed the ſcandal caſt upon their patrons in the blind purſuit of revenge againſt the E. of. B.

J. J.

A letter to the Earl of B—, *upon the ſeveral changes of adminiſtration.*

AT the time of your Lordſhip's open acceſſion to power, we were bleſſed with a young and patriot King, who, born a Briton, had no attachment to foreign countries, or connections that were prejudicial to our national intereſts. The helm was directed by a moſt beloved and popular miniſter, who had conducted us through innumerable dangers and difficulties, and, by a ſeries of victorious events, exalted this kingdom to the higheſt pitch of glory. How ſoon that able and upright ſtateſman was driven, by your pernicious power and

counſel, from the ear of his S———, and conſequently from the aid of his country, needs very little recollection.

That your Lordſhip ſhould contrive the diſmiſſion of this patriot miniſter, and undertake yourſelf to give peace to Europe, will not appear at all ſurpriſing to thoſe who are acquainted with the jealous and ſordid turn of your mind. If Mr. Pitt had concluded a ſafe and honourable peace, you were aware that he would, by that means, have ſo endeared himſelf, not to the people only, but the King, as to have rendered himſelf a great and formidable rival: You was determined, therefore, to run all hazards to prevent it; and that you might rivet yourſelf more firmly to your maſter's heart, reſolved to undertake the office yourſelf. But here, with a ſagacity unuſual to your Lordſhip, you juſtly foreſaw that your ſituation, with regard to your country, and the want of credit, as well as influence, with your fellow ſubjects, would oblige you to call in ſome powerful aſſiſtance to compleat this ſalutary work. For this purpoſe you pointed out to your Prince a proper perſon as a coadjutor; a prudent, powerful, and (till your ſiniſter arts prevailed) a popular nobleman; who, ſeeing the ſituation of his Sovereign and his Country, readily obeyed the call, and gave to both that reſpite they ſo much required. You will pardon me if I here remind your Lordſhip of that baſe and ungenerous treatment which you ſhewed towards that nobleman; how you embarraſſed him in one of the moſt nice and difficult enterprizes that ever was undertaken; how you perplexed him with your abſurd and contradictory inſtructions; and, for fear he ſhould conclude *too good a peace*, and gain *too much credit* with his King and Country, uſed your utmoſt endeavours to make him for ever forfeit the eſteem and approbation of both. Your wicked artifices moſt fortunately

fortunately failed, and all the advantage you reaped from them was only to exaſperate his Grace, and make him deſervedly ſuſpicious of your Lordſhip.

After you had been hunted out of office by the public cry, what vows and proteſtations did you make, that you would never again interfere in public buſineſs. Theſe declarations were ſcarce made before they were broken. From the moment that you *hung your tail* and ſlunk out of office, you determined to govern *in the ſhade* as abſolutely and *as wiſely* as you had done during the little time your *tender eyes* could *bear the light*. Unhappily for you the nobility of England were too ſtubborn to ſubmit to be your tools and creatures. This unexpected behaviour offended your pride, and excited your indignation: In a tranſport of courage never felt before, you boldly, boldly indeed, had recourſe to the Patriot Commoner, and ſued to him for refuge. You raſhly introduced him to your maſter, and thus ſubjected your P———, your benefactor, and your friend, to the mortification of that refuſal, which, if you had not been blinded by paſſion and folly, you might eaſily have foreſeen and prevented.

'Twas then, my Lord, you was indeed, forced to a retreat, and obliged to withdraw, for a time, that influence over our councils, which it was but too apparent you ſtill poſſeſſed. In this abdication of yours, you could not keep from meddling, and yet durſt not *act out*, like a man; you lived, my Lord, a Lye, and was at perpetual variance with yourſelf; diſowning, in a baſe and cowardly manner, thoſe dark and underhand practices you was every day committing. All your emiſſaries were ſet to work, to obſtruct the adminiſtration of thoſe very gentlemen you yourſelf had ſo lately recommended, as the ableſt, the fitteſt, nay the only pro-

per and capable perſons to conduct your Royal Maſter's affairs.

The confidence which our able and active miniſters began every day to acquire, alarmed you: You grew apprehenſive that your power in the cloſet would decline; you ſaw how unanimouſly bent they were, to reduce your exorbitant power. In ſuch a deſperate ſituation, the remedy was deſperate, and there ſeemed to be nothing left but to fly to the arms of that illuſtrious perſon, whoſe *bulk* you thought ſufficient to ſhield you from the impending danger. You did not, it muſt be confeſſed, apply to him *immediately yourſelf*. You was conſcious how little favour you deſerved at his hands, having formerly taken every opportunity of manifeſting your hatred and averſion to him, and ſubjecting him to frequent *mortifying proofs*, that you had infuſed the ſame ſentiments *elſewhere*. You was well acquainted with the ambitious and neceſſitous ends of that perſon, whom you wanted to enliſt into your ſervice, and wiſely made uſe of them to delude him to forget himſelf, to lay aſide his wonted pride, hatred, and revenge; and, to the aſtoniſhment of all England, to become neither more nor leſs than your courier to Hayes, where you was aſhamed and afraid ever to appear again yourſelf. The reſult of this negotiation did honour to the Great Patriot, and the few whom his judgement and public ſpirit had connected with himſelf.

Even this ſtroke, this deſperate ſtroke of yours failed: You was unable to form ſuch a miniſtry as you fondly expected; and, for want of foreſight, involved yourſelf in difficulties that you never dreamed of. Mr. *Pitt* moſt nobly and reſolutely refuſed to bear any ſhare in an adminiſtration that was to be packed together and garbled by you.

And now, my Lord, ſit down coolly, and reflect a little on your raſh, inconſiſtent, paſſionate conduct.

conduct. How muſt it expoſe us to the ſcorn and ridicule of our neighbours, to have it known that all the great offices of the kingdom, the care of our laws, our treaſures, our naval and military powers, have been offered over and over again to various perſons; and for a long time none found hardy enough to accept them, upon ſuch a plan, and under ſuch a *coadjutive dictatorſhip.*

[*Letters on behalf of the Adminiſtration, in anſwer to Anti-Sejanus, &c.*]

I own myſelf extremely ſhocked to ſee a gentleman of Mr. Grenville's character made the ſport of this muſhroom upſtart; a man of whom we may ſay, with Shakeſpeare, "Take him for all in all, we never ſhall ſee his like again," of unblemiſhed reputation, *of* known abilities, *and* unſullied integrity; *a man who has conducted the affairs of the nation with the utmoſt reſolution, wiſdom, and prudence; one in whom all the monied men in the kingdom place the moſt perfect confidence, and all honeſt men wiſh to ſee* continued *in the adminiſtration.*

PUB. AD. July 2.

IF the extraordinary paper in the Public Advertiſer of Tueſday laſt, ſigned ANTI-SEJANUS, is not already loſt in the contempt which it deſerves, the above moſt extraordinary ſentences, which I have extracted from it, and choſen for my motto, will be readily remembered.

When thoſe who would be thought great men, condeſcend, without regard to decency or probability, to applaud themſelves in the public papers; or, which is little leſs mean, and even more ridiculous, when they encourage others to make their panegyric for virtues and qualities the leaſt allied to their known imperfections, it naturally excites a more rigorous enquiry into their real characters, it

naturally calls up a little indignation in honeſt men, who, having had ſagacity enough not to have been cheated by the ſpecious juggle of adminiſtration, will never ſuffer themſelves to be the dupes of the rhetoric of dying ſpeeches and laſt words, or ſnivel at the bed-ſide of an expiring Miniſter.

The late miniſterial junto, which, after having incurred the contempt and hatred of the public, by the uſe they made of their power, are now in hopes of acquiring ſome ſort of popularity in their fall. Whilſt their reign (to uſe the language of their friend the Ordinary) laſted, they knew that we conſidered them for what they were: when they come to meet their deſerts, though they never had our approbation, they hope to move our pity; and that at laſt the good women will cry out, that Jonathan Wild, and George the Sadler, are well timbered men; and that in the cart Jemmy Twitcher has really the air of a Lord.

I do not mean to defame any man; but it is, I hope, no libel to differ from ANTI-SEJANUS, and to profeſs that "*I am* not *ſhocked*, but extremely happy, to ſee the time approach when a *gentleman of Mr. Grenville's character* is to be removed from all power, all management of buſineſs;" and inſtead of a fooliſh application of Shakeſpear's words, to ſay, in the words of every Engliſhman, "That I, and all diſintereſted people who know him and his management, *taking him for all in all, hope we never ſhall look upon his like again* in public buſineſs.

The flatterer ſays, "of *unblemiſhed reputation*, of *known abilities*, and *unſullied integrity*." I take the middle of the ſentence firſt, and ſpeak of *his known abilities*. If it ſhould appear that his wonderful management has brought one of the moſt valuable branches of our trade into that dilemma that it muſt be either totally loſt, or, if regained, may riſque the bringing on a war with Spain, neither his commercial

mercial genius nor his political capacity will be much admired. The Weſt-Indian merchant will know that I allude to the total deſtruction which he, as miniſter, (and perhaps far beyond the legal power of his miniſterial ſituation) prepared for the trade carried on ſo infinitely to our advantage from Jamaica with the Spaniards. If ſuch things as impeachments ſhould come in faſhion, or even if ſimple enquiries ſhould be the taſte of this age of management and humanity, his friends may find themſelves at a loſs how to account for the wiſdom, or to ſupport the honeſty of his conduct. But for my part, I have candour enough to take the moſt moderate ſide of the alternative; and when folly will fairly account for a wrong ſtep in a miniſter, I am unwilling to attribute it to treachery; I therefore only wiſh to deprecate from poſterity the effects of his want of ability, and the bitter fruits of his laborious and meddling ignorance.

This man, who never thought of a regulation in trade but as it was a reſtraint upon it, who has encouraged ſmuggling *to us* by heavy duties, and deſtroyed all ſmuggling *from us* by injudicious reſtrictions; this is the very man whom this paradoxical libeller repreſents in ſuch a degree of favour with the merchants; the man under whom our public credit has been in ſo miſerable a condition, is he who is held up as the favourite of the monied men.

It would be tireſome to enumerate all the inſtances of his incapacity, in the management of our commercial intereſts. It is indeed on all hands agreed, that his delight is to have his fingers black with ink, and to talk about buſineſs *and about it*, till he has rendered his hearers apprehenſions as confuſed as his own. The ignorant part of the world are apt to miſtake labour for induſtry, and plodding for deliberation; but the labour of ſuch a man tends but to fortify him in his ignorance; and

and his plodding only to take away his power of determination.

I hope I ſhall hear no more of his knowledge from others; and if I might give a word of advice to himſelf, I would perſuade him not to talk ſo much of his own honeſty: for though ſuch diſcourſes may now and then take in a country gentleman, they may make people of experience the more inquiſitive and ſuſpicious. I would adviſe him to appoint other topics to his flatterers in public: they ſhould be ordered to be diſcreet, and not inſiſt too much on the words in the letter, *unblemiſhed reputation*, and *unſullied integrity*; and by no means to miſtake the decency and moderation of their adverſaries, for ſtupidity and want of feeling: for they may force people to mention what very many do not fail to remark; and to bring to light facts, whoſe force can neither be reſiſted nor evaded.

How came it, men will ſay, that at one period Mr. Grenville, deſerting a brother to whom he had very great obligations, and quitting ſome ſeemingly rivetted friendſhips, choſe to adhere to Lord Bute, then as much a favourite as he is now; and Mr. Grenville muſt own, with more power than at preſent. Was it becauſe that favourite was really then in power?

How came he, about two years ſince, to ſpread abroad, as moſt aſſuredly he did, or his aſſociates, a report, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple's unconſcionable demands broke off the treaty in which Mr. Pitt was ſo honourably engaged? How came he and his aſſociates to take on again themſelves to act in ſuch an underling capacity, as their own manifeſto acknowledges they have; and it ſeems by their ſame manifeſto they were ſtill willing to do while they were ſuffered? Was any body ignorant by what means Mr. Grenville and his aſſociates came into power? Is any one ignorant of the part they

they acted towards the perſon who brought them into power? Did they in their conduct ſhew either the ſpirit of free agents, or the fidelity of inſtruments?

But, it ſeems, Mr. Grenville was weary to death with being regarded as little better than a cypher, while Lord Bute diſpoſed of every place of profit and honour: ſo then this miniſter, whoſe independent ſpirit and ſituation his emiſſaries have been trumpeting about for theſe two laſt years in every coffee-houſe and every news-paper, now turns out, upon his own confeſſion, to have been no more than a cypher. If the ſtate of ſubſerviency in miniſters to a man in private capacity, be, as it certainly is, a ſolid objection to them, then theſe miniſters are (whatever others may be) by their own account unfit for their places; and if they *are weary to death* with them, let them repoſe themſelves in ſome private ſituation, and reſign thoſe offices, in which they confeſs, and in which we always believed, that they *were but very cyphers*. The fate of ſuch miniſterial cyphers is what very little concerns the public: but Lord Bute diſpoſed from theſe cyphers; and if it were true, it is not very wonderful he ſhould, of every place of profit and honour. Not, however, of all, not of every place of profit, not certainly of *every tellerſhip of the Exchequer*. Neither do I apprehend it can be affirmed with any colour of truth, that Lord Bute *ſet to ſale* every office in the American department.

But why theſe grievous complaints which theſe gentlemen make of their inſignificance? We never doubted it; we are no way concerned about it, except in their fatal attempts on liberty and trade; never thought of them otherwiſe. If they have a mind to make a complaint that we ſhould indeed liſten to, of the effect of their ſubſerviency to Lord Bute, let them charge on his influence ſome few at leaſt

leaſt of thoſe actions of theirs, which have loaded them with the deteſtation of the public. Let them prove that it was by Lord Bute's influence that our American trade is ſo crippled, and our colonies ſo alienated in affection from us. Let them prove that it was Lord Bute who iſſued thoſe illegal, oppreſſive, unconſtitutional warrants, and then, by chicane and privilege, obſtructed a legal determination on them. Let them ſhew that it was Lord Bute who at one ſtroke deprived us of ſo many officers of known merit and ſervice, for the freedom of their voices in parliament, on a queſtion concerning thoſe very warrants; on a queſtion in which every thing dear to Engliſhmen was at ſtake. Let them ſhew one of theſe actions to have been influenced by Lord Bute, and then we may be induced to forget our abhorrence of the wickedneſs, in our contempt of the meanneſs of theſe inſtruments, and transfer our indignation to an higher object. If they cannot do this, I believe every honeſt man will join with me in thinking, that thoſe who could make ſuch a uſe of the power they had, had full as much power as they ought.

The merit of Lord Bute, as miniſter, is no queſtion at preſent. But what fault in his adminiſtration is it, that theſe miniſters have ſoftened or corrected? What good is there, in theirs, in which Lord Bute was deficient? Was the public eaſy for a moment for its liberty, its commerce, its manufactures, or its public credit, whilſt they were in office.

They are deep in the ſecret, and they tell us Lord Bute is in favour, and they are not: whether they tell truth in the former part of this intelligence, I know not; I hope, and the public ardently prays, that the latter part of it may be true; if it be, they bleſs Providence, and they thank their Sovereign, that the crown and the ſubject are now unanimous,

and

and that they, who have been ſo long known to the public, are at laſt diſcovered at Court.

We are not yet ſo ungrateful, giddy, and inconſtant as they are pleaſed to think us. We cannot be ſeduced into a ſudden liking for thoſe whom we had ſo long exclaimed againſt, only becauſe they are now as odious to their Sovereign as they are to us. When the public hue and cry, which has never ceaſed to purſue theſe miniſters, has at laſt awakened the indignation of our Sovereign to do juſtice on them, we will not be fooliſh enough to ſupplicate now only pardon, but power for thoſe who have ſunk under our own proſecution.

To crown the intolerable folly of theſe puppet miniſters, they boaſt in their libel, of having added to the reſt of their acts of violence and oppreſſion, the diſmiſſion of Mr. Mackenzie; not becauſe he had offended their Sovereign as an officer, or as a man, or had ever done any act offenſive to them as miniſters, but merely in the ſport of power and inſolence of authority, to ſhew what they could do. Truly this is pretty plain ſpeaking. I, for one, muſt profeſs, that this inſolence of power is to me full as inſufferable, from a man whom neither the King likes, nor the people approve, as from the moſt declared favourite.

Theſe are the men that have the inſolence to attempt to brand thoſe who are now coming in with the general voice of the nation, to reſtore our affairs, as acting in ſubſerviency to that favourite, to whom they themſelves have ſo long been tools and inſtruments. That they have been ſo, though they had denied, inſtead of confeſſing it, we might readily believe. The dependency of their fortunes, the meanneſs of their capacity, their total want of conſideration with the public, rendered them the fitteſt perſons in the world to be ſo.

Is

Is this the caſe with thoſe whom the voice of the public has recommended to their Sovereign? the higheſt rank, the moſt extenſive fortunes, the moſt really unbliſhed characters, the beſt experience in buſineſs, and the firſt talents for it; the defenders and the martyrs of liberty are theſe whom our Sovereign has for ever endeared himſelf to his people by calling to his ſervice.

I do not intend to pay ſo ill a compliment to any of them, as to compare them with thoſe whom they are to ſucceed; let us add, that theſe come in with the avowed approbation and ſupport of that great man, to whom this nation, in the late war, owed that glory and power, which it has been the ſole buſineſs of our late miniſters to depreciate by their diſcourſes, and to deſtroy by their conduct. This arrangement is carried on under the auſpices of a great Prince, whom the diſtreſſes of his King and Country have awakened to a ſecond life; and who now is come to the relief of that crown by his counſels, which he had formerly preſerved by his arms. In vain ſhall ſcribblers endeavour to perſuade us, that the Duke of Cumberland, that the Duke of Newcaſtle, the Duke of Grafton, the Marquis of Rockingham, the families of the Cavendiſhes and Kepples, that Charles Townſhend, General Conway, Sir George Saville, Sir Charles Saunders, are perſons who could, in the way that Mr. Grenville and his aſſociates have been, be made the tools and inſtruments of any favourite.

Of all their calumnies, this is the moſt ſenſeleſs. It is not the effect of the abſurd endeavours of their ſcribblers; no, nor the treacherous Family Compact of two brothers, which can ſhake the firm fabric of his Majeſty's pious love, for the ſafety and ſatisfaction of his people.

There is another Family Compact formed upon other principles, againſt which their cabal muſt be daſhed

daſhed to pieces; an union of names too ſacred to be mentioned with theirs; an union formed upon intentions as much nobler, and of force as much greater, as it is of a dignity ſuperior. Their cabal muſt be contemptible indeed, when it is neither joined nor countenanced by that great man, to whoſe alliance alone the Grenville name own their dignity and conſideration.

I take no notice of other papers of this Anti-Sejanus, but I may hereafter; for while falſhoods are propagated with induſtry, I ſhall think it proper to be An Occasional Writer.

I FORESAW from the beginning that one part of my taſk would be of no long duration. The character, which Mr. Grenville's laborious inſignificance, his

"*Pangs without birth, and fruitleſs induſtry,*"

had endeavoured to eſtabliſh of a man of knowledge in public buſineſs, as it could not ſtand the teſt of the ſlighteſt examination, muſt be, I was certain, ſoon given up even by his flatterers. My conjecture has been confirmed by the event, and even ſomething earlier than I could have reaſonably expected.

I ſhall therefore leave that gentleman to the innoxious exertion of his laborious genius in the further improvement of his private fortune, and let him gently fall into the lap of that oblivion, into which a mere creature of office muſt inevitably ſink, as ſoon as ever he is removed from employment.

Before I take my leave, however, of this phantom of a departed miniſter, I cannot help obſerving a little upon a moſt abſurd affectation of the flatterers of Mr. Grenville; who taking the advantage of a viſit he had paid at Hayes, they now, on all occaſions, affect to join his name with Mr. Pitt's, as if ſome ſort of reſemblance exiſted between their

miniſterial characters; or as if there were ſome ſort of agreement between their opinions upon public affairs.

If we were to ſeek for the moſt marked contraſt which could be made out between two characters, either naturally or politically conſidered, I ſuppoſe it would be impoſſible to find any more perfectly fit to be ſet in direct oppoſition to each other, than thoſe of Mr. Grenville and Mr. Pitt.

As much as a laborious perplexity differs from intuitive penetration, as much as narrowneſs differs from enlargement, as much as meanneſs differs from ſublimity, ſo much do the genius, the temper, the diſpoſitions, and the habits of Mr. Grenville differ from thoſe of Mr. Pitt. And no man who can diſtinguiſh exactneſs from greatneſs, the detail of office from the great circle of politics, or a kingdom from a ſhop, will ever think of ſpeaking of thoſe two perſonages in the ſame breath, either as men or as miniſters.

Their talents and turn of mind do not differ as the greater and the leſs; but are in direct oppoſition to each other. The political opinions of both are known and avowed; let us ſtate and compare them.

Mr. Pitt, along with Great-Britain that enjoys the advantages, and France who feels the loſſes of the late war (as far as the late glorious peace has permitted the one to enjoy, and the other to ſuffer) conſidered the war, and the extent of our conqueſts, as the glory and the preſervation of this country.

Mr. Grenville conſidered the opinion we entertained of the late war, and the value we ſet upon our conqueſts, as the effect of popular madneſs; in all his ſpeeches, and thoſe of his faction, it was always ſpoken of under the appellation of the *unfortunate war*.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt thought we ought to fulfil, with a fidelity worthy of the honour of Great-Britain, all our engagements with a certain great Prince; who, during the late war, by diverting the attention of a vaſt body of our enemies, left the field open to us, to carry our arms victoriouſly over every part of the globe.

Mr. Grenville thinks it a wiſe œconomical meaſure, to diſguſt our great ally, by little cavils on the payment of his ſubſidy; and it is his opinion, that the ſaving of half a crown to the ſinking-fund, is a more important object, than the credit of the nation and the affection of our allies.

Mr. Pitt thinks that we ought, by well choſen alliances, to prevent the approach of danger, weaken the connections of France, and maintain the balance of power in our own hands.

Mr. Grenville diſclaims all knowledge of foreign affairs; and thinks no alliance worth the money paid for engroſſing the treaty.

Mr. Pitt thinks that the national ſtock ought to be encreaſed; that our unprovided debt ſhould be eſtabliſhed on proper funds; that the ſinking fund ought to be encreaſed by new ſupplies, and not ſimply by futile ſavings; and that this fund ought to be kept ſacred and inviolable.

Mr. Grenville thinks, that an hundred and forty millions of debt is to be paid by ſaving of pence and farthings; that the unfunded debt ſhould be left to take care of itſelf; that the ſinking fund is to be applied to as a preſent reſource: and that at the ſame time the revenue is to receive no new aid, but what it may derive from his œconomy.

Which of theſe ſyſtems is the right one, I do not pretend to determine. I only ſay they are oppoſite; and that therefore no one can wiſh well to Mr. Grenville's continuance in power, who does not wiſh him further opportunities (to uſe his own

favourite expreſſion) *of trampling on the proud ſpirit of Mr. Pitt.*

AN OCCASIONAL WRITER.

WHEN I accuſed Mr. G—— of *ignorance* (for I was tender of him) in deſtroying, by wild and childiſh regulations, a moſt valuable branch of trade, I expected from thoſe who undertook his defence, ſome ſort of attempt to prove the one or the other of theſe two points; either that his regulations had no tendency to prejudice that trade, or that this trade was prejudicial to our intereſt: This would have been ſomewhat to the purpoſe. But what do they anſwer to this important charge? Why, they gravely tell us, "he is perſuaded, that Mr. G—— "acted in this particular, as in every other, juſt as he ought." May ſuch miniſters ever find ſuch advocates!

But is it true, that Mr. G—— acted juſt as he ought? Ought a Britiſh miniſter to ſacrifice the Britiſh trade to Spain? Was it in his ſpirit of univerſal œconomy, that Mr. G—— meant to ſave the crown of Spain the expence of their Guarda Coſtas? Ought the miniſter, *by one letter of buſineſs*, to do more miſchief to the trade of his country, than all the invidious vigilance of Spain could have hoped to effect in a century? In this one point alone, Mr. G——'s regulations have had an effect. Did the flatterer, or did the miniſter know, that the trade he laboured to rob us of, has in ſome years been eſtimated at half a million? And will the little œconomy of the ſhop and counter, which, during his adminiſtration, diſgraced the dignity of the firſt crown in Europe, ever replace to the nation, the hundredth part of the loſs ſhe has ſuſtained, by bringing his narrow ideas into an extenſive ſphere of commerce.

Theſe people are throughout, very imprudent; their ſilly defences provoke new charges. How

pleaſant

pleaſant it was in the *bye-ſtander*, to ſtile this gentleman's deſertion of his family, a domeſtic quarrel? It was ſurely upon principles of a *public* nature, upon patriot maxims, that Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple retired from buſineſs, when they were deſerted by Mr. G——; who then choſe to adhere to the perſon he now inſults; then really and apparently the director of affairs. But that perſon, we muſt confeſs, was alſo then the known channel to profit and court favour. Such an action, if any action can, relates to the *public*.

Before I have done with theſe quondam miniſters, I muſt obſerve to the reader, that our victory over them ſeems in a fair way of being as complete as we could wiſh. Their advocates have already given up two of the junto; they ſay not a word (and indeed I think their ſilence hardly kind in old friends) in favour of the Earls of S—— and H——. If they could prevail on us to allow Mr. G—— to be ſomething like a miniſter, they would readily compromiſe the matter, and permit us to ſay juſt what we pleaſe of the two noble peers, his late aſſociates in adminiſtration.

Mr. G——, ſay they, had nothing to do with the general warrants. On this head there is a violent outcry of want of information and candour, raiſed againſt the *Occaſional Writer*: The truth is, the *Occaſional Writer* never charged theſe warrants to Mr. G——'s *particular* account: He was indeed not aware of this curious method which the late miniſters are fallen into of diſclaiming each others actions, and which they have been taught by their friend, Mr. —— —— ——, from the practice of the Old Bailey. We charged on the whole gang the actions of thoſe who compoſed it; but we beg pardon, and ſhall be more preciſe for the future. We will indict them ſeparately; and carefully diſ-

tinguiſh the abettor from the actor, and the receiver from the thief.

I leave Mr. G —— to ſettle with his friends the point of civility in this diſclaim of their actions. Is this the *man of unſullied integrity*, who thus diſclaims the act of his aſſociates; and becauſe he happened not officially to have iſſued the warrants, now pretends not to have been at all concerned in them?

But does he think we have all forgot his headlong violence, when in the zenith of his power he dared to brand the unanimous and deliberate judgment of the Court of Common Pleas (and which is now the judgement of the King's-bench alſo) with the epithet of precipitate. Surely that man is more guilty who has the inſolence to condemn the judgment of the law on thoſe unconſtitutional warrants, than he who, before the judgment, had the temerity originally to iſſue them. It proves that the maxims of tyranny and oppreſſion have caſt their pernicious roots deep in his mind.

It is curious enough to obſerve how the late miniſtry, taken in their iniquity, ſhift their guilt from hand to hand, and mutually condemn each other. When it is ſhewn that Mr. G—— hurt your trade, he anſwers, he never iſſued illegal warrants. Object the illegal warrants to Lord H——, he'll tell you he was not concerned in the deſtruction of your trade. If the other noble Lord is charged for having firſt ſeduced, and then impeached his friend and companion, he will boaſt that he never put up to ſale the offices in the ſouthern department.—His Lordſhip's was the northern department.

An OCCASIONAL WRITER.

WHEN nothing could be objected to the integrity, the capacity, the paſt conduct, or the apparent deſigns of the preſent miniſters, the tools of diſappointed ambition were for ſome time at a loſs.

Their

Their inclination to calumny was as good as poſſible, but there was a dreadful deficiency of matter to go upon. To lie, would have coſt them nothing, but to lie with any ſort of appearance of truth, was the grand deſideratum. The tale of ſubſerviency to Lord B——, was loathſome, groſs, and dull; they indeed chained *Anti-Sejanus* to that oar, with orders to tug at it without intermiſſion, whether he made any way or not, becauſe they knew he was good for nothing elſe; that it kept him at leaſt from doing them miſchief, by wandering beyond the extent of his capacity; and that it ſerved to fill ſpace in the papers, untill they could think of ſomething more to the purpoſe to inſiſt upon.

At length, after much conſultation between their malice and their cunning, they found out a charge ſo weighty in point of criminality, and ſo undeniable in point of fact, that the new miniſters muſt inevitably ſink under it.

With great exertion therefore of chronological knowledge, (attained I ſuppoſe by Mr. George Grenville's deep and profitable reſearches in the pariſh regiſter with ſome ſkill in phyſiognomy, and much labour, they happily diſcovered, and in due time they brought to light this portentous charge, which was to ſtand them inſtead of all other objections, that ſome perſons in the new miniſtry were *young*.

With equal ſhame and ſorrow (but not without hopes of amendment) they muſt confeſs this charge; and, I fear, that with the old adminiſtration, and with that large and reſpectable part of the nation which follows them, this charge amounts to a total diſqualification for all public employments.

Candour obliges me to admit, that theſe old politicians have ſomething like reaſon on their ſide. *Young men* are known to be rude and untractable;

they have ſeldom the happy diſpoſition of bending their minds and adjuſting their principles to all the exigencies of miniſterial arrangements.

It will be ſome time before you can perſuade any of theſe *children* in the *ragion del ſtato*, to blaſpheme at night, and to cant in the morning; to play the profligate at the beef-ſteak club, and the ſaint in the Houſe of Peers; to lead their friend by encouragement and *example* to violate the laws and afterwards to take the lead in impeaching him for the participation of their own crimes. *Young men* will not be quite adroit in this knack of office; they will not know that it belongs eſſentially to the department of a *Secretary of State*, to act occaſionally as an *informer*. *Young men* are too ignorant to know, that ſuch conduct is, in the ſtate, ſound politicks; and in private ſociety, wit and humour. Theſe accompliſhments are in the moſt happy geniuſes only to be acquired by *time*, by *experience*; and in theſe qualifications I fear, that both the young and the old part of our new adminiſtration are woefully deficient.

It will be, I doubt, a good while before theſe *young men* can acquire thoſe grand political noſtrums, which forty years experience had purchaſed to our late miniſters; I mean the art of improving our *revenue* by the deſtruction of our *trade*; the plan of paying old debts by contracting new ones; the method of ſecuring the liberty of the ſubject by general warrants; the furtherance of juſtice by the uſe of privilege and eſſoign; impartiality in the diſpoſal of employments, by ſetting them up to the higheſt bidder. Our preſent miniſters are yet too *young* to be admitted into theſe *greater myſteries* of State; their youth and inexperience is indeed to be pitied, and unhappy is the nation in which ſuch perſons have any power!

Strange

Strange as it may ſeem, there are, however, a ſet of odd folks *(children, I ſuppoſe)* that judge upon quite a different ſtandard; thoſe perſons, pretty numerous too, combining the principles and the conduct with the years of the old miniſters, think their advanced age an objection inſuperable to that corps of political veterans. Taking the new miniſtry in the ſame point of view, they conſider the youth of thoſe who have ſpent their few years in defence of our liberty, as a circumſtance in their favour, and which the public regards with much ſatisfaction.

We are ſure that our late miniſters were corrupt and rotten in their principles; blundering and prepoſterous in their conduct. Have we any hopes, if they are ſuch at fifty, that they will mend at fourſcore? There are ſome faults which age is never known to correct. One great and noble perſon in that adminiſtration may indeed at fourſcore leave off his practice of bartering for the wives of his fellow-ſubjects with the favour of his ſovereign; he may then leave off purchaſing adultery by breach of truſt, and ſatisfy himſelf with a ſimple ſale of offices for money. But age will never induce him to ſhew more reſpect for our laws and liberties, or inſpire him with a greater liking to the honeſt freedom of the preſs.

Another great man may at that age no longer continue to cultivate the whole encyclopedia of debauchery; he may confine himſelf to the making ſome ſingle wretch miſerable and vicious by his ſuperannuated lewdneſs; age may be a more effectual preſervative than even *his Lordſhip's own recipe* againſt *his* foul diſeaſes; but it will never take away his infidelity, or render him a ſafe companion, a faithful friend, or a virtuous miniſter. A third great perſonage may perhaps begin to find the preſent wild violence of his temper ſubſide into an habitual peviſhneſs; but he will never be ſoftened into compaſſion

paſſion for the cries of the poor, or be made to regard the ſufferings of our ſtarving manufacturers with the ſmalleſt ſenſation of pity.

How the great oracle of that faction, the long-winded orator, is likely to improve as he grows old, I am yet to learn. In the firſt place, age is not generally taken to be a corrector of tedioufneſs and prolixity in diſcourſe. Nor do I ſee how, if he now kills his hearers with his periods of a mile, a thouſand times repeated, that it is to be hoped at ſeventy he will grow lively, conciſe and ſententious.

If at fifty he is formal, pedantic, exact, and ſtudious of trifles, but blind to every thing great and comprehenſive, it is ſcarcely to be expected that he will grow more liberal and manly as he verges towards dotage.

Theſe are the reaſons why ſome few millions of odd thinkers object to the late miniſters on account of their advanced *age*, when connected with characters and a conduct ſuch as theirs. Theſe ſame men, when they conſider the characters and conduct of the preſent miniſters, rejoice in the circumſtances of the youth of ſome of them, and wiſh the charge was true of all.

When they conſider their boundleſs generoſity of ſentiment, their rectitude of heart and underſtanding, their ſtrenuous love of liberty, their affectionate adherence to his Majeſty's royal Houſe, their perfect harmony with each other, reſulting from their perfect freedom from all low paſſions, they cannot help rejoicing on the proſpect, that theſe diſpoſitions will be long employed in the public ſervice, and that there is time to mature their virtues by experience; and to improve into public bleſſings thoſe qualities, which lately gave them the hearts of the people in a private ſtation.

Thus, Sir, theſe odd thinkers, the people of England, eſtimate matters; they leave the old miniſtry

to

to meditate in obſcurity on thoſe ſtate noſtrums, on which they ſo properly value themſelves, and leave them to try their efficacy in quieting the anguiſh of their wounded conſciences: let them (if they can) ſleep in quiet, whilſt every Engliſhman may now at length hope to enjoy ſome repoſe under a *young* adminiſtration, not hackneyed in the ways of corruption; free from the impending horrors of illegal warrants againſt his perſon, of arbitrary and cruel fines againſt his fortune, and without perpetual alarms for the public credit and commerce of his country from the indefatigable bungling of a financial mountebank. AN OCCASIONAL WRITER.

IT is by no means ſurpriſing, that thoſe who have ſo long trampled with impunity on our laws, liberties and commerce, ſhould entertain but a mean opinion of our ſpirit and underſtanding. The late miniſters while they continued in power, treated us like ſlaves; ſince they have been out of power, they conſider the whole Britiſh nation as a mob.

It is impoſſible upon any other principle, to conceive how they could have thought of ordering the heralds and trumpeters of their faction to deliver to us, in their names, ſuch meſſages as we have lately received from them.

The public, for a conſiderable time, has been upon an enquiry into the conduct of thoſe miniſters, on the moſt important of all ſubjects. We had, during their adminiſtration, ſeen perſonal liberty attacked, the liberty of Parliament outraged, commerce injured, and our colonies, by a ſeries of meaſures at once violent and impotent, exaſperated even to ſedition and revolt.

Inſtead of giving the public any ſatisfaction in theſe points, (ſurely very material for us to underſtand, and for them to explain) the late miniſters have thought it proper to entertain us daily for theſe three

three months paſt with a ſtory of a quarrel of theirs, (I know not whether real or pretended) with the Earl of Bute. In one of their libels they have ſome time ſince avowedly and explicitly told us, that all the other points of enquiry are wholly foreign to the purpoſe; and that this ſquabble of theirs with the Earl of Bute, is the only object worthy of the public attention.

It is, indeed, natural enough for them, who conſider public employment only as private emolument, to look no farther than to the cauſes which influenced their coming in or their going out of office; and, as they imagine that Lord Bute has operated on the one or the other of thoſe events, to choak him with fulſome panegyric, as they did formerly; or to pelt him with illiberal Billingſgate, as they do at preſent.

But there has always been, and, thank God, there ſtill is, a wide difference between their opinions and thoſe of all honeſt men upon every particular of public buſineſs. We cannot be perſuaded to paſs by the conduct of miniſters as a matter of no importance, and to attach ourſelves ſolely to the anecdote and intrigue of their changes and removes. We are not yet ſo groſs and brutiſh in our underſtandings. We are not yet ſo dulled by the indignities we have ſuffered under their adminiſtration.

Nothing can ſerve better to let us at once into the true ſpirit of their cabal, than the late writings in their favour. By thoſe it plainly appears, that they have ſo totally obliterated from their own minds every idea of the duty of their late ſtation, that they ſeem not to think that ſuch ideas have any exiſtence in ours. For three months they have daily poured out abuſe on Lord Bute; yet they have not ſaid a ſingle ſyllable in cenſure of his *miniſterial conduct*. They have been earneſtly endeavouring

vouring to recommend themſelves to the public, yet they have hardly uttered a word in praiſe, or even in defence of their own *meaſures*. They have been inceſſant in their invectives againſt the preſent miniſtry; yet they have been abſolutely ſilent on the *conduct* of thoſe who compoſe it, either in parliament or in adminiſtration.

They know every thing about an adminiſtration, except its duty. They tell the ſuffering public tales of a Favourite, and of ſecret influence; they entertain you with anecdotes of a conference on one day, of a meſſage on another, of a negotiation on a third. They tell you of lighting up the *Monument*, and of hanging it in mourning. Theſe are the diſhes they have ſeaſoned to our palates, from the meagre meſſes of *Anti-Sejanus*, to the heavy Olio of the *Son of Candour*.

But it were to be wiſhed that thoſe miniſters who entertain us with ſo many ſtories of Lord Bute, would at laſt do us the favour to ſay ſome few words of his political meaſures; that they would acquaint us a little with the oppoſition they made to thoſe meaſures; or if they made no oppoſition, that they would give us ſome aſſurance of their repentance for the part they took in their execution. When we approve their conduct, or accept their penitence, we may poſſibly come to adopt their reſentments. Untill then it muſt be very indifferent to the public, in what manner the tools of Lord Bute think they have been treated by their maſter workman. On the other hand, until we ſee the preſent ſervants of the Crown imitate his meaſures, we ſhall never believe that they are guided by his influence. As to their predeceſſors, it becomes them, indeed, to rail at Lord Bute. The domeſtics of every great man are beſt acquainted with the weak parts of his character. All we know is, that without partaking of any thing that may deſerve praiſe in his diſpoſition,

diſpoſition, they are certainly deep in every thing for which the public has cenſured his conduct.

When they firſt broke the ſhell, and appeared as unfledged miniſters, under his parental wing, pecking at politics, the firſt act we ſaw them engaged in, was in the planning, purſuing and compleating the treaty of Paris. The Duke of Bedford negociated it; Lord Halifax ſigned it; George Grenville defended it.

Their writers have indeed lately condeſcended to inform us, that it was not without a world of force, and the moſt poſitive and deſpotic orders from Lord Bute, that they were perſuaded to do, what by their apology they confeſs to be, the dirty work of that peace.

As the apology, whether built on truth or falſehood, is very conſiſtent with the meanneſs of their minds and the ſlaviſh dependency of their ſituation, I will let it go for what it will carry, with thoſe who know any thing of the nature of our conſtitution, or the duty of thoſe who act in a reſponſible character. I will ſuppoſe (ſince they will have it ſo) that they received orders of the ſame kind with regard to the *cyder exciſe*. The injunctions, I will grant, were little leſs peremptory in the general maſſacre which was executed, during their adminiſtration, of ſubſerviency through every department of office.

As to this period of their adminiſtration, we will compound matters with the gentlemen; and, in conſideration of their miſerable dependence, we will put the whole blame of their joint conduct to the ſeparate account of Lord Bute. There was, however, (at leaſt they told us there was) a time when they were enfranchiſed from their ſervitude, and ſet up the miniſterial traffic in their own name. It is, I ſuppoſe, upon their conduct at this latter period, that they wiſh to join iſſue, and to put themſelves

themſelves upon their trial before God and their country.

Let us then call evidence to their conduct at this period; if they will condeſcend for a moment to allow us to think that the character of miniſters is to be eſtimated by their conduct. But before we enter into the rigour of this enquiry, we will allow them, quite clear of examination, as much time as they can wiſh, to *ſcramble for reverſions*, and to convert every thing to the emolument of their families, which the patronage of their offices entruſted to them, to be employed for the good of the ſervice. This was a procedure ſo natural to the Grand Financier, and to a late noble perſon nearly connected with him in affinity, politics, and character, that no body in the leaſt wondered at it. It could not, however, wholly eſcape obſervation, that within a few months, thoſe two perſons hooked into their family, no leſs than four lucrative reverſions; and pillowed the cradles of their infant children with offices which uſed to be the repoſe and reward of long ſervice to the public. By this proceeding they not only injured and abuſed all preſent deſert, but ſtunted and ſtarved the growth of future merit, by converting its reward into a family inheritance. They gave avarice the ſtart of principle in their offſpring. They carefully formed their tender minds to a diſregard of the public ſervice, and to an abuſe of the public money; thus, to the beſt of their power, laying the weight of their own characters on the loins of poſterity, and perpetuatiug corruption from generation to generation.

It would ſeem no ſlight aggravation of this ſtrange voracity of office, that one of the illuſtrious brothers ſince dead was actually in poſſeſſion of an over-grown eſtate, and the other not only in poſſeſſion at one and the ſame time, of the two greateſt employments in the kingdom, with a vaſt field of

of fortune before him in the vigour of his age; but was alſo in moſt aſſured expectation of a title and a great family eſtate, from a brother without children.

No body, I hope, can accuſe the Occaſional Writer of want of candour, when he puts theſe particulars wholly out of the queſtion in an enquiry into the conduct of this junto. He was willing in the former caſe to allow much for *ſituation*; he thinks it in this no leſs proper, to allow a great deal for *conſtitution*. In thoſe points, where fortune was in queſtion, the experienced Financier and his brother-in-law could not be ſuppoſed to be accountable, becauſe they could not be ſuppoſed perfectly poſſeſſed of free agency.

But when the Financier had, as in duty bound, given in the firſt place a proper attention to his private fortune, let us ſee what he did for the public, being now *hors de page*, acting for himſelf, and from himſelf.

To ſhew his abhorrence of the ſyſtem of the Favourite, to whoſe perſon he profeſſes now ſo violent an antipathy, the firſt thing we might have expected, was to ſee him reſtore to their offices ſome few at leaſt of thoſe who had been ſacrificed in ſo unprecedented a manner, whilſt he had acted only an under part in buſineſs, in order not only to relieve the innocent victims, but to ſtamp an indeliable cenſure on the practice itſelf. This maſſacre of office had undoubtedly been the moſt exceptionable part of the conduct of Lord Bute. To rectify it ought to have been the moſt leading feature in Mr. George Grenville's, if he meant either to demonſtrate his freedom of action, or his equity in the uſe of that freedom.

But did he give the public this ſatisfaction, or any ſatisfaction at all?—quite the reverſe. He ratified the acts of his predeceſſor, and he extended the example. Notwithſtanding the havock which had

had been made in the *civil offices*, whilſt the prudent financier played the ſecond fiddle, the *military* had been thought ſafe, and the nation hoped they might ſtill enjoy the ſervice of good officers, though they had perſevered in being alſo good members of Parliament. Lord Bute had never proceeded thus far. This was deſtined to be one of the great inſtances which the Grenville adminiſtration was to give of a manly ſpirit, and of their having ſhaken off the yoke of all ſecret dependance. And this noble inſtance of his independency was given at the trivial expence of the freedom of Parliament, the diſcipline of the army, and the fortune of meritorious individuals. But the freedom of your Parliament, the diſcipline of your army, and the hand of oppreſſion on your private property, are things of no conſequence to you, or to theſe candidates for your favour. The *groſs Financier* will tell you a ſtory of Lord Bute. It *will* be intereſting; it *will not* be tedious; I pray you not to yawn at it.

Under the adminiſtration of Lord Bute all private houſes (I mean all thoſe houſes which had eſcaped the inquiſition of that exciſe which Mr. Grenville defended, adopted and ſettled on us) were ſecure. But under the adminiſtration of Mr. Grenville, of his brother-in-law, and of his friends, we were preſented with a maſter ſtroke of executive juſtice, which would not have ſhamed the moſt arbitrary government in its moſt arbitrary exertions. The annals of France cannot furniſh an inſtance of *a Lettre de Cachet* which made ſo general and ſo undiſtinguiſhing a ſweep.

I know that the Secretaries of State, as a full apology for their conduct in this particular, are pleaſed to alledge, that tho' they betrayed the *conſtitution*, they were true to the *file*; and though they wandered wide from the *law*, yet they ſtuck moſt faith-

fully and reverently to the old venerable *forms and precedents of office.*

I am not often ſtaggered with the arguments of theſe gentlemen. This, however, I confeſs, has ſomething of an appearance of force. Firſt, Becauſe it has a ſort of a *preſcriptive right*, being exactly the ſame which has been from time immemorial uſed in ſimilar caſes. It was the ſtrong argument in favour of *ſhip-money*. It was the defence of the courſe of the *Star-Chamber*; it was the ſhield of the diſpenſing power; and will, indeed, for ever prove to be the defence in caſes, where office is oppoſed to duty, and practice to law. For evil practices muſt be older than laws, and the violation of laws, when they are eſtabliſhed, muſt ſtill be very frequent. So that, as far as *precedent* can juſtify, miniſters, who trample on the rights and privileges of the people, can never be at a loſs for a juſtification.

I obſerve ſecondly, That this conſideration, tho' it does not alleviate the faultineſs of the action itſelf, takes off much of their guilt in committing it. For, according to their way of thinking, this tenaciouſneſs of old abſurdities is not only innocent, but meritorious; a thouſand times have they declared, that an experience, in ſuch *office forms*, as General Warrants, Eſſoins, and the true pleading of privilege, are the chief, if not the ſole qualification of a miniſter; and their principal objection to the perſons who have ſucceeded to their places, is their ſuppoſed ignorance of ſuch uſeful forms. Let the *experienced* miniſters entrench themſelves in their knowledge of office forms, and their ignorance of the conſtitution; they ſhall not, I am ſure, be diſturbed in that ſtrong hold by me.

But then, as I paſs by this reſpectable fortreſs, I muſt, by way of ſalute, beg leave to remind them, that they were not inſtructed in the uſe of theſe office forms, ſo favourable to liberty and juſtice, by

by Lord Bute; and that their ſubſerviency to him at one period, their betraying him at another, or their invectives againſt him at a third, do not make any change at all in the nature of their proceeding on that memorable occaſion, nor in our judgment upon it. We talk of law and juſtice; and they tell us—a ſtory of a Favourite.

I ſhall alſo humbly beg leave to lay before them, that though the Secretaries of State may be very ſnug in that fortreſs of office, for having *iſſued* the Warrants, the ſtrength of that fortreſs will not altogether ſecure theirs or Mr. George Grenville's character, eſpecially Mr. Grenville's, for having publicly defended the uſe of ſuch Warrants, and for having employed every method of force and fraud, of parliamentary and of legal chicanery, to prevent either a parliamentary or a judicial determination on them; to prevent public or private ſatisfaction for ſo flagrant a violation of public and of private right.

The iſſuing of the Warrants might have been only a blunder; a blunder very incident to *experienced miniſters*, but the manner of conducting themſelves afterwards, manifeſted a rooted malignity to the law; it is well known in what an indecent and outrageous manner our cool, experienced Financier fell upon the juſtice of the nation for having dared to utter blaſphemies againſt his great idols, *unmeaning formality* and *blind practice*. "But we are to "forget our laws and our courts;—theſe are dull "topics—have you no anecdote from Wooburn? "No new ſtory from the new temple of *Truth and* "*Concord* at Stow? What, talk all this time of our "liberties, and nothing of the Favourite?"

Perhaps it would be edifying, my City friend, to hear a little more of this fame Favourite. For variety, however, ſuppoſe we were to look a little into the preſent ſerious ſtate of our affairs. What if we

ſhould beſtow an idle moment in ſome attention to the condition of our manufacturing towns, now threatened with beggary and deſolation by the Knight Errantry of the Grand Financier, who has ſubverted every principle of our American commerce by his univerſal and indiſcriminate war againſt ſmuggling? A ſcheme for its dignity, almoſt equal to the capacity of a Britiſh tide-waiter; for its malignity to the trade of Great Britain, worthy of a Prime Miniſter to the Family Compact.

There was a time, when your trade ſeemed a matter of as much importance as a Court anecdote; but now things are changed—When the thouſands of your periſhing manufactures call to the experienced Financier for the commerce which plentifully nouriſhed them and their children, he tells them "he has quarrelled with Lord Bute;—they may go "home and be filled." Such is the language addreſſed by the Grand Financier to the underſtandings of your politicians, and to the neceſſities of your poor!

But admitting your trade in the new ſyſtem of finance to be a thing of no ſort of moment, ſhall we for that reaſon paſs over with perfect unconcern that other happy ſcheme, which for a paltry and precarious profit (ultimately to be wrung from our own manufactures) has torn, perhaps for ever, from this mother country, the affection and reverence of her colonies. What does that *knowing and experienced* miniſter ſay, when he ſees that his meaſures have ſet all America in a blaze? And the Britiſh government brought to that paſs by his councils, that if the public confidence in the preſent miniſtry does not reſcue us, we ſtand in the miſerable alternative of ſuffering the authority of G. B. to be trampled under foot, or our ſword, but juſt ſheathed after the preſervation, to be drawn afreſh, to the ruin of our colonies. But the people of *Athens*,

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in the moſt important criſis of their affairs, were anxious to hear how a Muleteer diſpoſed of the ſhadow of his aſs; and ſome of the people of this metropolis are extremly curious to learn how the late Umbras of adminiſtration were put in or out by Lord Bute.

Falſely ſuppoſing this diſpoſition to be general, the diſcarded adminiſtration preſume, amidſt our ſerious diſcuſſions and bitter feelings, to inſult us with idle tales and childiſh anecdotes of their diſmiſſion: That diſmiſſion is, indeed, their ſole concern; but it is no concern at all of ours how they agreed or diſagreed with Lord Bute; we want to know this, and this alone; how their conduct agreed or diſagreed with the commerce, the welfare, the tranquility, and the liberty of the country.

I do not, indeed, wonder, that thoſe who put *office forms* in the place of *laws*, ſhould conſider the anecdote of a Court faction as the fundamentals of politics. But if they mean to give their *private hiſtory* any ſort of weight, let them proceed like men. Let them firſt ſpeak to the *meaſures* of Lord B. whilſt they acted under him. Let them ſhew how culpable thoſe meaſures were, and how reſolutely they oppoſed them. Let them ſhew, when they betrayed their maſter into a reſignation of his power, that they repaired the errors of his conduct, and proved that they merited their freedom by the generous uſe they made of it. When they have done this, we may poſſibly be at leiſure to enquire into the *ſecret hiſtory* of their diſmiſſion: and we may lay by Mrs. Manly's in order to take up the Earl of Sandwich's *New Atalantis*.

But puſh them from poſt to poſt, ſtill their maturity and experience never leaves theſe great men without a work to cover them. They own their exaltation by L. B. They allow their connection with him, they confeſs their ſubſerviency to him.

But they have a ſalvo for all, they aſſert they have betrayed him, and they think they have abundantly apologized for their freedom from all public virtue, by proving that they were equally free from all private honour. Theſe are the men who are to free us from the yoke of clandeſtine influence; who are to reſtore the nation to reſpect abroad, and to tranquility at home!

As to the public, I truſt they will leave theſe reſpectable perſonages to their lying anecdotes, their ſcurrilous railings, and their mutual accuſations. The public will, indeed, watch the preſent miniſters, becauſe they have often been deluded by ſpecious pretences; but they will not prognoſticate evil conduct from any perſons only for having been the objects of ſcurrilous railing, becauſe they have been often abuſed by factious and malicious calumny. They have ſome experience of the perſons who compoſed the laſt adminiſtration, and of thoſe who compoſe the preſent; they have ſeen the one ſubſervient, the other free: The one carrying on the moſt deſtructive meaſures, the other ſtrenuouſly oppoſing them. The parliamentary abilities of many now in adminiſtration, were as diſtinguiſhed as the uſe to which they were directed was honourable; and as to their abilities in public buſineſs, I believe one may appeal, with great ſafety, to the judgement of all thoſe who have had buſineſs to tranſact with any of them! Their taſk, indeed, is difficult. We will not, I hope, render it more ſo by aiming to withdraw from them any part of that public confidence which they ſo deſervedly poſſeſs at preſent; by liſtening to a tale of influence, totally unſupported by any probability in the facts, or by any authority in the relators; a tale which is adverſe to the whole tenor of the moſt virtuous lives, and the moſt unſpotted characters in the kingdom.

I have

I have in this paper taken notice of the uſe which the diſcarded miniſters have made of the name of Lord *Bute* in this ſtrange controverſy. In my next, I ſhall obſerve on the uſe which they attempt to make of Mr. *Pitt*'s; and of the pretended connection between him, and the late miniſters, on which their writers have been pleaſed to lay ſo great a ſtreſs. It may, perhaps, be found, that thoſe gentlemen will have as little reaſon to value themſelves on the latter of theſe expedients, as on the former.

AN OCCASIONAL WRITER.

I NOW propoſe to give you ſome obſervations on the uſe, which the fallen adminiſtration have thought proper to make of the name of Mr. Pitt.

Thoſe gentlemen had been conſcious from the beginning, that they could uſe no better policy, than to keep their own names as much as poſſible out of the preſent diſputes. Wiſe in their generation, they were ſenſible that their ſafety lay in their obſcurity; and as they were at firſt rendered politically important, purely on account of their natural inſignificance, they repoſe at this time alſo in the aſſured hope, that the very ſame principle, which produced ſtrength out of weakneſs, and honour out of contempt, may be again the means of their reſurrection to place and profit. They truſt that, as formerly, they may croud in with the train, and page the heels of ſome real miniſter. They preſume that, as they gave the fulleſt proof of their docility in acting under Lord Bute, the ſame diſpoſition may recommend them to the ſame ſhare of power under Mr. Pitt; and that in time, by betraying their ſecond as they did their firſt maſter, they may, upon their own bottom, play again the miniſterial part, to their own great emolument, and to the utter ruin of their country.

On theſe principles their advocates have been ordered very early to fill their papers with the names of Mr. Pitt and Lord Bute, as the grand ſubjects of their daubing and their Billingſgate; but, in general, to keep the names of their directors quiet and in the ſhade; taking care, however, now and then, but with modeſty and caution, to hint, how glad they ſhould be to ſhew themſelves the very humble ſervants of Mr. Pitt; how willing to aid him with *their* experience, and to act their *old part* under the ſhield of his popularity.

If this game ſhould fail them, ſtill their procedure would, they flatter themſelves, be productive of ſome good effects; if it ſhould not ſucceed in bringing them into power, it might help to make them a little leſs deſpicable in oppoſition. Knowing into what an abyſs of contempt and odium they had fallen, they never dare, in their own characters, to oppoſe the King's ſervants, but appear in the field againſt them with borrowed arms; with the arms of thoſe to whom they have hitherto ſtood in the moſt marked defiance, and who, on their part, have always expreſſed the ſtrongeſt contempt of their perſons, and the greateſt abhorrence of their practices.

That this proceeding is not altogether irrational in them, I muſt readily admit; for I cannot deny them to be as expert in all the trick of party, as they are dull and uniformed in every point of real national politics.

The name of Pitt is juſtly venerable to every Engliſh ear; it is a name, which muſt give credit and ſtrength to any *new* adminiſtration, with which he may be ſuppoſed to co-operate; and it is no wonder at all, that the *old* adminiſtration ſhould now diligently aim at procuring, what it would be the greateſt of wonders, if by any diligence they ſhould ever acquire.

But

But finely and cloſely as they ſuppoſed this web of their policy to be wrought, there were ſome very material flaws in it, which would never ſuffer it to wear well: for, after all, if they ſhould ſucceed in perſuading the public, that it was poſſible Mr. Pitt could take a part with them in their ſyſtem, they would certainly not be a whit the better for it; what would it do but deſtroy the credit of that character, upon which they affect to derive ſome popularity upon their own? Their worſt invectives, matured by three years practice of vilifying that reſpectable name, could never fix ſo foul a ſtain upon him as their pretended friendſhip.

Let the reader ſurvey the picture theſe great maſters draw of a character, which all of us at preſent look up to with reverence; and let us ſee what manner of man the great Commoner muſt be, if he is become one of them.

To qualify a perſon to act with any ſet of men, there muſt be ſome aſſimulation of character, ſome agreement in opinion and principles, ſome habits of friendſhip, ſome degree at leaſt of mutual reſpect and confidence. On the ſuppoſition of this aſtoniſhing coalition (for the late miniſters have given no ſort of proof of their having at all changed their minds) Mr. Pitt muſt make a total change in every part of his political character, and, in my opinion, no ſmall one in his moral.

In order to qualify him for this regeneration, it will, in the firſt place, be abſolutely requiſite that he aſſume the habit and language of a compleat penitent; and that he caſt far from him all the inſolent laurels and oſtentatious trophies of the war. He muſt humble and abaſe himſelf in proportion to his former exaltation. He muſt put on ſackcloth and aſhes, and, with the Duke of B——, weep over the ſucceſſes of our arms. He muſt learn to lower his manly tone, and chime in with George G——

G——— in his ſtile of the Unfortunate War; and, like gentle Echo, return to the Gentle Shepherd, groan for groan. He muſt then concur with both theſe gentlemen, and with the two *ſpirited* M--nt--g's in their opinion, that the peace was honourable, *adequate*, and ſecure. He muſt publiſh his abomination of that abandoned opinion, in which he conſidered, and ſpoke of, their great work of pacification as no better *than an armed truce.*

He muſt alſo totally renounce all his doctrines of the propriety, and much more of the neceſſity of forming any alliance on the continent, in order to balance the weight of the Family Compact: he muſt deſpiſe the German Princes, affront the King of Pruſſia, and abandon the external care of Great Britain to the protection of chance and the Smuggling Cutters.

When he ſhall have thus prepared himſelf by the adoption of ſound and truly Grenvillian opinions, in the great points of peace, war, and alliance, and thrice purified himſelf by baptiſm and louſing over head and ears in the *latices fontis Averni*; he muſt, then, with a docile and tractable mind, begin to take this leſſon from the great Myſtagogue, the grand Financier himſelf, in his interior doctrines of law, policy, revenue, and commerce.

The Great Commoner will be at firſt a little backward, I fear; but he muſt ſwallow it, and learn ſtoutly to term the opinion of his friend Pratt in ſupport of liberty, and the conſtitution, *raſh and precipitate.* He muſt ſoften the rigour of his former ſentiments about General Warrants, and conſider them not as a violation of law, but as a ſort of refinement on the conſtitution. He muſt think *privilege of parliament* a deteſtable thing, and to the laſt degree oppreſſive when applied to libels; but extremely proper, juſt, and reaſonable, when uſed to prevent

prevent a determination *on actions brought in favour of the liberty of the ſubject.*

As to the public debt, he is to commit its diſcharge to the ſole care and direction of *œconomy*; he muſt think of nothing day or night but *ſmuggling*, and lay it down as a fundamental principle, that trade flouriſhes like fruit-trees on a wall, by pruning, binding, cramping, and drawing down its branches. He muſt, above all things, adore and look up to the *ſtamp-duty* as a maſter-piece of colony government; and if this lenient and moſt ſeaſonable act ſhould happen to enflame our provinces and ruin our trade, he muſt ſet all perfectly to rights by the plain and eaſy expedient of a few long ſpeeches, interlarded with not a few falſhoods; and by crying Rebellion, as loud as he can bawl.

The imputation of rebellion, he muſt ſwear will give hope to a diſtreſſed people, that their grievances will be redreſſed. He muſt believe that perſuading the world, that your colonies are in rebellion, will be the ſureſt means of perſuading your neighbours to a ſpeedy performance of the few obligations which the peace had bound them to, and which the confidence our good neighbours entertained in the late miniſtry made them hope never to be obliged to fulfil: and he muſt learn to think it unhandſome, and unreaſonable, to preſs our good neighbours to any act which they do not reliſh, and to payments which they cannot afford to make.

When he has done all this, he will then, and he will not until then, be fit to co-operate in the ſyſtem of the old adminiſtration; to act, in ſhort, with thoſe who have for this half year paſt been claiming, and theſe five years paſt abuſing him. To act with Sir Fletcher N—t—n, the D— of B———, R——d Rugby, the E—rls of S—— and H——, Philip C—rt—t W—bb, and G— G——.

So

So far as to meaſures. As to men, he muſt careſs and praiſe theſe heros we have juſt reviewed, who have ever ſet their faces againſt him, deteſted his maxims, vilified his character, reviled his perſon, and ſtood in the moſt marked oppoſition and defiance to his meaſures; and he muſt blacken, traduce, oppoſe, ridicule, and diſtreſs the men, who never have departed from the generous and manly opinions they held in common with him; who always loved his perſon, adored his character, purſued his ideas, lamented his abſence from the ſcene of buſineſs, and now wiſh nothing more ardently, than that he would forward, with his aſſiſtance, thoſe plans they aim at forming in ſtrict conformity to his ſentiments.

I never went over any thing with more pain, than the detail and finiſhing of the above monſtrous piece, which is, however, no more than drawing out at length, that picture which the late adminiſtration had given in miniature of the great Commoner, when they ſaid he was their friend.

But it is not true, of Mr. Pitt, it never can be poſſible; for the credit of integrity and virtue; for the ſake of his, which is connected with the national honour, I never can believe it. It becomes *them* indeed to lower all characters—beggars are always levellers! But, Sir, for all who have the ſmalleſt ſtake in public eſtimation, it behoves them to ſtand out, and not to ſuffer the firſt character of his age to be thus baſely traduced and vilified. Indeed their taſk will not be difficult. Already the enemy deſpairs of the ſucceſs of his expedient, and has ordered his myrmidons (indeed to do this coſts them nothing) to unſay all that they have ſaid; and after their violent and affected outcry for Mr. Pitt, to aſſure the public, that Mr. Pitt has had his hour, and is paſſed away; that he is no miniſter for this time; and that it is not a man of talents and ſpirit, but

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an orderly and diligent accomptant, who is fit to undertake our affairs in this their moſt critical ſituation. As they have at length done their own buſineſs on this point, I have done with them. The friends of government, now the friends of their country, expect nothing more from Mr. Pitt than (what they are very ſure they ſhall find) his old principles and his old ſpirit. To co-operate with them, they deſire no ſacrifice from him whatſoever. To be ſtill that Pitt, whom Britain loves, Europe reveres, and our enemies tremble at, is all that they have to wiſh of him. Their advantage, and his reputation, are on the ſame bottom.

AN OCCASIONAL WRITER.

An anſwer to the foregoing letter.

YOUR correſpondent, the *Occaſional Writer*, may not unfairly be ſuppoſed to have the ſtamp of authority on his productions; and if the public have read his laſt letter in your paper of the 2d inſtant with even the ſmalleſt attention, I make no doubt but their ſurprize muſt have been equal to mine, to find that laboured performance, ſo wholly deſtitute of *truth*, ſenſe and argument. To the firſt of theſe charges, which is all that is material to the public, I ſhall confine myſelf. The two laſt I leave to the critics.

He ſays, ſpeaking of Mr. PITT, and the preſent adminiſtration, that they "never have departed "from the generous and manly opinions, they held "in common with him;" that they "always loved "his perſon, adored his character, purſued his "ideas, &c.

In what manner have they purſued Mr. PITT's *ideas?*—The patrons of this writer might very well judge, if ever they had the leaſt knowledge of Mr. P—, (though for their own ſakes, I will readily allow, the ſuppoſition of *any* knowledge to admit of much

much doubt) that if *he* and his *noble brother* had been in the adminiſtration, the parliament would have been called ſeveral months ago; and long before this very dangerous and critical period, they would have done whatever was proper and neceſſary in the important affairs of America; and this being *before* the ſtamp act took place, ſuch early, wiſe and prudent conduct, would, in all probability, have prevented the greateſt part of the preſent unhappy diſturbances throughout the colonies; and what is ſtill worſe, their denial and defiance of the legiſlative power; which the unpardonable delay of the preſent miniſters has greatly tended to weaken, by giving the colonies time and opportunity to unite, and foment the ſpirit of oppoſition, to this now feeble government. And I will juſt add, that what might have been *right* and *proper* THEN, may not be ſo *now*. THEY HAVE LOST THE OPPORTUNITY.

But, ſays he, a little lower, they have always ſhewn a deſire, or a wiſh, (I do not exactly recollect which is his word, for I have not this moment your paper before me) *to follow* Mr. PITT's *plans*. If this be true, and they have not put thoſe deſires or wiſhes in execution, which I will take upon me to affirm they have not, it proves to demonſtration, that there is a *ſecret power* which CONTROULS THEM. And I beg leave to aſk the Occaſional Writer, whether the late reſtoration of a certain commander was *following any of* Mr. PITT's *plans, or ideas?* And, whether, (notwithſtanding all the falſe and empty boaſts of this, and other writers, in the pay of the adminiſtration, *that* Mr. P— *was their friend, that he approved of, and adviſed with them*, &c.) they did not abſolutely deſpair of him, when, in obedience to the Favourite, they denounced the rottenneſs of their ſyſtem, and the deſperation of their caſe, by taking that depraved and obnoxious ſtep; which

which will add, if any thing can, to the juſt abhorrence which all honeſt Engliſhmen entertain of the preſent *butal* and *ducal* adminiſtration. I will now trouble the reader with the mention of one other fact; only to ſhew that the patrons of the Occaſional Writer, have *formerly*, as well as *latterly*, DEPARTED FROM Mr. P—'s *plans* and *ideas*. When that miniſter, with a ſpirit that has gained him the applauſe of the world, and from a penetration which had aſtoniſhed and confounded our enemies, propoſed the recall of Lord Briſtol from Madrid, upon certain and authentic intelligence of the *deſigns* of Spain, and upon which he grounded the ſpirited meaſure he had then ſo much at heart, not a ſingle perſon of the preſent adminiſtration joined him: by which the moſt glorious opportunity of humbling our enemies, and, in all probability, of terminating the war at one ſtroke, was LOST. In this critical hour; the hour, that he was to be driven from the ſtate, *only* his faithful, brother, friend, and confident, Lord TEMPLE, had the courage, virtue, and patriotiſm, to adhere to his opinion. As many of the *preſent* adminiſtration, as were in the council, *aſſiſted the Favourite*; whoſe ultimate view it was, to rid his ſovereign and the nation, of the preſence and councils of theſe two illuſtrious perſonages.

But when the honour, intereſt, and peace of the nation, had in many inſtances been ſacrificed to the ambition, folly, and incapacity of a corrupt, inſolent, all-graſping minion; and when, in conſequence, diſtreſs and ruin, began to preſent themſelves from every quarter; then did the ſame *inviſible hand*, which had found means to deprive us of their ſervices, *ſecretly* attempt to reſtore them; and ſuch was his continued love of power, and abſolute dominion over the whole court, that theſe propoſed reſtorations, were not contrived upon a princi-

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ple ſo materially for the ſervice of the country, as to ſcreen him from the reſentment of an injured people; to prop his tottering weight: and, upon the credit of their names, to fix for life, his fatal influence. But the cloven foot of this agent was ſo conſpicuous in the very outſet of the negotiation, that a regard for their own honours, the odium of *his* character, and the ficklenes of *his* diſpoſition; would not ſuffer them to take the lead of ſtate, under ſuch a dangerous and unwarrantable controul.

To put this matter clearly beyond all doubt, I will mention one or two FACTS, which are well known to thoſe about the court. It was firſt propoſed to put the *Favourite Lieutenant* at the head of the Treaſury. But the noble perſon to whom this condition was *ſeparately* offered, treated it as it deſerved; yet, with all due reſpect to the great perſon who propoſed it. It was afterwards treated in Kent in the ſame manner. In the *ſecond part* of this negotiation, it was, among other things, inſiſted, that the Favourite's brother ſhould be *reſtored to office*. And give me leave to add, that no abhorrence would have been equal to the deſerts of Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, if they had ſuffered their names to have appeared in the ſame Gazette with the Favourite's brother. But from men of their known, approved, and eſtabliſhed characters, there was no reaſon to apprehend ſuch *a treachery to the public*.

If theſe are not facts, they will be contradicted. But if they are, (and I can bring many more of the ſame, and ſome of a ſtronger kind) I ſubmit them to the judgment of the public, whether they are not clear proofs of a certain influence.

The ſtate then went *a-begging*. Several perſons of high rank, and who ſet a value upon their reputations, likewiſe refuſed it. At laſt the preſent ſet took it up. And in what manner have they aſſerted their *independency?* Have they diſmiſſed the Favourite's

vourite's boſom friend? *Can* they, or *dare* they? and do not ſome of thoſe very friends ſay, without a ſcruple, that they conſider the preſent adminiſtration, as nothing but an additional buttreſs to their ſtructure? Have they diſmiſſed any but his enemies? Does he not go at *at all times*, to a certain place? and has not very lately his name been given as a toaſt in the miniſter's own houſe, in a great company, and by the *great weather-cock?* and to what can be attributed the diſorder, and manifeſt difference of opinions, which at this time reigns among them, but to the influence of the Favourite; whoſe intereſt it is to keep them in that ſituation?—But as to Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt they have ever ſince their diſmiſſion, lived in ſuch a ſtate of the warmeſt friendſhip for, and entire confidence in each other, as does honour to the greatneſs of their minds, and that true love of their country, which is the only ruling principle of both their actions. And for the comfort and ſatisfaction of the public, I will add, that the cordiality which ſubſiſts between them, is ſincere and unalterable; notwithſtanding the many ſiniſter and infamous attempts to divide them, contrived by the Favourite and the preſent miniſters.

If there is any thing in this letter which ſhould give offence to the patrons of the Occaſional Writer, they may thank themſelves for it. I do not wiſh to quarrel with any of them. But I will not ſit in ſilence while the faireſt characters are ſlandered, and the public abuſed, under their directions.—*Qui ea quæ vult dicit, ea quæ non vult audiet.*

O. P.

Another defence of the adminiſtration.

AMONG the many ſingularities that characterize this nation, their behaviour to great men in and out of place, is none of the leaſt remark-

able: Every where elſe the happy minion, who baſks in the ſunſhine of royal favour, is ſure of the adoration of the multitude; and the very firſt ſymptom of his decline in the good graces of his ſovereign, is the beginning of his diſgrace with the people. Here the caſe is quite different: The miniſter in place is always a rogue and a blockhead; and when he lays down his employment, he takes up honeſty, ability and popularity in it's ſtead.

The very day the late change was announced to the public, our worthy ex-miniſters appeared in the papers in all the pomp of new-fangled patriotiſm, while their ſucceſſors, whoſe commiſſions had hardly paſſed the ſeals, were already charged with all the miſdemeanours that they poſſibly might commit in the courſe of a long and bad adminiſtration.

Anti-Sejanus was the firſt, like a left-handed raven, to croak evil to this nation, from the change; and he endeavoured to make rogues, as Sir John Falſtaff did cuckolds, by anticipation. After lamenting the great loſs we have ſuſtained from the removal of the modeſty of a B——, the integrity of a H——, the virtue and decency of a S——, and above all, of the conſummate wiſdom and extended views of a G. G. he then proceeds to tell us nothing can be expected from a raw and unexperienced miniſtry, compoſed of a fool of a D——, a low-bred creature of a G——, a R— hated by the people, and a C—, a fellow of no ſpirit.

Now I, who cannot ſee into futurity like *Anti-Sejanus*, will not pretend to judge of our preſent adminiſtration till I ſee them begin to act: I truſt, however, he will prove a lying prophet; and I own I conceive the greateſt hopes from that very want of experience which he charges upon them as their greateſt fault. To be unexperienced in the ways of late miniſters, is, not to know meanneſs to our enemies and inſolence to our S——n, penny-

wiſe

wiſe ſchemes to leſſen the national debt, and pound-fooliſh projects to increaſe it, Change-alley tricks to raiſe our ſtocks, and narrow-minded regulations to cramp our trade. This, however, is the boaſted knowledge of *Anti-Sejanus*'s hero in adminiſtration, who founds his pretenſions to rule on his ſkill in fractions, and from Cocker and Wingate draws leſſons of government for this nation. As well might *Jacob Henriques* aſpire to be at the head of the Treaſury; his abilities in that way will be allowed full as great, and his honeſty nothing inferior.

But of all the tricks employed to prejudice the minds of men againſt the new adminiſtration, the moſt curious is to repreſent them as the creatures of an unpopular FAVOURITE. *Anti-Sejanus* firſt chalked out this devil to himſelf, and has been buſy in combating it ever ſince; and a *ſaydiſant* honeſt man has alſo offered what he calls ſome reaſons to the public in ſupport of the ſame aſſertion.

The new miniſtry diſclaim all dependance but upon their own integrity, and upon a ſhare of ability which they may be ſuppoſed to poſſeſs in a degree at leaſt equal to their predeceſſors. Time will be the beſt teſt of both. They are called to the helm by the united voice of the K——, the R—, F—, and the people. Let us then give them a fair trial, and let them firſt be impartially weighed before we pronounce them to be found wanting. In the mean time *Anti-Sejanus* may go on to predict as much miſchief to the nation as he pleaſes. His writings will be more attended to, ſhould he chuſe to ſign *Jemmy Twitcher*, the real name given him by his godfathers and godmothers. A loſing gameſter has always leave to rail: beſides, when he calls names, and beſtows liberally rogue and fool,

we can make juſt allowance for a jaundiced eye, that ſees every thing yellow like itſelf.

G. H. J. K.—A WEAVER IN SPITALFIELDS.

[*The following letters were written on the ſubject of taxing the Britiſh Colonies in America.*]

THE affair of the American ſtamp-act becomes every day more and more ſerious; and its now arrived at this dreadful alternative, whether England ſhall aſſert her dominion over her colonies, or the colonies ſhall be totally independent of her legiſlative power. Perhaps a ſhort ſketch of ſome of the arguments on *both ſides*, may enable your readers, and the public, to determine which they would chuſe, were the choice left to them.

On behalf of the colonies it is ſaid, that not being repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, that parliament cannot, nor ought to tax them; that it cannot lay taxes on any who are not repreſented. But even if it could, the colonies have been taxed *unheard*, which is a grievance better to be conceived than deſcribed. They have in one day, unſummoned and unheard, been deprived of their invaluable privileges, which they have enjoyed upwards of 100 years. It is true, there is power and ſtrength enough in England, to oblige them to ſubmit to this act; to cruſh them to atoms. But the queſtion here is not about *power*, but about *right*. And would it be prudent to enforce that, the right of which is abſolutely denied. It has indeed been the faſhion of late, to treat the Americans with much contempt and foul language; but this has neither been prudent nor politic; for America is too reſpectable, and the commerce of this country of too much conſequence, to be ſported away with calling names. America may be driven into deſpair; and then, like the ſtrong man, ſhe may embrace the pillars

pillars of this conſtitution, and bury herſelf and us in the ruins. There is every argument of intereſt, policy, and privilege, for the reſcinding of this act; and until it is totally reſcinded, neither the commerce of Great-Britain, nor the affection of America will be reſtored.

On the other ſide it is ſaid, that the ſtamp act is not the firſt act of the Britiſh parliament which has extended to America. The act of navigation, and the poſt office act, very materially affect America; the latter in particular is an internal tax on her, and neither of theſe have been diſputed; although if parliament had no right to paſs them, they ought likewiſe to be reſcinded. With regard to the ſtamp act, never did any act paſs with ſuch remarkable and unuſual deliberation: for in one ſeſſion, the parliament came to a reſolution, that it was the right and authority of the Britiſh legiſlature to tax America; and it was not until the next ſeſſion, a twelve month afterwards, that the bill for the ſtamp act was brought in; therefore there was time enough for every body who did not approve of it, to prepare themſelves with proper arguments to oppoſe it: but the truth is, nobody ſeemed to doubt the right: and the Americans themſelves ſay, that if they *muſt* be taxed, they would rather have the ſtamp-act than any other. If the Britiſh legiſlature have no right to tax America, they have none to tax Ireland, notwithſtanding they have aſſerted it; and all the counties in England may claim an exemption from taxes, which the reſcinding of this act will be encouragement for them to do. The ſtamps, very poſſibly, may have been rated too high, but thoſe rates are eaſily altered.

A FRIEND TO MY COUNTRY.

THE ſketch of the *arguments on both ſides*, relating to the American ſtamp act, (ſigned *A Friend to my Country*) is, I think, on the whole, a pretty fair one. There are, however, a few omiſſions in it, which I beg leave to ſupply.

On behalf of the colonies it is farther ſaid, that, allowing the principle, which they do not, nor never did diſpute, that they ought in juſtice to bear with other ſubjects their ſhare of common burthens, yet the act was *unneceſſary* whether we look backward or forward. As to what is *paſt*, they have in all wars exerted themſelves fully equal to their abilities, and in the laſt, beyond them, which has been acknowledged by government here; and that they ſtill are under a heavy load of debt incurred by that war, for which all their provincial land taxes, taxes on perſonal property, exciſes, poll-taxes, taxes on the profits of buſineſs, &c. &c. during many years to come, are mortgaged. And as to the occaſions of expence that may *hereafter*, ariſe, the antient *eſtabliſhed* method of calling on their aſſemblies by requiſitory letters from the crown, is ſufficient to anſwer all purpoſes; ſince they always ſhould, as they always have done, think themſelves obliged in duty, on ſuch requiſitions, to grant aids ſuitable to their circumſtances. That beſides this, they actually pay great taxes to this country, in the accumulated price (occaſioned by its taxes) of all the Britiſh manufactures they conſume; and which, if it were not for the reſtraints on their trade, they might buy cheaper elſewhere. That the acts for regulating commerce and navigation, and the poſt-office act, differ very materially from the ſtamp-act. The former lay duties on the importation of goods, which people may buy or let alone, and the other fixes a rate for the carriage of letters, that is merely a *quantum meruit* for ſervice done, and which every man may

may do in another way, if he thinks it cheaper and ſafer, i. e. he may ſend his letter by a ſpecial meſſenger, or by his friend. But the ſtamp act *forces* the money from the country under *heavy penalties*, and denies *common* juſtice in the courts, unleſs they will ſubmit to part with it, and this without the conſent of the legiſlative body, in which only the country has repreſentatives. And though it is true, that the diſtance between ſeſſion and ſeſſion gave time enough for "preparing proper arguments to oppoſe the ſtamp-act;" yet that time was rendered of no uſe, the petitions that were ſent over from the colonies, containing their reaſons againſt it, not being *admitted* or *ſo much as read*, becauſe it was, it ſeems, contrary to an eſtabliſhed rule, importing that petitions ſhould not be received againſt a money bill. The parliament may have "aſſerted a right" to tax Ireland; but it is certain they have never practiſed it. And though it ſhould be allowed right neither to tax Ireland or the colonies by act of a legiſlature in which they have no repreſentative, it does not appear how "all the counties in England could found a like claim on that principle, ſince they are all repreſented; there not being a landed freehold eſtate above 40s. per annum in any county, that does not give its owner a right to vote for a member of parliament.

A FRIEND TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

MANY perſons have been pleaſed to diſpute the authority of the Britiſh parliament to lay taxes on North America; and it has been lately ſtrongly denied by ſome, whoſe declarations may poſſibly have ſome weight, if not refuted by the united force of law, reaſon and argument.

The firſt and principal objection to the power of the parliament extending to the colonies, is *thoſe colonies not being repreſented amongſt us*, and hence it is

laid down as a conſtitutional principle, that they cannot be taxed here, unleſs they are repreſented; or to ſtate this objection fairly as to the meaning, and in the language of the coloniſts themſelves, "*no Engliſhman can be taxed but by his own conſent* "*in perſon, or that of his repreſentative.*" Where, at what time, or in what code of law this newly conſtructed ſentence has its origin, I cannot diſcover. Magna Charta, the foundation and rule of all our liberties, and the authority to which we at all times appeal, has no ſuch words, nor any paſſage which can be conſtrued or ſtrained into ſuch a ſenſe. All that Magna Charta ſays, which can in the leaſt *tend* towards this propoſition, is, "that the King engages not to raiſe any money on his ſubjects, but with the concurrence of the *ſtates* of the realm." But it does not ſay, that every Engliſhman is to be exempted from taxation, who has not a right to vote for one of thoſe ſtates. In *counties*, for inſtance, the number of inhabitants are infinitely greater than thoſe of the freeholders, who only have a right of voting for a repreſentative in parliament; and yet ALL, without diſtinction, pay taxes. It is the ſame in all cities and boroughs. Even the Roman Catholics, who are expreſsly forbid the right of voting at any election, are, by the legiſlative and repreſentative body of the whole people, obliged to pay higher taxes, than any others of his Majeſty's ſubjects. Formerly the inhabitants of the counties of Durham, Cheſter, and other counties palatine, were not ſpecially repreſented; and did they ever ſay, that an act of the legiſlature to impoſe taxes did not bind them?

In a word, if we admit that propoſition, above nineteen parts out of twenty of his Majeſty's ſubjects MAY, and doubtleſs WILL claim the privilege of exemption from taxation; and in ſuch a caſe I leave every one to judge, how hard the raiſing the revenue

revenue will fall upon thoſe few, thoſe very few, who ſpecially have the right of ſending members to parliament: therefore I hope this point will not be inſiſted upon as any reaſon for the repealing the ſtamp-act, as any unprejudiced perſon muſt ſee the matter of *right* ought not to come in queſtion at all.

This *right*, I think, is a thing perfectly clear and undoubted, and I hope we ſhall ever retain it; as, without leſſening the true and conſtitutional authority of this country over her colonies, that act may be repealed, and every relief they can deſire, or we ought to grant, may be given.

But, waving for the preſent any idea of what conſequences may be expected in England from allowing this propoſition, let us examine a little how it would affect America.

The coloniſts have, in many inſtances, acknowledged the authority of the Britiſh parliament to lay duties on their exports and imports; and they have ſubmitted to all thoſe duties, and to all other regulations of their trade, which the Britiſh legiſlature has thought proper to enact; without a murmur. This I think, has been called *external taxation*. But what the coloniſts, (and a few others) now ſay, and upon which they lay their greateſt emphaſis, is "*that* "*our right extends no farther*;" that is (for I am now and then obliged to explain their meaning) that we have no right to lay *internal* taxes on America. To me they would have given ſingular pleaſure, as well as great ſatisfaction, if they had either explained or pointed out upon what principles of law and liberty they had founded this curious diſtinction; but I believe it is ſo very *new*, that it had birth with the ſtamp-act. Ever ſince I firſt heard of this curious diſtinction, I have been endeavouring to find out the *merits* of it; but ſo far from being able to diſcover them, I am ſtrongly and clearly convinced,

vinced, they neither have, nor can have, any exiſtence. If, according to the American propoſition, we have a right to lay *external taxes* on them, what limits us from laying *internal* ones? The anſwer is, they are as much repreſented in one kind of taxation as the other;—and if parliament has a right to lay *external* taxes (as they are called) it has a right likewiſe to impoſe *internal* ones. Either *both* muſt be legal, or *neither*.—Either *all* our acts, or *all* of ſuch *parts* of our acts as extend to America, have from the firſt been legal, or they never were, nor never can be ſo; they cannot be part one and part the other. If the colonies are ſufficiently repreſented to be liable to one kind of taxation, they are liable to the other. And this I doubt not will be conſidered as a clear and fundamental propoſition, unleſs the coloniſts can ſhow, that a *greater* or *different* authority is requiſite to impoſe an internal than an eternal tax.

But perhaps it will be ſaid, that the ſtamp-act is the *firſt* internal tax, and therefore it has been ſo violently oppoſed. This is not true; for the whole poſt-office eſtabliſhment is *internal*, and requires the payment of internal duties; and this was admitted. But if it had not, and the right of internal taxation been denied; which it ought to have been then, in the firſt inſtance, or not at all; and this denial, upon the plea that is now aſſerted of want of repreſentation, been allowed to be a good and ſufficient one; I will venture to ſay, that before this time, the coloniſts would have claimed an exemption from the duties and obedience of ſubjects; being no longer under the controul of the Britiſh legiſlature, and have claimed and inſiſted upon the title of ALLIES.

This conduct, I preſume, would not be agreeable to any Engliſhman in this kingdom; therefore I hope *matter of right* will not be made a reaſon for repealing

repealing the ſtamp-act; which indeed I could wiſh was done upon a *principle of expediency.*

O. P.

THE American writers ſeem deſirous of changing the diſpute concerning America into an argmuent relative to the quality of Indian corn. The reſources the Americans have within themſelves for the neceſſary ſupplies of cloathing and food, without dependance upon their mother country, the moral character of America, and their connections with the Scots.

As to the iſlands and the four obedient provinces, they are unconcerned in this queſtion. The Americans, of whom I affirmed that it was of ſmall or no conſequence to the Eaſt-India company what reſolutions they took concerning tea, are the diſobedient Americans only, whoſe numbers exceed not one million or twelve hundred thouſand perſons at moſt, all furniſhed in a great meaſure with tea and divers other commercial articles from the Dutch and Danes?

I am very ſenſible of the ſmall regard the ſmuggling part of America have to veracity, and therefore am not at all ſurpriſed at their denying the moſt notorious facts, and aſſerting America has every uſeful commodity within herſelf, and only trades with us out of a principle of kindneſs. But we are as well acquainted with the other productions of their country as with the quality of their Indian corn. We know they have not wool enough in the diſobedient provinces to cloath the tenth perſon in them. We alſo know the nature of this wool, that it is hairy and unfit for making cloth of any tolerable fineneſs. Nor are we to learn what ſmall quantities of linen are made in America, or the price of wages there, which lays the Americans under an indiſputable obligation to purchaſe their cloathing

cloathing where they can, and many other things which cannot be made in America at the ſame rate they are bought here.

That the Americans will deny the moſt inconteſted facts that make againſt them is not much to be wondered at: but it would be extremely odd indeed, if we ſhould believe perſons who will attempt to deceive us in ſo inconſiderable an affair as that of the quality of Indian corn, whoſe nature may eaſily be gueſſed at from this, that it muſt always be conſumed the moment it is dreſſed, otherwiſe it becomes extremely hard and diſagreeable. Is not this undeniable property of victuals made of the flour of this corn an evidence that it is not eaſy of digeſtion, as I alledged, though not indigeſtible or unwholeſome.

But Americans, it ſeems, are deſtined to behave in an unfair manner. I ſaid of the Americans, that they take nothing from us that they can do without, or cannot get by in the way of traffic.

It has been ſaid, by one of the American advocates, that "not a ſingle American has a vote for this parliament," meaning, I ſuppoſe, the Britiſh parliament. Is it poſſible this allegation can be truth, when, in fact, there are ſome Creoles, who are certainly Americans, in the Houſe of Commons? Have not theſe Americans both voted for and in this parliament? What a ſtrange inattention to preciſion and truth, appears through the whole of his letter?

But the particular crime of which I am found guilty by thoſe writers, is, that I have attempted to prove, in an abſurd way, that two or three millions of people are repreſented in parliament, for which not a ſingle American has a vote. Here you ſee the point on which the diſpute about the repreſentation of America turns. The American doctrine is, that no man is repreſented in the parliament for which he has not voted. If this be true, there

there are ſome millions of people in Britain who are not repreſented in parliament, for I am certain, that there are not two or three millions of people concerned in elections, or in voting for the parliament as the Americans expreſs it.

It is however agreeable to obſerve, how the Americans confute my poſition, that Britiſh America lies in England, from the opinion of a Recorder, whoſe judgment muſt certainly be deficive, that a man born in America is not born in England. An excellent diſcovery indeed. But the queſtion between England and America, is, whether with reſpect to the force of our laws the Americans have not agreed, by accepting charters like theirs, that America ſhall be eſteemed to lie in England. This American conceſſion is only made to the crown, and conſequently relates to the legiſlature only; an American by theſe charters, can claim a birth-right in England ſo far as to entitle him to all the rights common to Engliſhmen, but nothing further, becauſe no more is promiſed to him, in conſequence of this conceſſion on his part. Thus far I have deſcended to talk with your American correſpondent according to his capacity, but now muſt conſider the national intereſt in this American propoſition, *that no man is repreſented in parliament but perſons who vote in elections.*

This propoſition at once cuts down the force of the Navigation-act in America, as well as that of all the commercial laws relative to the trade of the Weſtern world, and conſequently makes an irreparable breach in our happy conſtitution. It leaves America at liberty to chuſe what form of government ſhe thinks fit; to make what treaties ſhe will with foreigners relative to commerce; to ſend her ſhips where ſhe pleaſes, and to load them according to her humour. In one word, it excludes the juriſdiction of our parliament from Britiſh America, and

and erects our governments there into independent kingdoms. Will Engliſhmen ſuffer theſe ruinous conſequences to take place? Is it for this we fought and bled, for Britiſh America? My countrymen will, I hope, conſider before it is too late, our connections with our ſubjects beyond the Atlantic ocean, and make them ſenſible that thoſe inhabitants of America who vote not in parliamentary elections, are on the ſame footing with that claſs of our fellow ſubjects here who have no concern in thoſe elections.

VINDEX PATRIÆ.

THE arguments enforcing the legality of the ſtamp act, are too cogent to admit of refutation, and the wiſeſt aſſembly in the world are too well perſuaded of their weight to heſitate one moment on that account. I know there is one perſon of great diſtinction, who publiſhes ſentiments of a contrary nature. But the Americans are indebted for that lucky event to that decay of underſtanding, neceſſarily occaſioned by years and maladies. In that gentleman, we look with veneration on the ruins of an extenſive underſtanding, with much the ſame ſenſations in our breaſts as when we ſurvey a venerable pile of building diſmantled and defaced by the relentleſs hand of time. In him we muſt permit thoſe foibles, which in others would merit an exemplary reproof. The laſt dregs of a life, ſo nobly ſpent in the ſervice of our country, ought to be regarded in the moſt reſpectful manner.

But we muſt not ſacrifice our country to the debility of age, nor give into a diſtinction unknown in the law of nations. No taxes can be impoſed but by the ſovereign power in each ſtate, or by its authority; and thoſe taxes are only to be circumſcribed by the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the abilities of the ſubjects. All other diſtinctions on that head

head are vain; too paultry to deſerve conſideration, and too abſurd to deſerve notice in any ſenſible kingdom. No taxes ought to be laid on but when the ſupport of government abſolutely requires that aid; and what good man will ſtand on diſtinctions, when the ſafety of the conſtitution of his country demands a part of his ſubſtance? or, who will liſten to any diſtinctions, when neceſſity calls for a ſubſtantial aſſiſtance to the public? it is ſo evident, that no diſtinctions, founded on whimſical niceties, can prevail in caſes, governed by neceſſity only, that I cannot enough admire their folly, who plume themſelves upon ſo extravagant a fancy, as that of a diſtinction between internal and external taxations. Humanity, relationſhip, and intereſt impel ſome to interpoſe in behalf of perſons ſo connected with them as ſome Americans are, for whoſe deſtiny they ſo juſtly tremble: And I am too well acquainted with human nature, to conſtrue into crimes frailties, which, if culpable, are the faults of our whole race: I cannot therefore too ſtrongly blame thoſe, whom an exuberant goodneſs of heart, blood, or commercial connections, have betrayed into the American ſide of this diſpute. The party they have eſpouſed will ſoon ſufficiently reprove their temerity; and the inextricable difficulties the badneſs of that cauſe involves them in, will gradually inſtruct them, that the beſt underſtanding is inſufficient for obtaining victory in ſuch a ſtruggle, as your correſpondent Mr. N. N. of the 29th of laſt month, has already found.

Some pretender to knowledge had made him believe, that the Americans are ſome how by law obſtructed from working their iron into nails, their wool into cloth, or their beaver into hats. This falſehood, they ſuppoſed, would aid their cauſe; ſo out it comes in the honeſty of Mr. N. N's heart. He did not ſuppoſe that perſons, whom he had ſo

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good an opinion of, would buſy themſelves in the dirty kennel of impoſition. But the many *bums* we have lately had in the papers, owing their origin to American duplicity, are too ſtrong proofs that the Americans will not let their honeſty hurt them. However, Sir, I can aſſure your correſpondent, that there are no laws in being, that hinder the Americans from working upon any materials of their own country as they think fit; and we well know that they ſubmit not as they ought to thoſe regulations, duties, and burdens, which attend the ſame buſineſſes at home. Nay, they may refine, and actually do refine, their own ſugars, ſo indulgent is their parent country to them; yet ſhe has no more of their affection than if they were equally loaded with us.

Party and paſſion always blind the underſtandings, and in this caſe remarkably obſcure Mr. N. N.'s faculties, ſo as to diſable him from obſerving, that I do not accuſe all the Americans, in their perſonal capacities, of thoſe riots which their defenders deſire to father on the rabble, and aſcribe to ſudden impulſes; but the uniform, uninterrupted attacks upon the ſtamps and ſtamp-maſters, all over the diſobedient colonies, are clear proofs that thoſe tumultuous proceedings owed their origin to deſign, and were conducted by——from South Carolina to New England. Had theſe tumults been properly diſcouraged by authority, where they firſt broke out, we had heard no more of them; but ſince the aſſemblies, and other communities, exerted not their power to repreſs them, we are entitled, by all the rules of propriety, to charge them with the guilt of authoriſing riots, which they with joy ſurveyed, if not pointed out.

People in theſe inferior ſtations cannot be ſuppoſed to imagine themſelves more knowing than the Britiſh ſenate, or that they would take it upon them unhired

unhired to appear in ſuch a quarrel. We muſt, therefore, look for their employers among thoſe who, having power in their hands, uſed it not for the protection of the lives of the ſtamp-maſters: and to them we muſt aſcribe thoſe tumults, whoſe declared aim was to diſgrace, as much as was in their power, the Britiſh legiſlature.

It is true, that I ſet forth before my countrymen, the notorious vices of the Americans, chiefly *that they might not be deemed worthy of a place in our auguſt ſenate.* And Mr. N. N. would deprive me of the effect of this juſtification, by alledging *that the Americans deſire no ſuch ſeats.* But it is well known, that their defenders hinged their defence upon an affirmation, that the Americans deſire a repreſentation among us; and if ſo repreſented, would not decline bearing a ſhare of the taxes laid on by a legiſlature in which they were repreſented. Againſt this defence I wrote, and, as a diſputant in that cauſe, had a right to oppoſe falſhood with truth, expoſe the futility of the demand, and warn my countrymen of the danger of complying with ſo ignominious a requeſt. The patrons of America alſo preſumed to paint the American morals in a light ſuperior to ours. And Mr. N. N.'s zeal for America has led him into the ſame blunder. Muſt we ſilent and calmly hear America extolled in this unreaſonable manner? Do we not know, that Glaſgow may be conſidered as the capital of Virginia? That New England is indebted to the Scotch kirk for her confeſſion of faith; and that Pennſilvania, New York, and the Jerſeys are ſo full of foreigners, that in many places an Engliſh tongue cannot be underſtood? Why ſhould I be ſilent on thoſe matters, and why ſhould I hide from the eye of the public any truth which the public is intereſted in? Have the Americans alone a patent for praiſing themſelves, and deſpiſing other Britiſh ſubjects? Or

if the patrons of America attempt to raiſe the Americans above the level of their fellow ſubjects, why may not I, in compliance with truth, reſtore them to that inferior rank which they are only entitled to? Will Mr. N. N. contradict any fact I have ſet forth. He is ſenſible that he cannot.

In fine, Sir, truth and juſtice require that the North Americans ſhould be ſpoke of as they deſerve, while their defenders applaud them as if they were ſaints, and thoſe that ſet themſelves up above parliamentary authority, muſt be made ſenſible of the extenſive power of that auguſt aſſembly, which is limited only by the neceſſities of the ſtate, and the abilities of the ſubjects. VINDEX PATRIÆ.

WHAT a noiſe have we had of late about American legiſlation, American freeholders, and the privileges of thoſe freeholders? But is there any legiſlation in America? Are there any freeholders there? No man, who knows any thing of the law of England, will aſſert, that there is any legiſlation in America, or one freeholder in that part of the world. The King has no power of legiſlation, and he cannot, by his charters, convey to any claſs of his ſubjects a power not reſident in the crown. The parliament, including his Majeſty, as the head thereof, has a power of legiſlation, but they poſſeſs that power unalienably.

The power of legiſlation is not a chattel to be diſpoſed of by grant or other ſort of conveyance. It is a truſt granted by the common law for the good of the community, and for their good muſt remain with the auguſt body in which it reſides. The power of making bye-laws, for the utility of ſubordinate bodies politic, is a quite different affair. That power is often created by the parliament, which has eſſentially, in itſelf, all the powers of government. But charters from the crown, not confirmed

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in parliament, can convey no jurisdiction whatever, because the King is not the fountain of law, as he is of honour.

All our Courts from those in Westminster-hall to those in manors, are founded on the custom of England *time out of mind*, or upon the law of the land; that is, *statutes made in parliament*. The parliament only can create new courts and new jurisdictions. But as the King must govern by the law, he cannot make that law upon which his authority rests, nor by his charters convey to others a power which he enjoys not.

Every foot of ground in England lies in some manor, which is itself the creature of custom *time out of mind*. These manners antiently possessed all jurisdiction, civil and criminal; and this jurisdiction was exerted in the Court of Freeholders, in which the Lord, or his Steward, was the Judge, the freeholders serving as Jurors by virtue of their freeholds. Thus, Sir, you see that our freeholders are, by virtue of their freeholds, possessed of a radical judicative authority in manors, which they are entitled to by the common law, and possess their estates by the same tenure, by which his Majesty holds his crown. They are indebted to no Prince for this estate and judicative authority thereto appendant. Their title to their lands is a title of independence, and in every respect equal to the royal title by which the crown is held.

And as these freehold estates, are of a very particular nature with respect to their origin, so they are conveyed in a very particular manner. They cannot be taken by a writ of *fieri facias*. And if they are seized by a writ of *elegit*, one moiety only of the estate can be applied for payment of the debt and costs on which the judgment is founded, the other moiety must remain with the freeholder for his support and maintenance. The freehold de-

ſcends to the heir diſcharged of all debts, not ſpecialities.

Now we have ſeen what an Engliſh freehold is. Are there any ſuch eſtates in America? I am certain there are not. There can be no manors in that part of the world, for we can ſhew the origin of their tenures. Their properties, pretended legiſlative authority, and the exiſtence of what they call freeholds, can be traced from prerogative. Are our freeholds owing to human beneficence? No: We can name ſeveral Princes who have oppreſſed us; but the Americans can point out none who ever conferred upon us our eſtates, or any privileges whatever. Is there an eſtate in America which may not be taken by the ſame writ that takes in execution a Negro or a Horſe? The whole courſe of Chancery proves that their eſtates are only commercial chattles, ſubject to the diſpoſition of the laſt will of the owner, and chargeable with all the debts of the deceaſed proprietor. And leſt any doubt ſhould ariſe about the propriety of theſe decrees in equity, equalizing a foreign plantation to a perſonal eſtate, there was a ſtatute made in the fifth year of the preceding reign declarative of the common law in this reſpect, and ſtatuting that foreign plantations ſhould only be regarded in the light of perſonal eſtates. After that law, what man in his right ſenſes can dignify thoſe eſtates with the name of freeholds?

The American's eſtates, Sir, are deſtitute of the principle characteriſtic of a freehold. They are derived from royal grants for the improvement of commerce. The pretended American freeholders are not original members of any Court, by virtue of their freeholds. They have no manors, nor manor courts in America, and conſequently no courts to which the pretended American freeholders repair, by virtue of their freeholds, and

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in conſequence of a title paramount to all human laws. Why then ſhould they pretend to equalize their ſuppoſed freeholders with ours. An abſolute ignorance of law and common-ſenſe could only give birth to ſuch injudicious conduct. Our freeholders have a ſhare in the legiſlation; becauſe by cuſtoms as antient as thoſe that eſtabliſh government, they are entitled to rule in a certain diſtrict of the kingdom. Can the Americans boaſt of the exiſtence of any ſuch cuſtoms among them, or of eſtates and judicative authority derived out of theſe cuſtoms? Why then ſhould they pretend to be freeholders, and as ſuch only ſubject to a legiſlation of their own election.

The Americans will, perhaps, reply, that they ſerve on Juries when called by the King's writ into the ſupreme Courts of their reſpective provinces. But this happens not as with us by the excellency of tenures, whoſe origin is unknown, but is owing to the grace of thoſe Princes who, without the authority of law granted them that conſtitution. Are tenures flowing from a Prince equal to tenures held independent of the crown?—ſurely not. The Americans have no rights but from royal grants; and of conſequence thoſe rights muſt not be extended beyond their natural meaning, or interpreted to the prejudice of thoſe who, by an inherent right, independent of the crown, govern the whole kingdom. The privileges of perſons claiming under ſo high a tenure, cannot be impaired by deeds from the crown, and conſequently the government of our parliament muſt reach over all the Engliſh dominions, as if no ſuch grants had been made, and no eſtates derived out of them. VINDEX PATRIÆ.

MANY ingenious pens have been employed in behalf of the colonies, and their cauſe has thereby received all the advantages which the

force of letters could give. But ſtill there are a few things to be ſaid on the other ſide; and it is but right that *all* ſhould be heard before *any thing* is determined.

The advocates for the repeal of the ſtamp-act urge two things, viz. That the Britiſh parliament have *no right* to lay taxes in America, becauſe America is not repreſented here: and that if they had, this tax is a very *inexpedient* one.

As to the denial of the *right*, it is worth two or three lines of examination, only to expoſe the folly of it. The Americans acknowledge that the Britiſh legiſlature have a right to make laws for them in all affairs of the police; and that they ought to ſubmit to all thoſe laws: but they do not ſay, nor pretend to offer a word, upon what law or authority they found the following *diſtinction*, viz. that the Britiſh parliament can make laws which may take away their lives and liberties, but cannot lay even the ſmalleſt tax upon them. Some of their friends on this ſide the water carry their refinements ſtill further: they admit the denial of *right* in the manner as ſtated by the Americans, and make this *ſubdiviſion*; parliament has a clear and undoubted right to lay ſome kinds of taxes upon the Americans, but not all kinds: for inſtance, it may make any regulations of, or lay any duties upon their trade; but cannot lay any internal taxes on the inhabitants; becauſe they are not repreſented in the Britiſh parliament. To which I will juſt anſwer, that if the faculty of repreſentation is what only gives the power for one kind of taxation, it muſt alſo for the other. Either both require repreſentation, or neither; unleſs it can be proved, which I believe it hardly can, that the right of impoſing one kind of taxation, requires a *greater*, or a *different* authority than the other.

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Now as to the *inexpediency*, it can only be applied in one ſenſe, which is the *time*. Previous to the ſtamp-act, the Americans had been reſtrained in ſome very illicit, but very beneficial, branches of commerce; and ſome other cauſes of diſguſt had been given them: all which put them ſo much out of humour with the mother country, that I have heard many of the candid Americans acknowledge, that the rage poured againſt the ſtamp-act has been more in conſequence of their old and general reſentment, for *other things*, than for any particular grievance, contained ſimply and excluſively in that act. I appeal to every gentleman who has coolly converſed with the Americans, whether this is not the fact; and whether the American gentlemen here do not likewiſe ſay, that if the parliament ſhould not think proper to repeal it, it will be ſubmitted to, with very little, or perhaps no further diſturbance; and then they add, that in its conſequences it will be more felt by Great Britain than America; for it will encourage the Americans to erect all ſorts of manufactures within themſelves, and, in time, to make uſe of nothing that is Britiſh. This is the ſum of their argument. But ſhould it prove true, (which is not very probable, for as the Britiſh manufactures are the beſt, they will naturally turn to them) the parliament of Great Britain, while they preſerve the right of taxation, may, as the riches of the Americans encreaſe, lay further taxes.

But the misfortune of this impolitic diſpute is here. Many of the American gentlemen ſay, that if the parliament ſhould repeal the act, and not give up the right of taxation, the Americans will ſtill entertain the ſame jealouſy of the power of Great Britain, as if the act were not repealed; and will therefore endeavour to arrive at the independency juſt mentioned; ſo that Great Britain muſt either formally and for ever renounce having *any*

authority to tax America, or America will be no longer ſubject to us: and I will venture to add, that if we do renounce our right, either expreſsly or virtually, America will be no longer ſubject to us, than while ſhe thinks fit.

To do juſtice, however, to the ſentiments of all the American gentlemen, with whom I have converſed on this intereſting ſubject, I muſt ſay that there are ſome of them who are ſo honeſt as to reaſon in this manner; that a repeal of the ſtamp-act is neceſſary in order to wholly releaſe America from any dependence on, or jealouſy of, the power of Great Britain; for unleſs ſhe can be rendered totally free, and without the leaſt reſtraint from, or apprehenſion of the authority of the mother country, ſhe will never cordially unite with Britain, or ever be induced to uſe the Britiſh manufactures. And a repeal of that act they ingenuouſly ſay, will ſet her at *full liberty*; and though the parliament ſhould retain the idea of right, yet the circumſtance of the repeal, will be a convincing proof that the parliament cannot execute it. Therefore the repeal will virtually be a full renunciation of the right. And as to a claim of words, it ſignifies nothing. Here they end their reaſoning; the tenor of which is ſufficient authority for affirming, that from the very moment of ſuch repeal, which heaven prevent, the Americans will begin to ſet this country at open defiance; its authority over them will be for ever loſt, and whatever may hereafter be the exigencies of government, or the diſtreſſes of the mother country, yet we cannot from our colonies *command a ſingle ſhilling*. And ſince they have begun the attempt of making and uſing a few of the articles they have hitherto had from Britain, there is no doubt but ſome of them will extend this practice as far as they can. Therefore the trade of Britain to her colonies, is, in ſome meaſure, certain of being injured,

injured, whether this act be repealed or not. Let us then take that ſtep, which we are ſure will do us the leaſt injury. The colonies are in a flouriſhing condition, increaſing every day in riches, people, and territory. Britain is exhauſted; ſhe is manifeſtly ſinking under her oppreſſive and inſupportable burthens. Can, then, any Britiſh ſubject lay his hand upon his heart, and ſay, it is better to lay *more* taxes on the people in Britain, who have already ſuffered what could have ever been expected, than lay *any* on the colonies, who have yet borne but a *very little?* No: Let us act like what we are, the parents and guardians of the colonies, and treat them like what they are, children and fellow ſubjects; grant all their reaſonable and lawful requeſts; give them their trial by Jury, to which they have a right by their birth; change their governors, and keep a watchful eye over the conduct of new ones. In ſhort, give them every kind of relief and encouragement,—except laying at their feet, our right of *commanding* their aſſiſtance; and making them judges of *our neceſſities*.

In a word, let us continue them, SUBJECTS; not let them become ALLIES.

For theſe, and many other ſtrong reaſons, which would take up too much room of your paper, I am ſincerely of opinion, that the American ſtamp-act *ſhould* NOT *be repealed*; for with the repeal, for ever goes the authority of Great Britain.

A FRIEND TO MY COUNTRY.

On the Britiſh Colonies TRADE *and* COMMERCE.

AS it is ſaid the regulation and extenſion of the trade of the Britiſh colonies are ſhortly to come under conſideration, any light thrown on ſuch important ſubjects may *at this time* prove uſeful and ſeaſonable. The extenſion of trade and commerce, as alſo of the manufactories of Great-Britain, and the

the natural ones of her colonies, are unqueſtionably the true ſprings and ſources of our ſtrength, wealth, and proſperity, as a maritime power. Happy, thrice happy this kingdom, that the preſent miniſtry clearly perceives the truth and neceſſity of adopting this propoſition, which, no doubt, will direct them after removing the interruption of commerce, occaſioned by the ſtamp-act, to purſue the extenſion, by ſtriking off thoſe ſhackles that have unfortunately been put on through falſe principle, clogging and retarding its progreſs and extenſion, contrary to all ſound policy, and the true intereſt of theſe kingdoms.

The complaints of our northern colonies are the want of markets for vending their ſeveral productions, and a channel for receiving returns, which have a natural tendency to encreaſe commerce, ſhipping, ſeamen, and treaſure, that in due time will find its way home to the mother country; for this purpoſe, the exportation of every natural production of North-America, to every part of the Weſt Indies ſhould be encouraged, and permiſſion given to import from all parts of the Weſt-Indies into North-America every kind of produce whatſoever, under ſome few reſtrictions hereafter-mentioned, by which means to become the general carriers for all nations as much as may be; for this purpoſe the free importation of bullion, cotton, hides, dye-wood, cochineal, drugs, ginger, and cocoa, ſhould be allowed, without any reſtriction or limitation; coffee under an eaſy duty, to encourage the culture thereof in the ceded iſlands, that are adapted for it; but ſugar is the great article that is eſſentially exceptionable, and for the following reaſons: The French are in poſſeſſion of immenſe tracts of the moſt fertile ſugar lands (St. Chriſtopher's excepted;) by the amazing fruitfulneſs of the ſoil, and other cauſes, they raiſe ſugar fifty per cent. cheaper than

than the Engliſh planter can do; and ſhould they find a vent for that article on the continent of North America, where they have and will continue to make a rapid progreſs in the increaſe of inhabitants, opulence, and wealth, the French planters would be enabled from that ſource to encreaſe and gather ſtrength from year to year, to improve their rich uncultivated land, from whence to ſupply the continent, that in fifty years, may probably be as numerous as Great-Britain, and ſtand fair for engroſſing that ſtaple commodity, which alone at this time employs more ſhipping than their fiſheries, and this at the expence of the Britiſh iſlands, who at preſent make more ſugars than Great-Britain and Ireland can conſume (as will appear by annual exports on the cuſtom-houſe books) to which may be added, the ceded iſlands, which, under encouragement, may within ſeven years make forty thouſand hogſheads, and thereby greatly augment the immenſe revenue produced by the Britiſh Weſt-India iſlands; but ſhould the conſumption of French ſugars be permitted upon the continent, would aſk where a vent can be found at a price to anſwer the expence the greateſt part of our planters are at in carrying on their plantations. The natural conſequences muſt be the throwing up Barbadoes, Antigua, and other of the Leeward iſlands, as well as the poor worn-out lands in Jamaica, whoſe cultivation is carried on at ſo heavy an expence. Now the loſs of the former would be moſt ſeverely felt by the North Americans themſelves, as thoſe lands being employed for the cultivation of ſugar only, lays them them under the unavoidable neceſſity of depending upon North-America for all their ſupplies of lumber, proviſions, cattle, &c. to a much larger extent than any other ſettlement whatever. The large and opulent planter would be able to continue the cultivation, and the ſettling the rich lands

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in the ceded iſlands would go on, but could extend no farther for want of land; but all the ſmall planters, who from their number make by far the greateſt quantity of ſugar, would of neceſſity be obliged to throw up their eſtates. Now ſuppoſe the Engliſh planter could not cultivate ſugar under three pounds per cent. when the French could do it at twenty ſhillings, would it be good policy to conſume the latter, which could not be obtained of them but for money, or materials they cannot do without, and for which they muſt pay money, had they not goods to exchange in barter? By which means to throw up the Britiſh ſugar iſlands to augment the French, or to encourage the Engliſh planter, though under ſo exorbitant a price, and by that means to keep and ſupport the number of ſhipping and ſeamen, augment the revenue, and encourage the conſumption of Britiſh manufactures; the natural conſequence attending the proſperity of the Britiſh colonies. To avoid therefore the conſumption of French ſugars, big with evils not ſo eaſily ſeen at preſent, it is propoſed that all Britiſh plantation ſugar, imported into North-America, ſhould have an affidavit made by the planter or merchant, of the place of its growth, quantity and quality of package, with a certificate and clearance of the whole; and on the default of ſuch credentials, to be deemed foreign. And that all ſugar imported into North America, ſhould be reſtricted to the ports of Boſton, New-York, Philadelphia, and Charles Town only, there to be lodged under the King's-locks; and bond to be given for payment of ten ſhillings per cwt. on muſcovado ſugar, and fifteen ſhillings per cwt. on clayed ſugars, for what may be conſumed there, and that is not exported in a limited time after entry. And even under this duty, when the Engliſh iſlands happen to fall ſhort in their crops, the French ſugars will have a prefe-

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rence of the Britiſh. It will alſo be neceſſary to prevent the ſugar going coaſt-wiſe, otherwiſe the ſmuggler would introduce French ſugars into the ports as Britiſh plantation. At firſt ſight this may appear a hardſhip on trade; but then when the number of ports at a ſmall diſtance, from one end of the continent to the other, that every port carries on a trade to and from the Weſt-Indies, almoſt every man of property and credit being a merchant, as alſo the eaſy conveyance by land carriage, when thoſe are duly attended to, the ſeeming hardſhips in a great meaſure vaniſh. The Americans as well as Great-Britain complain, and with reaſon, of the high price of ſugar: but when the importance of the ſugar colonies is conſidered, from whence the annual imports into this kingdom alone amount to two millions and a half, and the exports of Britiſh manufactures conſtantly increaſing in proportion to cultivation (whereas, it is to be feared, they are decreaſing to America) that there is no other method to lower the price of ſugars, conſiſtent with the extenſion of commerce, the vending our manufactures, or encreaſe of revenue, but by encouraging the planter to encreaſe the cultivation to the utmoſt extent of the unſettled lands in the ceded iſlands, and the interior parts of the iſland of Jamaica. With reſpect to the Americans, the extenſion of export, and permiſſion of importing the ſeveral productions, will expand and open a field of commerce, of which they themſelves had no idea or conception; and it is highly probable the returns, excluſive of ſugar, will be more than ſufficient to pay for all the lumber, fiſh, flour, ſtock, &c. (being bulky and of ſmall value) that they can find vend for; but ſhould it prove otherwiſe, they have a recourſe to French ſugar, as a remittance for the manufactures of Great-Britain, and that free of all duty or incumbrance whatſoever: and is it not highly

ly reaſonable that they ſhould ſubmit to a regulation ſo eſſentially neceſſary for encouraging the ſugar colonies, encreaſe of commerce, conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, and encreaſe of revenue? And is not this the moſt likely period for the Americans being diſpoſed to receive it; eſpecially if the preſent duty of eighteen pence per cwt. on Britiſh plantation ſugar be taken off, which raiſes little more than 2000l. per annum, and never anſwered the end propoſed.

It would alſo be neceſſary to ſubject all ſugars, imported into Great-Britain from North-America, to the duty on French, to prevent French from being introduced as Britiſh plantation; alſo all ſugars into Ireland, to be firſt landed in Great-Britain; and that the total prohibition of foreign rum into North-America being continued; and likewiſe to Guernſey and Jerſey, where large quantities have been lately imported from Guadaloupe, to the great prejudice of the ſugar colonies, and the revenue of this kingdom.

With reſpect to molaſſes, it is the moſt eſſential manufactory in America for carrying on the fiſhery and African trade, and being bulky employs a great number of veſſels with a ſmall capital; none of the Britiſh iſlands furniſh this article except Jamaica, and their annual produce doth not exceed 5000 or 6000 hogſheads, which is generally ſold there at twelve pence per gallon, it being ſought for as ballaſt; whereas the import from the French iſlands is near 100,000 hogſheads annually, at the price of ſeven pence halfpenny, ſo that laying a high duty on it cannot affect the Britiſh iſlands. The preſent duty of three pence per gallon, hath not raiſed above 4000l. per annum in North-America, the chief part being ſmuggled; whereas, one penny per gallon on all imported, would raiſe a revenue of 45000l. annually: And it is confeſſedly allowed, that the expence

expence of landing ſo bulky a commodity in obſcure bays and creeks, with the carriage from thence to the place of diſtillation, and to market (excluſive of the riſque, which is conſiderable) is not leſs on an average than three farthings a gallon; ſo that it would be their intereſt to pay the duty, and import it into legal ports of diſtillation, conſumption, and ſale; whereas two pence a gallon would be a temptation of 45,000l. to continue ſmuggling as heretofore. But a ſtronger motive ariſes from the French ſtill being open for the fiſhery and African trade; therefore, ſhould a duty be laid upon it in America, equal to the difference of labour there and in the Weſt-Indies, the French iſlands would be enabled to underſell the American, and would not fail to avail themſelves of ſo beneficial a manufactory for the extenſion of their trade, and thereby make ſome amends for the loſs of trade, attending the loſs of their ſettlements in North-America. The preſent method of North-American trade to Africa, is by carrying a load of rum on the coaſt, where they exchange the greateſt part thereof in barter for European goods, to make an aſſortment to purchaſe ſlaves, which are generally carried to Virginia, Maryland, and South-Carolina; ſo that the queſtion is not what molaſſes can bear at preſent, but the alternative, whether France or the colonies ſhall have the preference of ſo important a manufactory, for whoever can bring it cheapeſt to market, will undoubtedly have the preference there. At preſent, the duty on molaſſes paid by eſtimation, is liable to many frauds, therefore there ſhoūld be ſtrict regulations in having the caſks gauged, as is rum in England.

Although the North-Americans deem an internal tax, laid by any but themſelves, as a direct breach of their freedom as Britiſh ſubjects, yet they never attempted to diſpute the right of Parliament

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to lay a duty on their exports or imports, as alſo to regulate their trade, and upon which the very being and exiſtence of this kingdom as a maritime power immediately depends. It therefore is of the utmoſt importance to preſerve this power, and rightful ſupremacy, in its fulleſt extent, but at the ſame time exert it with lenity and moderation; for ſhould it once be diſputed or loſt, that rightful power, belonging to this kingdom, would be tranſferred to North-America. Now, though this power is acknowledged, yet hath it been ſhamefully and too effectually evaded by ſmuggling, therefore the only method now left for eſtabliſhing that power, and ſubordination to it, ſo eſſential for preſerving law and government, is by ſimplicity of laws, and eaſy conſtitutional taxes; therefore the laying ſmall taxes upon enumerated piece goods, muſt have had a very different tendency to the plan propoſed, by laying ſhackles upon trade, creating unneceſſary trouble, fees, and officers veſted with power, or trifling occaſions, to give interruptions to trade; whereas a penny on molaſſes, as it is ſmall, reaſonable, and their intereſt to pay it, ſo it is moſt likely to raiſe a revenue, give no temptation to ſmuggling, and bring them into a habit of fair trade, and adopting right principles. With reſpect to the duty, or rather prohibition of the conſumption of French ſugar, it may be ſaid the temptation to continue and promote ſmuggling remains; but this is an article ſo very eſſential to promote the proſperity of the ſugar colonies, the encreaſe of the ſhipping, and commerce and conſumption of Britiſh manufactures, and the augmentation of the revenue, as to be well worthy the moſt ſerious examination and attention of the legiſlature. It may be impracticable wholly to prevent the ſmuggling French ſugar into North-America; but it is likely to be done more effectually there than for the

the other goods in Great Britain, where it is moſtly carried on in ſmall crafts and boats from ports near at hand of a few hours or days-ſail, by perſons well ſkilled in every method to evade the law; whereas, in North America, ſmuggling muſt be carried on by veſſels of burden, after a long voyage over the great Atlantic ocean; therefore, it is to be preſumed, that a reaſonable number of cutters, properly ſtationed by making ſome captures, they being valuable, would ſoon diſcourage the unfair trader, who, finding the trade attended with loſs and riſque, would naturally drop it; and when once the ſpirit of ſmuggling was broke, and a due obſervation of law and government eſtabliſhed, the number of cutters might be leſſened: but it may be ſaid, that even this would prove ineffectual to prevent ſmuggling. In that caſe it will be prudent and requiſite to take every poſſible method of eſtabliſhing order and obedience, though attended with the diſagreeable method of more rigorous meaſures; but this is no ways probable, ſo long as they are treated with juſtice and moderation, they having, on all occaſions, and in the moſt trying circumſtances, given unqueſtionable proofs of their loyalty and warm attachment to their own and our happy conſtitution.

Another important object of conſideration is, the prevention of foreign manufactures, teas, &c. (except wine, oil and fruit) being imported into North America, to the great prejudice of the mother country. For this purpoſe, bond ſhould be given by all veſſels at the time of clearing in North America (under proper regulations) that are bound to any part of Europe, and all veſſels bound to the northward of Cape Finiſtre, ſhould be compelled, under forfeiture of ſhip and cargo, to touch at ſome one of the principal ports of Great Britain, in their way home, to undergo a ſtrict examina-

tion, and procure proper certificates for the diſcharge of their bonds, to the regular and due diſcharge whereof the ſtricteſt attention ſhould be paid.

Another branch of trade, worthy the moſt ſerious conſideration, is, the extenſion of Britiſh trade and ſale of manufactuers beyond the bounds of our own ſettlements; the act of navigation, when made, wiſely enjoined all goods whatever being exported to and from the colonies in Britiſh bottoms; but the channel and courſe of commerce being ſince that time greatly altered, it would much extend the ſpirit of that wiſe law to grant permiſſion, after having exported goods in Britiſh bottoms to the utmoſt limits of the Britiſh empire, the vending of goods ſo imported to foreigners, eſpecially in the iſland of Jamaica, as being by nature ſituated for that purpoſe; as alſo permiſſion for foreigners to import into that iſland all the natural productions of the Weſt Indies for payment of the goods and manufactures from Great Britain and Ireland, by which means to extend navigation and commerce to the utmoſt extent: the wealth that pour in from this ſource is inconceivable.

March 5, 1766. S. F. V.

IN France we ſee all the melancholy diſaſters attendant on deſpotiſm. There the laſt ſhadow of national freedom is trod under the feet of tyrannical miniſters; and a brave and loyal people muſt bow the knee to an encroaching adminiſtration, who look down with a contemptuous eye on the laſt remains of the French conſtitution. They trample on the liberties of the people with an unequalled pride, deſpiſe the dignity of parliaments, and contemn the learning of the bar. They confine the Members of Parliament of Britanny in priſons, and preſs the counſellors into the armies; will not permit the moſt decent remonſtrances to approach the throne,

throne, and barricade the palace againſt the moſt ſubmiſſive complaints.

Although I compaſſionate theſe moſt ſtinging miſeries of our unfortunate neighbours, yet I cannot but regard their melancholy condition, as a beacon erected by Providence in our neighbourhood, in order to warn us to beware of the firſt inroads on our happy conſtitution. We are as yet in the full poſſeſſion of that freedom, whoſe loſs the inſulted French now ſo ſtrongly deplore.

The laws reign in Britain, and our parliament governs by thoſe laws. Our Prince, deſirous of redreſſing every uneaſineſs of his ſubjects, changes his miniſters almoſt as often as the ſeaſons change their appearances; yet we witneſs diviſions among us which threaten every ill a free people can dread. We muſt however acquit our Sovereign; nor can we, with any ſemblance of juſtice, accuſe our parliament of fomenting troubles which they ſtrive to allay. The fault is in ourſelves, and in our miniſters. We cabal, and canton ourſelves into parties; each party ſtriving to obtain, for their particular advantage, an unjuſt preference of their intereſts to the intereſts of the whole. The Americans ſeek a total exemption from taxes laid on by the ſupreme legiſlature, and the cyder counties inſiſt on an immunity from exciſes: equally foes to an impartial diſtribution of public burdens, they attempt to conciliate to themſelves a partial favour, to the prejudice of the public: and our no leſs partial miniſters, actuated by factious views, patronize demands which their duty to the nation commands them to cruſh.

We readily obſerve, that in private families every partial extention of favour to one child, whereby that child is indulged in liberties not conceded to the reſt, immediately lights up the fire of jealouſy, and plants diſcord where mutual affection formerly

bound all in one ſtate of quiet. In nations the ſame effect muſt be conſequent of the ſame cauſe; for human nature is every where the ſame, and deteſts all partial diſtinctions. Kingdoms are but larger families, and whatever practices will diſunite a private family, muſt certainly occaſion combuſtions in the commonwealth. That equality, which all the human race aſpire to, will not ſuffer them, without indignation, to obſerve one ſubject preferred to another in matters of common right. Mankind cannot quietly digeſt ſuch crying injuſtice. The ſupport of the ſtate, by the payment of taxes, is equally the duty of all, and, for this reaſon, none ſhould be allowed to ſlip their necks out of that collar, which obliges them to lay their ſhoulders to a waggon, which all perſons ought to draw. Nor ſhould one be indulged in a ceſſation from labour, when the united ſtrength of the whole is hardly ſufficient to compaſs a neceſſary purpoſe of utility to all. And would our new miniſters pay a proper attention to theſe invariable rules of diſtributive juſtice, we ſhould ſoon ſee all our animoſities buried in that grave, where all honeſt men wiſh to ſee them interred. If an impartial ſpirit, animated by theſe laudable maxims, dictated our miniſterial reſolutions, we ſhould have no occaſion to quote the proceedings of Greece and Rome, in order to prove, that all the citizens of one ſtate ought to be ſubject to the ſame modes of taxation, contribute equally to the ordinary expences of government, and ſubmiſſively receive from the ſame ſupreme legiſlature the neceſſary orders for collecting taxes. Regulations ſo very plain and ſo neceſſary to be attended to in every well governed kingdom, would never be diſputed at our council board, if faction had not reared her hydra head among our miniſters, and, by her inſufferable bawlings, drowned the voice of reaſon and juſtice.

A wiſe and honeſt miniſter would never approve of extravagant claims, in their own nature tending to kindle in Britain the flames of civil diſſention. We are one people, from the banks of the Miſſiſippi to the furtheſt extent of the charter of the Eaſt-India Company in Aſia, ſubject to one ſupreme legiſlature, and by our fundamental laws entituled to the ſame privileges. Why then ſhould America hope for the uncommon privilege of encountering that legiſlative power in matters of taxation? Why ſhould ſix opulent counties contend for a repeal of the law, impoſing the ſmall additional duties on cyder, and a total exemption from exciſe laws? Or rather, why ſhould our inconſiderate miniſtry without reſentment hear ſuch extravagant demands? An iniquitous partiality could only dictate theſe diſtinguiſhed requeſts, and a baſe compliance with unreaſonable humours alone perſuade their being liſtened to. If the exciſe laws are (as they are generally acknowledged to be) unprecedented violations of Engliſh liberty, why is not the whole kingdom relieved of theſe provoking grievances? But why ſhould the cyder counties alone be enfranchiſed from thoſe marks of oppreſſion, if they are juſtly denominated ſuch? What particular good quality is there to be found in the juice of the apple, that it inſpires the drinkers of cyder with more noble ſentiments of liberty, than they entertain who quench their thirſt with humble home-brewed ale? Or what reaſon can be aſſigned, why all the ſubjects of one crown ſhould not be equally free: but the true motive of ſo injurious an arrangement is not to be ſought for in reaſon; for reaſon never directs partial appointments, ſo deſtructive of peace and unity. Reſolutions of that nature are the acknowledged offſpring of FACTION, which teaches an extention of favour

to all of the ſame party, but excludes the reſt of mankind from the ſame indulgence.

But while our miniſtry ſubmits to be guided by a penſioner who enjoys no reſponſible office, nothing can be expected from them but that diſtraction ſo prevalent in their councils, a growing diſcontent among the people, and at leaſt a general contempt of a government influenced by ſuch an unconſtitutional ſpring. When the prime miniſter is veſted with an office which renders him reſponſible to the public for thoſe advices he gives in private, his head muſt anſwer for the honeſty of his heart: an impeachment may teach him that he is the ſervant of the nation, which decks him with power and titles for the maintenance of the dignity of the ſtate: and a juſt concern for his own ſafety will naturally impel him, in all his plans, to conſult the ſafety of the public. But is it ſo with an unplaced penſioner? Moſt certainly not. A perſon out of office is under no tie to the public: he cannot be obliged to anſwer to the nation for his private opinion in any caſe; nor can he be called to an account for that ſyſtem of politics which is adopted in compliment to his ſentiments, though big with the greateſt abſurdities: his private condition ſhades him from an impeachment, and preſents him with an unbridled licence of adviſing according to the direction of his paſſions or intereſt, without regard to the good of the public. His ſtation, as a penſioner, renders him moſt juſtly ſuſpected. Can we, entertain a good opinion of one who riots in the ſpoils of the public, and accepts the nation's money without being in the ſervice of the nation? Charity to a worthy man in diſtreſs, may in ſome caſes adviſe the diverſon of the treaſures of the kingdom into a channel ordinarily ſo foreign to our national intereſts; but under what colour can the continuance of that penſion

ſion be demanded, when the cauſe of granting it no longer exiſts? And what judgment ſhall we make of a perſon who, when grown rich, pillages the treaſury annually of large ſums, merely becauſe a grateful and beneficent Sovereign was pleaſed bountifully to ſupport him while in diſtreſs? Such a man to be ſure, when his circumſtances changed from poverty to affluence, would ſpeedily give up a revenue, which the moſt hardened effrontery only could engage him to graſp. If he really was endued with that boaſted regard for this nation which he pretends, he would be very loth to load the kingdom with ſo unneceſſary a burden. If patriotiſm, or even that modeſty ſo natural to men ordinarily good, found an aſylum in his breaſt, he would ſcorn, now he is poſſeſſed of a princely fortune, to glut his avarice by the rapine of taxes raiſed out of the miſeries of our induſtrious poor. Is ſuch a man fit to guide the guiders of the ſtate? A miniſtry ſubmiſſive to ſuch leading-ſtrings, confeſs themſelves unworthy of the high places they hold, paſs the ſevereſt poſſible cenſure upon their own abilities; and are, if the expreſſion is juſtifiable, ſo many living ſatires upon *office*, and the character of the Engliſh nation. And what muſt the people think of an adminiſtration who hold themſelves ſo cheap? In what degree of eſtimation can a ſenſible people regard miniſters whoſe plans are formed by ſuch a hand, whoſe councils give too much encouragement to tumultuous proceedings, and whoſe ſyſtem of government appears to be ſo disjointed and futile?

MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

Oppreſſive DUTY *upon* BEER *conſidered.*

WHEN I conſider the enormous load of taxes under which this wretched kingdom labours, and how unequally they are borne by

different members of it, I do not wonder at that murmuring and diſcontent, which prevails amongſt the lower order of people, who contribute more than their proportion to the expences of government. The ſingle article of beer produces annually one million and a half, and geneva about four hundred thouſand pounds: Both which taxes are almoſt wholly paid by the poor and labouring part of the nation. The duty upon wine, which is chiefly the beverage of the great and opulent, does not amount to three hundred thouſand pounds a year. How cruel is it that the ſons of labour and induſtry, who are ſcarce able to earn their daily bread, ſhould contribute in drinkables only, above SIX TIMES THE SUM that is paid by the wealthy! In a country like this, which depends for its ſtrength and riches on its manufactures, the neceſſaries of life ſhould eſcape as free as poſſible from taxation, becauſe they are common to the poor and to the rich, in almoſt the ſame proportion; and it is impoſſible that they ſhould be taxed without increaſing the price of labour, which it is for the benefit of commerce to be kept moderate and reaſonable. It is a miſtaken notion that numbers and not affluence, are the proper object of taxation; for every duty that is contrived to fall principally on the lower or middling part, which is the bulk of the nation, is unjuſt, iniquitous, and execrable. Let all the ſuperfluities, elegancies, and luxuries of life be taxed and retaxed over and over: Double or triple the duty upon *plate* and *coaches*, as well as upon *dice* and *cards:* It is not fit that vanity and vice ſhould be free and unreſtrained, while the moſt galling ſhackles are impoſed upon labour and induſtry.

I am at a loſs to conceive what could ſo egregiouſly miſlead the *celebrated Commoner* from all the feelings of humanity for the poor and induſtrious, when

when he laid the *additional duty upon beer*, a commodity that was even then taxed *three times over*; and if we conſider the general conſumption was at too high a price to admit of the ſmalleſt additional burthen. It was not neceſſity that drove him to ſuch a deſperate meaſure; for a tax was propoſed at the ſame time to be laid upon ſugar; which was every way preferable to that upon beer, if we conſider that the one is an abſolute neceſſary of life, and the other is a ſuperfluity: the chief conſumers of the one are the poor and induſtrious, the other indeed is an article of general conſumption, but falls heavieſt where it ought to do, upon the rich and opulent; the latter could not be collected but by an odious exciſe, the former is under the cuſtoms, and is withal too bulky a commodity to allow of being ſmuggled. It is difficult to accouut for the additional duty, that was laid upon beer, in preference to one upon ſugar, from any other motives than the private attachment and partiality of the Great Commoner, which led him to oppreſs a multitude of his fellow citizens in the moſt grievous manner, rather than ſubject ſome rich and overgrown merchant to the ſligheſt, perhaps only imaginary inconvenience.

But how unjuſt and oppreſſive muſt not the beer tax appear, when we compare the condition of the counties where this is the common beverage, with that of the cyder counties! No private family can brew their own beer, without buying their malt ready taxed, at nine pence per buſhel, or paying a compoſition for making malt themſelves, or five ſhillings a head by the year: beſides which they muſt buy their hops ready taxed, or if they grow them, ſubmit to exciſe of a penny per pound, before they can make uſe of their own produce. The caſe of the beer drinker is ſtill harder, if he purchaſes his beer of a common brewer, who is obliged

obliged to pay an enormous duty of eight ſhillings per barrel. I have already acquainted my readers, that, by a calculation which has been made, every poor hard-working man in this great metropolis, take them one with another, drinks four quarts of beer a day. He pays therefore *to the government* for this ſingle article of beer, no leſs a ſum than FOUR POUNDS per ann. beſides an additional ſum of ONE POUND TEN SHILLINGS, and FIVE PENCE a year, extorted from him by the brewer and victular together, who doubled the additional tax that was laid by the great Commoner upon this article. What an enormous ſum is this to ſqueeze out of the labour of the poor and indigent part of mankind! and how much reaſon has the beer-drinker to complain of oppreſſion, when he reflects upon his fellow ſubjects who were ſo fortunate as to be born in the cyder-counties, have their common drink not only free from exciſe, but, by this new regulation of the cyder-bill, *free from duty* too, while he, poor wretch, is obliged to pay above FIVE POUNDS TEN SHILLINGS A YEAR DUTY, for his common beverage! Where were the R——— of the beer counties; where were the M——— of the city of London, when this partial and unjuſt regulation was ſuffered to paſs? Cyder is the *common drink* in the ſeveral counties where it is made; it is their ſmall-beer, porter, ale, and wine: is it juſt, is it reaſonable, that five or ſix hundred thouſand perſons ſhould be exempt from all duty in theſe ſeveral articles, while the reſt of the kingdom cannot touch one of them, without paying an extravagant impoſition? what aggravates the diſtreſs of the beer counties ſtill further is, that even the *cyder tax itſelf* is now *laid upon them:* the maker of cyder pays no duty; and in the ſeveral cyder counties almoſt all the houſe-keepers are makers; conſequently they drink their cyder, duty free;—while the poor beer

beer drinker, if he has a mind for a glaſs of cyder, is obliged to pay a duty, for he has no opportunity of making it. Is not this a ſcandalous impoſition upon the beer counties? and is it not incumbent on the ſeveral inhabitants of them, to draw up the ſtrongeſt petitions and remonſtrances to their repreſentatives, to procure them relief from ſuch partiality and oppreſſion?

A CONSTITUTIONALIST.

Additional TAX *upon* WINDOWS *conſidered, April* 1766.

OF all the taxes with which this unhappy nation is burthened, that on windows is the moſt abſurd and the moſt unnatural To extend it, is to extend thoſe abſurdities with which it is fraught; and to increaſe it, is mocking our miſeries and hiſſing at our calamities.

Every tax on property ought to bear ſome proportion to the property from which it is levied. The moſt valuable property ought to be moſt burthened, and the poſſeſſor of the leſs valuable ſubject ſhould be decreed to make a leſs payment to the public. But in this tax every rule of propriety is tranſgreſſed, every appointment of equity deſpiſed. What would we ſay of the exciſe on malt liquors, if a gallon of ſmall beer paid as much as a gallon of porter? And what of the land tax, if it was laid on by the number of acres, without other conſideration? Yet the ſame incongruity is viſible in the tax on windows; for every houſe, be its locality where it will, conſiſting of ſeven windows, is equally taxed, without taking in any other conſiderations, although, perhaps, no two things in nature are more different in value and produce, to the poſſeſſor a more different income or advantage, whether that income is conſidered as conſiſting in ſplendor or conveniency, or any other ſolid benefit.

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The diſtinguiſhing value of moſt houſes, we all know, ariſes from their different ſituations. Hardly any two fields conſiſting of the ſame number of acres differ more in value from each other than two houſes of the ſame number of windows in different ſituations. A houſe of ſeven or ten windows at, or within one hundred yards of the Exchange of London, is as much (if not *more*) different in value from a houſe of ſeven or ten windows in ſome parts of Northumberland, as the richeſt field of ſeven or ten acres in Middleſex, differs in value from the worſt field of the ſame extent in Norfolk or Cumberland. And in the ſame city, town or borough, nay in the ſame quarter of the ſame city, a different locality gives a different value to a houſe whoſe number of windows is the ſame. The intereſt of every poſſeſſor, in the houſe he holds, is his property in that houſe, and is more or leſs valuable to him according to the advantages or diſadvantages attendant on its ſituation, dimenſions, and many other circumſtances; yet all this juſt reaſoning is over-looked in the collection of the window tax; and the ſame duties are every where levied from houſes having the ſame number of windows, to the indelible diſgrace of our national juſtice. Can any abſurdity be greater, than to collect for the uſe of the public the ſame duties from objects of ſo very different values? To plan the raiſing of taxes in this manner is to plan the eſtabliſhment of iniquity by a law; and to plan the increaſe of a tax of this ſort is, in effect, to plan the enlargement of injuſtice.

To this unexceptionable argument againſt the tax on windows, or an extenſion of that tax, it may probably be anſwered, that the ſums levied by this tax are ſo trifling, that neither the inequalities above taken notice of, nor any other that may be figured, merit conſideration; that if every circumſtance

ſtance was in this caſe to be minutely conſidered, the trouble and expence of reducing all thoſe differences to a nice equation would much exceed the profits accruing to the public from the tax in queſtion; for it often happens, that houſes of the ſame number of windows, cloſely adjoining to each other, differ greatly in value from each other, eſpecially if one of them fronts a great ſtreet or an accuſtomed thoroughfare, and the other ſtands in a more retired ſituation, ſecreted from view and opportunities of commerce; that thoſe varieties of circumſtances which alter the value of houſes of the ſame number of windows, both in town and country are ſo numerous, that it is hardly poſſible to pay a juſt attention to them all, and that for this reaſon; becauſe there is no other way of eluding an infinity of conteſts which never could be ended. The moſt eligible method in this affair, is that already fixed on, which is to compel the ſame payment from all houſes of the ſame number of windows, after an allowance of ſome of ſmall dimenſions with few windows for the habitation of the poor.

A very conciſe anſwer, indeed, in behalf of an injurious tax. But, doth not the whole of this fine ſtory amount to this plain aſſertion, That the injuſtice obſervable in planning this tax, ought to be over-looked, either becauſe the iniquity, though general, yet very little hurts each dividual, or becauſe it would take a great deal of trouble to rectify it? And is not that argument eaſily refuted? Have thoſe who reaſon in this manner forgot that the obſervation of the invariable laws of juſtice is never to be neglected on any account whatever? That the correction of general iniquity can never, in any caſe, be conſidered as an unimportant object? That the diſtribution of juſtice is the ſole, as well as the main end of government?

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That every government, where this great object of ſociety is neglected, deviates into tyranny? That the proſpect of obtaining one common protection for property, on payment of taxes proportioned to its value in the hands of the poſſeſſor, is the great inducement which engages mankind to ſubmit to be ruled by their equals, and that to diſappoint this hope is a moſt open attack on the ſafety of mankind in an aſſociated ſtate. Who has a legal power to compel ſubmiſſion to injuſtice? The law of nations forbids iniquity of every ſort; and certain I am, that no man is authoriſed by any law, expreſsly revealed or implied in nature, to commit injuſtice. A right to do wrong cannot exiſt. Is it impracticable to levy this tax on houſes without tranſgreſſing the invariable laws of juſtice? If ſo, it ought to be diſcarded. The inviolable laws of juſtice are not to be bent in order to gratify the avarice or ignorance of arbitrary miniſters. It is alſo evident, that nature, as well as juſtice, revolts againſt the conſtitution or extenſion of this tax. The Sun freely diſpenſes his light and heat to all creatures. The air, by the diſpoſition of the Author of Nature, animates all living beings. Who then can rightfully intercept theſe bleſſings of Providence from another, or compel him to pay for what nature freely gives for the ſupport of all creatures? Who can deprive us of the cheering effects of light, the ſolar heat and air? Or who can make us pay for what we cannot be lawfully deprived of? Muſt we turn ſuicides by depriving ourſelves of the ſalubrity of the air, or pay for that principle of life which Heaven diſpenſes to all breathing creatures? According to this law we muſt exclude the enlivening breeze from our dwelling places, and convert our chambers into unhealthy, as well as dark caves, or pay to man for what man cannot lawfully take from us; we muſt

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ſubmit to every wanton excurſion of miniſterial inſolence, and buy from man what man cannot ſell. Many of our taxes are an invaſion on the right of the human race; but this on window lights is an invaſion on the rights of Heaven, and a proſcription of the Sun.

We have already been ſubjected to laws which were contrary to the original charter of our liberties, and which have been impoſed by avaritious and griping miniſters. We have yielded to taxations on all the neceſſaries of life, while our ſuperiors, as they think themſelves, enjoy almoſt every branch of luxury free from taxes. We have allowed our liberties to be trampled upon by exciſe laws, and our properties to be taken from us; muſt we alſo ſubmit to be ſhut up in unwholeſome caves and condemned to ſpend our days in darkneſs, or ſubmit to be amerciated for admitting light and air into our houſes?

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS.

[*When the ſcheme of the above tax was brought into a great aſſembly, Mr. P. attended, but finding that was the buſineſs, he retired into a private room with Lord C—d—n; which occaſioned the following letter.*]

Diurna populi per provincias caratus legantur ut noſcatur quid Thraſea non *fecerit.* TACIT.

THOUGH I do not approve of circulating perſonal reflections, and of calling the attention of the public to the private ſquabbles and conduct of individuals; yet I have ever thought that *public* men are to be *publicly* judged; and for this reaſon I wiſh to ſtate my obſervations on the part which a man of very popular character has lately *not* taken on a very intereſting occaſion, hoping

ing to receive from his profeſſed apologiſts ſome ſatisfactory explanation.

When the tax, which may now be well conſidered as impoſed, was firſt brought on in a reſpectable aſſembly, this gentleman, without even the pretence of ill health, thought proper to abſent himſelf.

He could not be ignorant of what every body knew, that on the day on which this tax was to be propoſed, the ſtate of the nation, with reſpect to its finances, was to be explained. It was of importance that he ſhould be then preſent to examine the truth of it, and to bear his teſtimony, or oppoſe his influence, as the occaſion might require. It was expected, that a tax, already called confeſſedly grievous, was to be extended to a lower rank of men, than had been yet made ſubject to it. His duty to his conſtituents required his attendance, and he ſhould have remembered, that the preſerving them from grievous or unneceſſary taxes was one chief reaſon of his being deputed by them. Be the merits of this tax what it may, thoſe conſtituents have a right to complain, that he did not think that merit worth his enquiry, or the protection of them deſerving of his care; but though well enough, and actually appearing in the metropolis, went to his villa in the country. But this is the lighteſt cauſe of complaint. When this matter underwent a ſecond conſideration; when all informations relative to the tax muſt have been received; when all his doubts reſpecting the objects of it muſt have been removed; and when it appeared by the confeſſion of thoſe who impoſed it, that more than half of the neceſſary ſum was to be wrung from the hands of our loweſt peaſants, he, who had oppoſed the lighteſt tax on America, would not hold up his hand to prevent the impoſition of the heavieſt in

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Great-Britain. His friends had pledged him, and the character on which he moſt relies, that of *the man of the people*, required him to exert all his eloquence in their defence. Their breath had formerly ſupported him againſt his moſt dangerous rivals—and he repaid them, by deſerting their intereſt in the moſt critical moment: nay, he was actually as even preſent when this point was in diſcuſſion, and immediately retired. This favoured tribune of the people could ſit for five long hours, almoſt within hearing of the arguments uſed in their defence, and refuſed to lend one helping voice for their relief; perhaps he reſerved that voice for the purpoſes of his own ambition and revenge. It could not be his conſideration for the preſent m—y, which kept him ſilent. In his adjacent cabin he was meditating thoſe expreſſions of reſentment andcontempt, which he afterwards ſo liberally applied to them. The intereſt of theſe they have ſeen, eluded, and deſpiſed; and I cannot but lament, that he waſted upon an occaſion of ſo much inferior importance, an indignation, which might have been employed in the relief of his country.

A CITIZEN OF BATH.

On domeſtic grievances, the dearneſs of proviſions, &c.

INTESTINE evils carry in their faces a more ſubverſive tendency to the Britiſh ſtate, than any war it can poſſibly wage againſt the combined powers of its natural enemies; and when theſe evils are various and complicated, they muſt neceſſarily perplex and embarraſs the wiſeſt miniſter; whoſe ſituation is not then unlike that of a merchant, when his affairs are intricate and confuſed; and if there is not a ſpirit of fortitude for perſeverance equal to a capacity for contrivance, deſtruction and reproach muſt enſue. Abilities alone, on theſe occaſions, are inſufficient; there muſt be a reſolu-

tion to combat, and an induſtry not to be wearied, in ſuppreſſing and removing every impediment that lies before him; attentive always to engage thoſe firſt, which are the moſt noxious and ruinous, that others of an inferior nature may fall the eaſier conqueſt. An united exertion then of theſe qualities in an upright miniſter, can alone effect a happy redreſs of theſe our preſent grievances, which neither admit of controverſy, nor challenge abſtruſe enquiries, but are felt by every houſekeeper, and viſible to every beholder; and which cannot be overlooked without endangering the public tranquility, nor delayed without incurring a popular abhorrence.

Want is to be conſidered in various lights, and eſtimated from its different conſequences, or the beſt arguments can draw no juſt concluſions, neither will the moſt ſkilful diſputants be able to give perfect ſatisfaction. The *want* which I propoſe to examine in our preſent letter, is a national one; not more big with miſchief, than full of diſtreſs; we are therefore to reckon it of the moſt dangerous ſort in its events, and alſo of the moſt intereſting importance to the people. Whoever hath in the leaſt attended to the miſeries of our poor, need not be told, that the *want* I mean, IS THE WANT OF FOOD.

Life cannot poſſibly be ſupported without its neceſſaries, and when theſe are not within the reach of induſtrious poverty, we are to conſider it as a poſitive evil, and not more injurious to individuals, than dangerous to the ſtate. That the common neceſſaries of life do not fall to the ſhare of many thouſand families in this kingdom, is eaſily to be proved from a proper inſpection into the preſent exorbitant price of every article of proviſions, which are raiſed to ſuch an oppreſſive and iniquitous degree, that even ſome private gentlemen of ſix and

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ſeven hundred pounds a year clear eſtate (to ſupport their uſual propriety of character) find it *now* difficult to maintain a family of any moderate number of children; and men too that are enemies to luxury, addicted to no vices, keep no equipage, and admit of no ſupernumerary ſervant whatever. As this therefore is a notorious truth, (for the proof of which I appeal to every gentleman who is poſſeſſed of that fortune, and who has a family of four or five children to maintain) how then is it poſſible for mechanics and inferior tradeſmen to ſuſtain the complicated evils of oppreſſion, eſcape the danger of bankruptcy, or preſerve their families from ruin, when their net comings in, perhaps, does not exceed fourſcore pounds a year? Experience is the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of facts; and every contradiction to experienced facts, infers a baſeneſs of principle, or a weakneſs of underſtanding: leaſt our miniſters then ſhould be impoſed on, or miſled, by the partial reaſoning of our pauper adverſaries, let me earneſtly recommend to their conſideration a full ſurvey of their own domeſtic expences, diveſted of all the ſuperfluous charges of luxurious and vicious articles, and they will then have a juſt view of the impoſſibility of the poor obtaining the worſt offal meats to feed their families, or even a little cheeſe to reliſh their bread; and at the ſame time they will be alſo convinced of the neceſſity of the ſpeedy adoption of ſome ſcheme that may adminiſter relief, and felicitate the people.

Prudence and œconomy were never become ſuch neceſſitated virtues as in theſe hard times of oppreſſion and ſcarcity, and if many private gentlemen of middling fortunes cannot reſerve any ſum for contingencies, much leſs to ſave any part of their income for their children; if THEY are ſo deeply affected from our preſent grievances as to utter their fears with a *feeling* emphaſis, and indicate ruin with

heart-burſting ſighs, how much more affected by them muſt even creditable tradeſmen be? and if we will but extend our reſearches to a farther examination, how much more affected ſtill muſt all other inferior ranks of the people be, down from the ſhopkeeper to the man that bears the load of heavier labour? Think upon theſe things, ye rulers of the land! and every objection to the truth of what has hitherto been offered on this ſubject, will appear, upon an inquiry, to be partial, oppreſſive, and tyrannical.

Bread is the primary ingredient of life; and that our poor might be ſupplied with that article at a reaſonable price, I have already pointed out the neceſſity of prohibiting the uſual exportation of corn, and the prudence of aboliſhing the bounty-money eſtabliſhed by law, which are the two finiſhing ſtrokes to defeat all monopolizing of lands and farms, and the very ONLY means whereby we can propoſe to reduce our wheat at a moderate value in our own markets. Every impartial inveſtigator of political diſquiſition will admit the force of theſe truths, and join to explode a meaſure that exhauſts the fatneſs of our fields, and ſaps the foundation of the ſtate.

Proviſions are the next eſſential neceſſaries that are required to preſerve our beings while we make our abode in this world; and the chief of theſe, which the lower ranks of the people of this kingdom have ever been accuſtomed to, are meats of the groſſer kind; and without which they cannot ſuſtain the duty of hard labour, ſo immediately dependent on their ſervice, nor even ſubſiſt with any energy of healthy vigour. For the ſpeedier reduction then of the preſent extravagant price of theſe articles, it would not be amiſs to eſtabliſh a parliamentary encouragement for the raiſing of live cattle of all kinds, with a forbiddance, under large fines,

ſines, to ſell, kill, or otherwiſe diminiſh the ſeveral females of the reſpective beaſts, for the term of three years; becauſe the infinity of procreation derives its numbers from the preſervation of the feminine part of the creation; and whoſe different ſpecies are eaſily propagated by a judicious appointment of a ſingle male to each diſtinct kind of beaſts. Something like this, I humbly conceive, will be the quickeſt way to introduce ſuch a plenty in the kingdom, as may diſappoint the iniquity of foreſtalling in all its various branches of inhuman conduct. Popular remonſtrances demand a regulation in our markets, and if ſome meaſure of this tendency is not ſoon carried into execution, the alternative is very obvious.

In proſecuting a plan on theſe principles, as is hinted, it may be urged, that if no female beaſts are brought to market, the price of meats during that time muſt be conſiderably augmented, and that a greater ſcarcity muſt unavoidably enſue? To all which I anſwer, if foreſtalling and regrating be totally aboliſhed, the objection will leſſen in its appearance, and will moreover be compleatly removed if the propoſed embargo on corn takes place till the quartern loaf ſinks to three pence, and thereat to remain for ever, ſhort harveſts excepted. But how is foreſtalling and regrating to be effectually aboliſhed? How, but by puniſhing the delinquents with death, offering conſiderable rewards for the encouraging informations, and exerciſing the ſpirit of the laws with due exertion of unremitted vigour. But, in fact, there is no ſuch thing as a real ſcarcity of proviſions in this country, as can be proved to a mathematical demonſtration; we are therefore not to ſhrink at ſhadows when we mean to conquer evils; and to expect the bleſſing of Providence is to deſerve it.

Every age bears the marks of ſome peculiar vice, and monopolization ſeems to be the curſe of the preſent! It is in vain to civilize ſerpents, or humanize ſharks; to extirpate their very race is a leſſon we are taught from reaſon and ſelf-preſervation, and whoſoever is remiſs in this duty, expoſes his perſon to danger and deſtruction. Monopolizers therefore are not to be argued with; they muſt be cruſhed; no ſerpent is more venomous, and no ſhark more voracious! Exhortation is fruitleſs, and reproof but loſt labour; authority then muſt interpoſe with its iron arm of power, and puniſhment effect what virtue hopes! Let me not be thought rigid while our oppreſſors are triumphant, nor clamorous while our miſery is poignant. To be ſilent is to be timid, and to be awed is to be ſervile! Periſh the wretch that trembles in the cauſe of God, or knows a fear but his Creator's wrath.

Purchaſes themſelves muſt be regulated to maintain the balance of freedom in the landed intereſt, and a ſcheme which hath been hinted at in the papers for limiting a certain number of acres to be tilled by one man, is extremely deſerving of legiſlative approbation, and which I hope to ſee confirmed by their voice before the preſent ſeſſion expires.

But as much as I applaud any propoſal for repreſſing the univerſal increaſe of engroſſing farmers, yet I muſt entirely diſſent from the opinions of ſome in regard to the advantages attending exportation; for it is evident our poor will never enjoy any plenty without obtaining that embargo on corn, which they ſo much oppoſe. The inference that is drawn with France is no parallel. France is not ſo fertile a country as England, and her lands are chiefly turned into vineyards; her poor, therefore, do not want from their not being encouraged to agriculture for the benefit of exporting their corn, but becauſe the country

country itſelf cannot produce a ſufficient quantity to ſpare an exportation. This is the caſe; and the notoriety of which is not to be controverted. Let any one produce better reaſons to prove the general utility of his favourite ſyſtem, or he will be charged with ſiniſter motives; and as to making the exportation of our corn the *medium* whereby we muſt pay the intereſt of that part of the national debt due to our neighbours, it is infinitely more dangerous to the ſtate in the end than was it paid in real ſpecie; which we have no reaſon to expect, or dread, while we can ſupport our manufactories; and that will be impoſſible, if the artiſts are not oppreſſed; for nothing adds more to our oppreſſion than the exportation of corn. Another reaſon to evince the propriety of perpetual embargoes (under certain reſtrictions) it will encourage the revival of rearing flocks and herds, which have of late years been ſo greatly neglected for the growing of corn. Inſomuch has the public been prejudiced by monopolizing farmers and landholders, that thoſe little farms which were formerly appropriated to the uſe of raiſing poultry, and which kept a few cows to make butter and cheeſe, even theſe have been ſwallowed up in corn-fields by the voracious cormorants of exporting agents; and this being a pretty general practice, it naturally contributed to enhance the price of meat, poultry, butter, cheeſe, and eggs. From hence (and many other reaſons frequently urged in my paſts letters) the reader will be able to judge of the abſolute neceſſity of a perpetual embargo on corn; let us, therefore, unanimouſly pray and inſiſt that our miniſters do take the merits of our complaints into their ſerious conſideration, and haſten the redreſs of a people who are on the borders of Famine, and almoſt in the very jaws of Ruin.

April 23. OMEGA.

The ſame ſubject continued.

BASE attempts argue baſe minds. They can diſappoint with a ſmile, or ruin even with a compliment. Scarce leſs heinous, indeed, is intentional, than actual evil; and ſeverely would it be puniſhed by law, it is preſumed, was it not from the univerſality of its practice, and the uncertainty of aſcertaining the juſt damages which the party aggrieved may ſuſtain. Nevertheleſs, in the eye of virtue, every ſuggeſtion that hints an injury, or inſinuates a falſhood, is held in the ſame deteſtation, as is the real commiſſion of the crime itſelf. To contradict, therefore, the preſent diſtreſsful ſituation of our Poor, which is viſible to every ſpectator, and to deny the exiſtence of grievances which are felt by the whole community, are ſuch groſs abſurdities, as are to be numbered with thoſe only that compoſe the principles of rank ſtoiciſm, and ought to be treated with contempt and condemnation.

Arithmetic is but of little uſe in the adjuſting œconomical expences, if we can be perſuaded to believe that a joint of meat coſts no more at this time than what it did thirty years ago; and feeling muſt be conſidered as a ridiculous affectation to remonſtrate againſt the hardſhips of want, if the proof of it is to be refuted by logical demonſtration; yet, ſuch attempts have been made, in oppoſition to certain truths which have been occaſionally maintained, and even denied too with an unfeeling remorſe, in ſpite of the daily experience of a whole kingdom. It requires no ſupernatural abilities to detect the real cauſe. The *offender* and the *defender* are too cloſely connected to impoſe on a diſcerning reader; and when men are ſhameleſs in their actions, we cannot expect to find truth in their writings. Corrupt ſentiments are the mirrour of a corrupt heart, and the mind of the man is often to be read from the ſtile of the writer. Examples

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to the contrary may be produced, as I have known a very bad inſtrument to afford tolerable harmony from the ſkilfulneſs of the player; but it is not every inſtrument that is bad, neither is every man an hypocrite.

In ſpeculative ſciences, there is oftentimes great room for contradiction and diſputation, becauſe we hardly differ more in our faces than we do in our opinions; but concerning the many evils with which this country is at preſent curſed, it is a matter of aſtoniſhment that there ſhould be a ſingle individual to revile the objects who groan under theſe evils, much leſs to ſet about in a ſerious manner to diſprove the reality of them. Such brazen adverſaries are enough to rouſe the indignation of a Saint, and are highly deſerving an expulſion from all civil ſocieties whatever; for the men that will make light the miſeries of a people, will never be backward to abet the ruin of a ſtate.

Government owes its exiſtence to the harmony of the governed, and every new intruſion of impolitic ill, or glaring inattention to popular complaint, pays its foundation, and paves the way for anarchy and deſtruction; none then can be the friends of Government that are not promoters of tranquility, nor fit members to rule who are not apt to redreſs. Monarchy, likewiſe, derives its protection from the unity of its ſubjects, and which cannot be built on a more ſolid baſe than the love of the people; whoſe affection muſt eternally be kept alive by actions of public utility, and whoſe will muſt be flattered by a coincidence of national education. Every ſtate, in fact, is nothing more than a larger family, governed only by different laws; if the head of the latter is unacquainted with the quarrels of his ſervants, omits exerciſing the power of eſtabliſhed rules, overlooks their wants, and oppreſſes them in their labour, they will naturally deſert his ſervice; and

and if the former alſo is remiſs in its duties, the ſubjects will revolt from their allegiance.

Long has the public been in expectation of ſeeing ſome meaſure adopted to regulate the heavy price of proviſions, but our expectations are not likely to be felicitated this ſeſſion. Were the ſcenes of our grievances to be rehearſed at Newmarket, they may perhaps grow intereſting, ſince that is the theatre for the exertion of miniſterial talents; but ſurely if the importance of a character is not preſerved with propriety in public, we have but little encouragement to hope it is maintained with dignity in private! Equally ridiculous and unbecoming is it to behold a miniſter of ſtate figuring it on the Turf, as to ſee a Primate acting Foppington the ſtage, or a Lord Chancellor jigging with a ſett of milkmaids round the May-garland. Let me not be charged with arrogance for cenſuring men in the application of their time, which, it may be thought, they are at liberty to ſpend as they pleaſe. But we deny it. A miniſter is one of the firſt ſervants of the people, and the people have a right to cenſure him if he miſapplies his time, or acts beneath the dignity of his office. They, therefore, who frequent the Turf, and other places of diſſipation, can have but little leiſure for the weighty concerns of ſtate; and as the country pays them for their time, their time ought to be wholly devoted to the ſervices of their country. Every juſt reflection I here caſt upon our preſent miniſters by their enemies, pains me not a little, becauſe I reſpect their characters; and as a well-wiſher, it is my duty to wake their attention with ſuch hints as may be improved upon to their honour. Patriots I do not deem any of them; for old as I am, never ſaw I a patriot yet; for while a country is loaded with ſo immenſe a debt as ours is, and its principal officers do not ſerve her gratis, they are not to be honoured

honoured with the appellation of patriots, even if their conduct otherwiſe be ever ſo meritorious. Among all the Britiſh Nobles, is there not *one, one* patriot worthy to introduce ſo juſt, ſo diſintereſted a faſhion? If the privilege of cuſtom is pleaded, let us ſay with *Hamlet*, that it would be more honoured in the breach than the obſervance.

It is remarked, that when ſome evils are at the worſt, they will ſoon mend. May the obſervation be literally verified in our preſent reigning grievances; for, ſurely, they are now at their criſis! Not a ſingle ſober company but comments on the ill proſpect of the times; and the exceſſive dearneſs of proviſions is become a topic of converſation even in the moſt affluent companies. They begin to talk *learnedly* on the ſubject; nor ſhould I be ſorry to ſee them droop *feelingly* under the oppreſſion of it, becauſe the poor would be then ſooner redreſſed. No longer than laſt week a certain great man declared his reſolution, within my hearing, to keep a leſs number of carriages, and not from any loſs ſuſtained by play, but from an examination of his domeſtic expences, he finds, it ſeems, they have increaſed ſo rapidly on him theſe three laſt years, that he is under a neceſſity to retrench betimes. I ſecretly applauded his intentions, and I heartily wiſh the example may daily ſpread through all the kingdom. Certain it is, that a private gentleman of ſmall fortune, at the head of a family, can but barely now keep within its limits without encroaching on the principal. I mean one that does not contaminate his palm in any cauſe whatever, that injures no connection, and oppreſſes no ſervant. Some there are, indeed, who do not poſſeſs a clear income of 1000l. a year in any viſible eſtate, place, or profeſſion; yet live at the known rate of two thouſand pounds a year; but their reſources are too deteſtable for an honeſt mind to embrace; we are not, therefore, to draw a parallel

rallel caſe between theſe two gentlemen in contradiction of the difficulty of the former in maintaining a family with a poſitive eight hundred pounds a year, and the latter figuring off in ſplendor, and yet in actual poſſeſſion of no greater eſtate than the other. Injuries, ſooner or later, muſt be ſomewhere felt by ſuch conduct; and ſorry I am to ſay, that it is a conduct much in vogue.

Sumptuary laws, therefore, muſt be revived to baniſh luxury from inferior tables, and give the finiſhing blow to our repeated bankruptcies; or imperfect will be the effects of every remedy that ſhall be obtained to promote the public good, and ſtill oppreſſive muſt be the fate of our labouring poor. The completion of ſo happy an event will ſuppreſs the prevailing temptations to the many vices in mode among the Great, cruſh the abſurd imitation of living in the faſhion with the Mediocrity, and annihilate the motives of illicit tranſactions practiſed by the vulgar. It will, indeed, be productive of real ſtrength to the ſtate, diffuſe a general reformation among the people, and perpetuate infinite bleſſings to poſterity. None, then, but a profeſſed enemy to his country will oppoſe a plan of this nature, which is evidently pregnant with interior harmony, and univerſal proſperity.

Every ſpecies of luxury is a declenſion from virtue; and an exceſs of it vaults into turpitude, or ends in deſtruction! Ought not then a ſtate, pure in its religion, civilized in its manners, and renowned for its wiſdom, always to be attentive to the dangerous luxuries of a people, and contrive certain laws whereby they may reſtrain the growing licentiouſneſs of a vice, which has ſo often enſlaved the braveſt people, and overthrown the mightieſt empires? No rank, no birth, no fortune whatever is entitled to ſet ill examples, nor launch beyond the limits of national good order. Againſt THESE chiefly

chiefly we muſt frame wholeſome laws, and ſo ſtrong and full, as to bind even the opulent Peer, who brags of ſpending BUT TWENTY THOUSAND POUNDS A YEAR MORE THAN HIS ANNUAL INCOME. Luxury is the key of venality, and to facilitate a diſcouragement of it, it is more than probable but it will beſt ſucceed from the revival of ſumptuary laws, and ſumptuary laws are now become indiſpenſably neceſſary and juſt.

A regulation for the better furniſhing our poor with proviſions at a reaſonable price is an object of the utmoſt conſequence to the tranquility of the people, and the ſafety of the ſtate. Let us not trifle with miſery, nor wanton it over adverſity; for it is folly to mock the weak, and inhuman to inſult the wretched. That many ſcores of induſtrious ſhopkeepers in this metropolis do evidently groan under the real calamity of pinching want, is too flagrant a truth to admit of even the ſhadow of a contradiction. If their expences increaſe a third upon them without an increaſe of family, can their buſineſs poſſibly ſupport them, eſpecially when we all know that our trade is on the decline? The advance of a ſingle farthing in the pound on any one article that is daily conſumed in a family will amount to no contemptible trifle at the expiration of the year in a poor man's diary; and if there is not only an advance of farthings, but even pence, on every individual neceſſary of life, muſt not the amount of their expences be conſiderably augmented? And can it be denied but that their condition too muſt be reduced to a ſtate of bankruptcy and ruin? Excluſive of all loſſes, if the net profits of my employment, profeſſion or buſineſs, amount to no more at this period than what they did ſeven years ago, and my family expences are *now* one third higher to what they *then* were, though the very ſame in number, frugal as heretofore, laborious as uſual, and

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ſober in conduct, muſt not my property be diminiſhed, and will not my affairs haſten into deſtruction? And that ſuch is the preſent ſituation of our poor, I dare proclaim it to all the world. And until their grievances are redreſſed, I will not ceaſe proclaiming them aloud, nor fear publiſhing them even in the very gates of our rulers.

OMEGA.

The other ſide.

IT is amazing that your correſpondents ſhould declaim ſo ſtrongly againſt monopolies at the very time while they are recommending one of the worſt kind; I mean a monopoly of men of pleaſure and men of buſineſs upon this iſland, againſt the honeſt farmer, who is now obliged to pay yearly thrice as much rent as he did a hundred years ago, yet ſells his wheat at a lower price than it brought about the middle of the laſt century, when the civil wars were ended. At that time, and during all the regency of Oliver Cromwell, the ordinary price of wheat was two guineas and forty-three ſhillings the quarter, without any clamours about want or ſcarcity, although the price of labour was much leſs than it is now. Why then, at this time, eſtabliſh a monopoly againſt the farmer, by laying a perpetual embargo on corn? Why will not theſe gentlemen conſider that the farmer now pays higher wages as well as higher rents? Or are they ignorant that a perpetual embargo on the exportation of corn implies, in its own nature, a monopoly?

One of your correſpondents, unwilling to allow a due merit to the encouragement given to the exportation of corn in the reign of our great deliverer, will have it that the advanced ſtate of agriculture ſince that happy period is owing to the ceſſation of multitudinous migrations to America, and the end now put to thoſe civil wars and fluctuations of government

vernment which formerly affected us. But how doth he prove this poſition? Not from hiſtory or other authority. No, his own affirmation, he ſuppoſes, is the only requiſite proof. But we are too wiſe to be gulled in that manner. We know that ſince the revolution we have often, for a ſeries of years, kept great armies abroad, ſuch as we never ſent to the continent before that happy æra. We alſo know, that from the reign of Queen Elizabeth, down to the revolution, we had no civil wars, except for three years, during the reign of Charles the Firſt. Nor are we ignorant that the migrations to America have encreaſed ſince the revolution. The ſettlements of Georgia, the two Carolinas, and Nova Scotia, have carried off more people from this iſland than all the migrations to America, before the revolution, put together, beſides thoſe occaſioned annually by war and traffic. And there is another cauſe little taken notice of, which muſt have operated ſtrongly againſt agriculture, ſince the revolution, if that employment had not been aſſiſted by the bounty granted at the revolution to the exportation of corn, and that is the great encreaſe of ſailors which the nation has been happily bleſt with ſince that ſignal period.

Every ſailor is a hand loſt to agriculture, who, inſtead of aſſiſting, as formerly, in cultivation, becomes a conſumer of the productions of our farms. The many thouſands of theſe now perpetually at ſea, and living moſtly on meat, encreaſe the price of animal food moſt enormouſly; while they render our corn and vegetables of all ſorts ſomewhat dearer, notwithſtanding that encreaſe of tillage which has been occaſioned by the exportation of corn. But what would have been our caſe under theſe circumſtances, if theſe marſhes and commons had not been ſubjected to the plow, which lay waſte and uncultivated before the revolution? And what ſtimulated

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our farmers to this extenſion of agriculture? Let any one aſſign another cauſe if he can. All men of ſenſe will agree with me, that we owe our new corn fields to the foreign corn trade, and to the bounty granted to the exporters of corn.

But, ſay theſe writers, what was a wiſe meaſure at the revolution, is folly now. Our circumſtances are changed. Meat is dearer now than when the exportation of corn was encouraged. The poor cannot now afford to pay the ſame price for their bread as formerly, becauſe they muſt now pay double, or more, for their meat. I will admit it; but is not the price of labour, of every kind, double to what it was at the revolution? I hope they will not, for their own ſakes, deny a fact ſo notorious. Or will they ſay, that the corn which we export is the food with which cattle is fattened? How then could the price of meat be lowered by prohibiting the exportation of thoſe ſorts of corn which are not given to the animals to feed on? At leaſt wheat, which is the main point, is never, as I know of, diſtributed to the lower creation. They are fattened with beans, peaſe, and oats, which are not permitted to be exported. So that till it is explained, we cannot underſtand that the price of meat can be lowered by laying an embargo on the exportation of wheat, barley, or rye.

The price of meat, we know, moſtly depends, and muſt depend upon the value of meadow-grounds, and the price of hay, ſtraw, oats, peaſe and beans. And again, the value of theſe things depends, in a great meaſure, upon the prices that can be had for meat, which muſt encreaſe with the encreaſed conſumption of meat, occaſioned by that prodigious encreaſe of ſhipping which has happened ſince the revolution. Our ſailors are the true cauſe of that riſe in the price of meat, which is complained

plained of. And this hardſhip is greatly enhanced by the baneful arts of foreſtallers. There the root of this evil, and the way to redreſs it, as far as it can be redreſſed by law, is to prohibit all jobbing in fat cattle, butter, poultry, cheeſe, &c. By cauſing all theſe things to come immediately from the farmers to the market, without the intervention of thoſe peſts of ſociety, the engroſſers. This malady may alſo be leſſened by importation from Ireland, where meat is as yet tolerably cheap. And ſome relief may be got by deſtroying all uſeleſs creatures which are not eaten, and aſſiſt us not in agriculture nor in war. All theſe ought to be exported or put to death. Theſe are the natural means of lowering the price of meat, without leſſening our ſtock of corn, or diſcouraging that employment which gives us this corn. And in the mean time I muſt ſay, that dear meat is a more tolerable evil than dear corn: nor can that corn now be eſteemed dear which is ſold below thoſe prices which our anceſtors above an hundred years ago called LOW PRICES, as appears from the preamble of a ſtatute made in the year 1663. What a difference is there between the price of labour now and at that period? It is quite as great as the difference between the price of meat now in our London markets, and the then price of meat. So that upon the whole, we cannot ſay that the induſtrious poor now, are in a worſe condition than they were above a hundred years before Mr. Omega took up the pen in their favour. However, I hope we never ſhall be fooliſh enough to diſtreſs the grower of corn for the ſake of our meat-markets. Corn is the ſtaff of life, and the higheſt conſideration in the article of proviſions.

Beſides this encreaſed price of meats, butter, eggs, &c. is by no means a general evil. It is only particular to great cities, where a vaſt confluence of people find it their intereſt to remain crouded to-

gether, notwithſtanding of theſe diſadvantages. In the country thoſe articles differ not much from what they were twenty years ago: And it is impoſſible to frame any regulation whereby the London markets can be ſerved as cheap with meat, butter, eggs, &c. as the markets in Yorkſhire, where, I am informed, freſh butter may now be had for a groat a pound, or five-pence. Theſe diſadvantages are, in great cities, fully overbalanced by other conveniences and opportunities of gain, which detain the people in that aſſembled condition. And we ſhould be mad if we entered into any reſolutions diſcouraging to farmers for the ſake of perſons who find it their intereſt to remain linked together, notwithſtanding all the diſcouragements attendant on reſidence among ſo great a multitude. Theſe muſt work their way as they can, or diſperſe themſelves where things are cheaper; go to America, or into the country, where the markets are more acceſſible. But we never can expect to be able to give higher wages, or more encouragement to our induſtrious poor by draining the nation of a revenue of two millions a year.

We cannot totally remove the diſtreſs of the poor, for then they would ceaſe to be poor: But if there is not the ſame proportion between their earnings now and the preſent prices of proviſions, equal to that which ſubſiſted between their earnings an hundred years ago, and the then prices of proviſions, it is reaſonable that that error ſhould be rectified by legiſlative authority, after weighing all circumſtances. And I believe, from all appearances in our religious aſſemblies, fairs, and holliday-junketings, that the price of labour would receive no addition by an enquiry of this ſort.

ALPHA.

Reflections upon publiſhing by Subſcription.

PUBLISHING by ſubſcription is univerſally allowed to be genteel begging; and the man of ſenſibility who condeſcends to it, earns every guinea or crown that is ſubſcribed dearer than the man who begs charity from ſtreet to ſtreet with a wooden leg. The wooden leg proclaims that the man has had a real loſs, and pleads in his favour for ſo audacious an attempt as to draw a halfpenny out of the pocket of a miſer, who thinks that a beggar wants nothing but whipping. Poets in general, it muſt be owned, are beggars; they firſt beg for praiſe, and at laſt are reduced to beg an alms or ſtarve, as poor Otway did for want of begging; and, if the poet has no family, perhaps Otway's choice is the more eligible of the two: poets in general are apt to ſay with the unjuſt ſteward, dig I cannot, to beg I am aſhamed; but they forget at the ſame time that they have not ſuch reſources left as he had; for it was never known that a poet had a Lord whom he might cheat in the capacity of ſteward; therefore, if the poet is diſtreſſed, he muſt either ſtarve or beg an alms as a common beggar, or a genteel beggar; that is, he muſt publiſh by ſubſcription; no matter what; it may be a tale of a cock and a bull, or a ſermon, or a play: nor is it much matter whether it be well or ill written; indeed, the worſe it is written, the greater the charity: for every perſon ſubſcribing knows, that he is giving ſo much money to a genteel beggar, for which he no more expects a return, than from a common beggar to whom he gives an alms. Well, then, as the thing ſubſcribed for is a matter of indifference, we will ſuppoſe it to be the poet's firſt play, and that too refuſed to be exhibited upon the ſtage, and therefore incapable of being damned; and as the poet is ſuppoſed to be diſtreſſed, it muſt be a tragedy, perhaps Leonidas, or ſome ſuch old

faſhioned trumpery ſubject, where the words liberty, patriot, and oh, my country! are blended together every other page, as if they were a ſtanding receipt, with a few battles, and a miſerable love ſcene to make a tragedy.

Well, but the tragedy is made, and very wiſely refuſed by the manager to be brought upon the ſtage, as having nothing in it but what every cobler in England knew before; for every cobler knew the meaning of the words liberty and patriot. The wretched poet, who hoped at leaſt to have had one benefit night, complains of the manager for his refuſal to bring it on the ſtage: the manager ſilences him by a preſent of 100l. and his other friends advice him to publiſh by ſubſcription.

Now, there wants nothing but a patron to countenance the ſubſcription (though not the work, for it is ten to one that he ever reads it.) However, a patron there muſt be; and, of courſe, a dedication. Well! after half a dozen attendances, (at the expence of ſo many clear ſhirts) the poet has the good luck to meet with his patron at home, who not only gives him leave to dedicate the play to him, but likewiſe gives him a preſent of ten guineas for the dedication; for the poet cannot afford to truſt for the preſent, although the patron would gladly truſt for the dedication until dooms-day.

And now behold our poet comes from his patron with an heart glowing with gratitude, and, in imagination, graſping an ideal fortune from the ſubſcription, and beſpeaks an elegant dinner and bottle of claret. Whether this love of elegance and wine proceeds from his early reading of Anacreon and Horace, or from a deſire of knowing what an elegant dinner is, may be difficult to determine; probably the latter: for it is bad policy for any patron to invite a poet to dinner; becauſe the ſooner he is ſtarved for want of one, the more certain

certain the patron is, that he will never come for a ſecond ſubſcription.

And now, the poet having gratified his palate or curioſity, and perhaps both, with an elegant dinner, bethinks himſelf (if poets ever do think) that the taylor, who truſted him with cloaths to viſit his patron, and ſome other tradeſmen who deal in what is called neceſſaries, muſt be paid, or that he ſhall never be able to get credit a ſecond time on the like occaſion; he, therefore, very honeſtly, as well as wiſely, applies the money he has left unſpent in laying a foundation for a future credit, or, in other words, in making friends of the Mammon of unrighteouſneſs. But the ſubſcription all the while is not one jot advanced; for it is beneath the dignity of a poet to aſk a ſubſcription of any man upon earth, while he has money in his pocket to diſcharge a tavern reckoning.

Well, at laſt his finances being exhauſted, he ſeriouſly bethinks himſelf of his laſt reſource, the ſubſcription, and wants only half a dozen of great perſonages to grace the liſt and ſet the ſubſcription on float, for he well knows that it will then ſwim of itſelf. But it may not poſſibly be ſo eaſy a matter to get real names; why then he may, for the preſent, inſert fictitious ones, for a poet's talent is invention; and no ſubſcriber will give himſelf the trouble to enquire after the reality of the liſt, unleſs it be ſome republican Whig or bigotted Tory, who, when ſollicited for a crown for a performance not intrinſically worth ſixpence, calls out for the liſt, and cries, p'ſhaw, not your ſubſcription, I don't like your liſt, however there's a crown to buy you a dinner.

Diſconcerted at this treatment, and abaſhed at being ſo roughly told that he was a beggar, the poet returns home full of wonder, that a man (who had never voted at an election in his life, and who

had ſcarce a place of ſettlement, unleſs it was Parnaſſus) ſhould be ſubjected to ſtarve, becauſe his patron and the liſt of ſubſcribers given in by him happened to be diſagreeable to his party friend.

Upon this he ſinks his liſt (whether a Whig or Tory one is not material) as poets are rarely, if ever, poſſeſſed of property enough to entitle them to vote in the choice of a member of parliament; but ſtill goes on with the ſubſcription, agreeable to the ſpirited motto of *nunquam tentes aut perfice*, and ſolicits his acquaintance for ſubſcriptions in perſon; for going in perſon, if you can get admittance, (which it is ten to one you do not, if you patron gueſſes your errand) is the true and only way of aſking a favour of any kind. It being a well known and much to be lamented truth, that an acquaintance who is rich and capable of aſſiſting you, will not be aſhamed to refuſe you that favour by letter which he would bluſh to refuſe you when face to face.

One of the poets friends, although he ſubmitted to the terms of paying his five ſhillings down (which is of the very eſſence of a ſubſcription, as the perſon ſubſcribed to is known to want the money, and the perſon ſubſcribing does not value the thing ſubſcribed for of a bulruſh) nay very rarely chuſes (if the money is not all paid down) to make good the ſecond payment, yet expreſſed ſome aſtoniſhment at the largeneſs of the price; for he was pleaſed to ſay gravely, that if the tragedy had been performed upon the ſtage, and ever ſo ſucceſsful, it would, when printed, have ſold for no more than 18d.

The poet, ſtruck with conviction of the truth of the obſervation, made no reply to his benefactor, but thankfully pocketed the five ſhillings for one printed copy of a tragedy, which had never been performed at either theatre.

Another

Another friend of the poet ſubſcribed one guinea inſtead of five ſhillings, to the no ſmall ſurprize of the poet, who knew that his friend loved money, but forgot that he was fond of fame; and that he the poet had advertiſed that a liſt of the ſubſcribers, and ſums ſubſcribed, would be publiſhed, (which, as it flatters the pride, is at the ſame time, a prodigious ſpur to the generoſity of the ſubſcriber) becauſe the poet has at all times the power of conferring the title of an Eſquire inſtead of gentleman or plain maſter; the poet, therefore, out of gratitude, intends to dignify this friend with the title of an Eſquire, although he is only a plain maſter; and as there is more intrinſic difference in value between a guinea and a crown, than there is in rank between an Eſquire, and a gentleman, he intends likewiſe to dignify every ſubſcriber of one guinea with the former title, that he may not incur the imputation of partiality; and he flatters himſelf that a ſubſcriber of five ſhillings only will be contented with the addition of gentleman or plain maſter, unleſs he be in ſtrictneſs intitled to the rank of an Eſquire.

Another ſubſcriber of one guinea, meeting with the poet, in a large circle of his acquaintance, called him aſide, and took the liberty of telling him as a friend, that publiſhing by ſubſcription was genteel begging; to which the poet, with a due ſenſe of the great diſtance there is between the ſubſcriber and ſubſcribed, being vaſtly greater than that between the borrower and the lender, with great humility, anſwered, that he knew it but too well, and was by diſtreſs obliged to beg as genteelly as begging will admit of.

The friend above, not contented with inflicting this mortification upon him, but in order to deter him from future attempts of this kind, was pleaſed to add, your acquaintance may do this for you for once,

once, but I aſſure you that you muſt not think of repeating it, for it will not do again.

The poet coldly anſwered, that he knew it could not be repeated, and ſoon afterwards made intereſt to a particular friend, and borrowed a guinea, and ſo got rid of this weighty obligation.

Theſe are ſome of the many mortifications to which perſons of literature and ſenſibility are liable, when forced by diſtreſs to publiſh by ſubſcription and brings it to a moot point, whether it is not better to ſtarve with Otway in ſilence, than to live upon the precarious bounty of a ſubſcriber.

A GENTEEL BEGGAR.

Conſiderations upon the tempers of the people of Ireland and England.

IRELAND now complains of multitudes of Papiſts, and Parliaments that never have an end but with the life of the Prince who calls them. It is, however, true, that Ireland breeds and nurſes the calamities ſhe complains of. She refuſes an union with Britain, and by that refuſal denies to herſelf that aid againſt Papiſts, which ſhe ſo much wants, and thoſe improvements in her conſtitution, which ours has attained to. Would the Iriſh look at the Scots, they would ſee in them the extenſive benefits of an incorporating union with England. Would they take only a curſory view of Scotland, they would ſee in that country the infinite advantages attendant on union with ſo important a kingdom as that of Britain. Would Dublin caſt her eyes on Edinburgh, ſhe would be ſenſible how ill-grounded her fears are of devaſtation from a ceſſation of her parliament. What was Scotland in the year 1707? What was Edinburgh then? What is Scotland now? and in what an improved ſtate are all her cities, towns and villages?

Will

Will not Ireland be convinced by rational arguments? Will ſhe not yield to the conviction ariſing from indiſputable facts? I fear ſhe will not. If ſhe would advert to truth with the ſmalleſt degree of attention, ſhe would not ſo obſtinately refuſe the beſt preſent that can be offered to her acceptance. She cries out moſt irrationally, that Britiſh taxes and the national debt terrify her from an union with a kingdom ſo much hampered with large annual burdens. Has ſhe not as yet learnt, that taxes paid to an internal government are no loſs to the kingdom? Theſe taxes cauſe a circulation of caſh, but drain us not of our money. Would not this reaſoning hold good with Iriſh taxes, if Ireland was united with Britain? Moſt certainly it would: for, in that caſe, the taxes gathered in Ireland would, with ours, circulate all over the united kingdom, and flow back to the moſt diſtant county of Ireland, in the ſame manner as the blood from the heart repleniſhes the moſt diſtant arteries in all animal bodies. In like manner our national debt, ſo far as it is due to ſubjects can neither impoveriſh nor diſtreſs the kingdom.

But, has Ireland ever taken a comparative view of our debts and our opulence? If ſhe had acted ſo prudent a part, our national debt would not appear ſuch a bugbear in her eyes: ſhe would have underſtood, that our national debt, was it all due to foreigners, is a mere trifle to the great opulence out of which it is to be paid.

Our land tax, at the rate of four ſhillings in the pound, is not in fact a tax to the extent of eighteen-pence in the pound, yet it produces to our Treaſury two millions by the year. From hence we learn the groſs amount of all the rents in England, and are with pleaſure aſcertained, that the ſoil of our country produces to its owners the ſmall ſum of twenty five millions by the year: and ſince it is agreed on all hands, that the rent is but the

the third part of the fruits of the ground, the land of England annually gives us out of its bowels ſeventy-five millions of money at leaſt; and this is ſtill an encreaſing fund. Is this large ſum all we have, by the year, from the labours of our poor? Nothing is leſs true. Our manufacturers and ſailors produce us, from their toils, another harveſt; ſo far as theſe are employed in fiſhing and working for foreign conſumption, their labours are an additional revenue to the nation. We have, I believe, a million of hands at ſea, whoſe wages, at an average amount to thirty ſhillings by the month, including commanders and other officers. And ſince it is by nobody denied, that we gain on the whole as much as we loſe by foreign commerce, including all our expences on the ocean, it is evident that theſe wages are paid by other nations, and afford to this kingdom an additional article of ſupport, amounting to eighteen millions by the year. For the ſame reaſon, I might alſo compute as a part of our annual eſtate, the wages of warehouſemen, clerks, and others, employed at our keys, and in the carriage and care of foreign commodities; but I ſhall overlook that part of our income, and proceed to conſider the annual gains ariſing from our manufactures for home and foreign ſervice, which, for many reaſons, may be ſet down to be worth as much as the rents, of our lands. Thus the working part of our people bring us in yearly, by the cultivation of our lands, manufactures, fiſhing, and ſailing, one hundred and ſixteen millions by the year; and if we add to this our mercantile gains, we have then the whole of our yearly revenue, or all that is applicable to our yearly ſupport as a nation, or an independant kingdom. We have, however, alſo all the valuable commodities in the kingdom, over and above what our merchants owe to foreigners; that is, all the jewels, gold and ſilver, coined and uncoined, ſhips and apparel;

apparel; and, in fine, all the pelf and cattle actually in the nation, of which no man can, with any propriety, pretend to make an eſtimate.

Now, you ſee the extenſive fund out of which we muſt pay our national debt: let us ſuppoſe that one man was poſſeſſed of all this riches, with eight million of heads and hands employed for ever in his ſervice, and owed one hundred and thirty millions of debts only, at an intereſt of three and a half and four per cent. would we call this man RICH or POOR? Would any man have reaſon to apprehend any misfortune, from entering into a partnerſhip in trade with a man poſſeſſed of ſo great an eſtate, although his debts amounted to one hundred and thirty millions of money? I cannot reckon him a man of ſenſe, who would ſuffer ſo chimerical a fear to harbour in his boſom.

But, the debt we owe to our own ſubjects cannot hurt us as a nation: when we pay the intereſt we are never the poorer, nor will the nation be either the richer or the poorer when the national creditor, who is our ſubject, receives his whole debt: and as to foreigners, we pay them indeed to our own loſs: but as the ſum due to foreigners amounts to two-fifths only of one hundred and thirty millions, it is only a burden, or a ſmall part of our national eſtate: and, if we may believe ſome of our ſtate empirics, we gain by our foreign debts: for, ſay they, if the foreigner gets intereſt for his money, we have his money; and that money circulating in a commercial kingdom, is to be eſteemed as ſo much laid out in trade, and conſequently, as yielding to us ten or twelve *per cent.* while we only pay for it to our foreign creditor four *per cent.* However, my argument requires no ſuch ſubterfuge: our nation, notwithſtanding that ſmall quantity of foreign debt, is the richeſt and moſt powerful kingdom in Europe, has the greateſt reſources

ſources for itſelf, and the beſt proviſions for its ſubjects. The Spaniſh trade yields us more gains than are ſufficient to pay the intereſt of our foreign debt: and of conſequence, all our plantation and other foreign trade is annually encreaſing our general capital in trade, or otherwiſe enriching a kingdom already incredibly opulent.

It is indeed true, that whenever a new tax is laid on, an univerſal murmur is bandied through the kingdom: but theſe murmurs ariſe not from poverty, as in France: they are conſequent of the temper of the people, always jealous of their liberties. They minded not the additional tax upon the cyder; it was the mode of levying that tax which gave them pain. The encreaſing tax on wheel carriages is a proof what little regard they have for their pockets, in caſe you will keep exciſe officers out of their houſes.

This is their humour, and government muſt muſt give way to it, or ſit on thorns. But, otherwiſe, it muſt be acknowledged that the Engliſh people are opulent, and free enough of their money, when they are not ill uſed. Nor is there any reaſon to ſuppoſe that the national debts, great as they are, will ever diſtreſs a country whoſe funds are ſo immeaſurably great, and whoſe genius is ſo enterprizing. HIBERNICUS.

Propoſal for an OFFICE *of* INSPECTION.

EVERY propoſal relative to commerce highly merits the attention of the public; and, I have obſerved a plan of the greateſt importance to the real intereſts and true honour of this mercantile kingdom; I mean that ſo modeſtly propoſed to the public for eſtabliſhing an Office of Inſpection, under the management of Commiſſioners of known probity, where all our manufactures, intended for exportation, ſhould be carefully examined and marked

marked with ſtamps, ſignifying their true value. The great utility of ſuch an office is ſo extremely evident, that I am not a little ſurprized that an office of this ſort is as yet to be erected in ſuch a nation as this, ſo deeply concerned in trade, whoſe very exiſtence depends on the equitable dealings of our manufacturers, and their upright reſolutions in ſupporting, in a proper manner, that fair character ſo eſſential to the preſervation and improvement of every branch of trade. And, in juſtice to the author of the plan of this office, I muſt acknowledge, that all his thoughts, on that ſubject, appear ſo natural and ſo forcibly recommended, that it is really aſtoniſhing that ſuch important ideas have hitherto eſcaped our obſervation.

We all know that honeſty is the beſt policy, and that there is no probability, under any combination of circumſtances, that any man ſhall retain the benefits ariſing from any lucrative buſineſs or employment without a fair, open, candid and diſcreet conduct towards all connected and concerned with him in that matter; and yet, notwithſtanding the general aſſent to this uncontrovertible truth, it is too true, to the great reproach of our nature, that the generality of mankind appear quite inſenſible of ſo ſelf-evident a propoſition, and order their actions as if the only road to proſperity lay in the practice of the moſt notorious deceits: I mean not to charge this nation in particular with ſo grievous an accuſation; for ſuch in fact, is the univerſal corruption of mankind, that in all great multitudes, all the world over, there are nineteen out of twenty of this narrow, ſelfiſh and ill-judging turn of mind, that they try to thrive by guile inſomuch, that in all countries, wherever a great plurality of perſons of different intereſts are concerned in any affair whatever, there is no poſſibility of baniſhing knaviſh

knaviſh tricks from their intentions, except by ſubjecting their operations to the inſpection and controul of the few candid, virtuous and wiſe with whom the world is ſtill bleſſed.—So prevalent is that biaſs towards injuſtice, ſo conſpicuous in the greateſt part of the human race.

Nor is there any propoſition concerning trade more obvious or leſs exceptionable than this, that the ſuperior qualities of any peace of workmanſhip only can entitle it to a ſuperior price; and it is too melancholy a truth, that the preſent dearneſs of proviſions in England renders it impoſſible for our people to labour at the ſame rates. The prices of their work muſt, therefore, be proportionably higher. From which conſiderations it follows, as a corollary or ſpontaneous concluſion, that our manufactures will not find purchaſers abroad, unleſs they excell thoſe of other nations; and the gradual loſs of all our export trade muſt ſoon overtake us, if our goods appear not preferable to foreign productions in beauty, laſt and uſefulneſs. Nor is it poſſible to contrive any method more effectual than that propoſed by your correſpondent in his plan of the 10th ult. in order to keep up that preference, at this time ſo viſible in the labours of our artizans, and baniſh from the hearts of the unjuſt all hopes of drawing a preſent deſpicable gain from ſuch practices as muſt, in the end, terminate in the ruin of our national character. Till another ſcheme is propoſed equally well calculated for promoting every laudable purpoſe reaſonably to be expected from his plan, and for advancing all our manufactures to the higheſt degree of perfection, I muſt recommend, with all my power, the immediate execution of ſo ſalutary a deſign. The ſmall expence which muſt be attendant on carrying it into practice will never, I hope, be any objection againſt its reception in the

eye

eye of a man of ſenſe, as that trifling expence will be a full ſecurity againſt thoſe impoſitions with which we are at preſent too juſtly charged by foreigners.

In the preſent ſtate of our manufactures, when our goods are exported, the merchant who receives them muſt examine every piece of work before he expoſes his acquiſitions to ſale, that he may form a judgment of their real worth, and ſeparate the clean from the unclean. But if your correſpondent's plan is embraced, this portion of the precious time of our foreign cuſtomers will be entirely ſaved; and this ſaving will prevent his murmuring at the paultry expence of inſpection on this ſide of the water. For every merchant, factor and retailer will then be certain, without any particular ſurvey of his goods, that he may ſafely, on all occaſions, recommend his property, as being perfectly anſwerable to expectation. We cannot, therefore, with any ſhew of reaſon, ſuppoſe, that charging this expence as an additional article in our envoices will be in the leaſt diſpleaſing to foreigners, when they conſider that that ſmall payment ſaves ſo much of their valuable time and ſecures them againſt deceit, even though they ſhould be ignorant of the real value of the commodity they purchaſe.

By carrying this laudable ſcheme into execution, many benefits will accrue to this kingdom too numerous to be here recapitulated. Among theſe, however, I beg leave to mention one of the greateſt conſequence to this nation; which is, that we ſhall thereby arrive at a greater certainty than formerly in the knowledge of the true ſtate of our ballances with foreigners, which always will be, in vain, expected from our Cuſtom-houſe books in the preſent ſtate of trade, as is well known to every perſon in theleaſt converſant in commerce. At leaſt, we ſhall exactly know the whole value of our exports,

and

and from thence be able to form a more ce
judgement than has been hitherto made of th
tent of the great fund of which we are in poſſ
for ſupporting ourſelves within this iſland, and
ing foreign purchaſes. Nay, by a few whole
regulations in this office, we may be enable
tinctly to underſtand to what country we are
obliged for the conſumption of our manufac
and conſequently obtain a full and complete
of our intereſts in trade with each particular ſt

The only real objection that can ſtand in th
of the execution of this patriotic propoſal,
from the difficulty of finding perſons of unble
ed honeſty among thoſe of knowledge, who
act a fair and impartial part between our art
and foreigners; and if the nomination of the of
concerned in this important affair is permitt
fall into miniſterial hands, it is much to be f
that partial favour will exclude that merit on w
the whole ſucceſs of this undertaking depend
the appointments to offices in this great depart
of buſineſs are ſuffered to lie at the mercy of
miniſters, the cure will be worſe than the diſ
and that corruption, often ſo rampant in the c
of princes, will taint the very marrow of trade
tranſmit rottenneſs through the whole body o
commerce. In that caſe, this arrangement, i
pearance of ſo great utility for proſcribing INIQ
will ſtifle JUSTICE, and entirely depreſs our nat
character for honeſty, already too low abroad.
if the election of commiſſioners, in this intere
concern, is placed in proper hands, as in th
the principal merchants of London, Briſtol
Liverpool, we may then reaſonably expect the
pletion of our wiſhes in this important nat
concern.

AN OBSER

ISABELLA: Or, The MORNING.

Written by the late Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

The ARGUMENT.

THE D— of M—— is repreſented as riſing from breakfaſt with her parrot, monkey, and lap-dog.—Dicky D—man comes in with a Staffordſhire *tea-pot*, with which the D—ſs is chamed:—a ſimile—She makes a fine ſpeech upon the occaſion, which is broken off by General C. Ch—li's coming in.—His character.—His firſt ſpeech.—The D——eſs ſhews him the *tea-pot*.—She tells him of fire-works to be ſold at Marguſs's, which give him an opportunity of telling a ſtory of ſome he ſaw in Flanders. It appears from the very beginning of the ſtory that it could have no end.—It is broken off by the entrance of Charles St——pe.—A ſimile on his coming in. His character as a companion.—He gives an account of a *Polypus*. The D——ſs longs for a *Polypus*. Both the Charles's fall faſt aſleep, on each ſide of the D—ſs. Contraſt between Suſanna and the two elders.—The whole company roufed by Lord L——l's coming into the room.—His character.—He talks of the opera, of Ch——ld and Fanny*.—Lady Fanny's looks awing to love.—The General begins the ſtory of Miſs How.—The company's diſmay deſcribed at the General's beginning a ſtory.—The clock ſtrikes three.—The D——ſs rings to dreſs.—The company riſes.—The departure of the company deſcribed.

* *Lady F. Sk——y.*

ISABELLA: Or, The MORNING.

In various talk the inſtructive hours they paſt. Milton.

THE Monkey, Lap-dog, Parrot, and her Grace,
Had each retir'd from breakfaſt to their place,
When, hark, a knock! "See Betty, ſee, who's there:"
"'Tis Mr. B—n, Ma'am, in his new chair:"
"Dicky's new chair! the charming'ſt thing in town,
"Whoſes poles are lacker'd, and whoſe lining's brown!"
But ſee; he enters with his ſhuff'ling gate;
"Lord, ſays her Grace, how could you be ſo late?"
"I'm ſorry, Madam, I have made you wait,"
Bateman reply'd, "I only ſtaid to bring
"The neweſt, charming'ſt, moſt delightful thing!"
"Oh! tell me, what's the curioſity!
"Oh! ſhew it me this inſtant, or I die!"
To pleaſe the noble dame, the courtly 'Squire
Produc'd a *tea-pot* made in Staffordſhire:
With eager eyes the longing D——ſs ſtood,
And o'er and o'er the ſhining bauble view'd:
Such were the joys touched young Atrides' breaſt,
Such all the Grecian hoſt at once expreſt;
When, from beneath his robe—to all their view,
Laertes' ſon, the famed Palladium drew.
So Venus look'd, and with ſuch longing eyes,
When Paris firſt produc'd the golden prize.
"Such work as this, ſhe cries, can England do?
It equals Dreſden, and excells St. Cloud:
All modern China now ſhall hide its head,
And ev'n Chantilly muſt give o'er the trade:
For lace let Flanders bear away the bell,
In fineſt linen let the Dutch excell;
For prettieſt ſtuffs let Ireland firſt be nam'd,
And for beſt fancy'd ſilks let France be fam'd;

Do

Do thou, thrice happy England! ſtill prepare
This clay, and build thy fame on earthen-ware."
Much ſhe'd have ſaid, but that again ſhe heard
The knocker—and the General appear'd.
The Gen'ral! one of thoſe brave old commanders,
Who ſerved through all the glorious wars in Flanders;
Frank and good-natur'd, of an honeſt heart,
Loving to act the ſteady friendly part:
None led through youth a gayer life than he,
Chearful in converſe, ſmart in repartee.
Sweet was his night, and joyful was his day,
He din'd with Walpole, and with Oldfield lay;
But with old age its vices came along,
And in narration he's extremely long;
Exact in circumſtance, and nice in dates,
He each minute particular relates.
If you name one of Malbro's ten campaigns,
He tells you its whole hiſtory for your pains;
And Blenheim's field becomes by his reciting,
As long in telling as it was in fighting:
His old deſire to pleaſe is ſtill expreſs'd,
His hat's well cock'd, his perriwig's well dreſs'd:
He rolls his ſtockings ſtill, white gloves he wears,
And in the boxes with the beaux appears:
His eyes thro' wrinkled corners caſt their rays;
Still he looks chearful, ſtill ſoft things he ſays:
And ſtill rememb'ring that he once was young,
He ſtrains his crippled knees, and ſtruts along,
The room he enter'd *ſmiling*; which beſpoke
Some worn-out compliment, or thread-bare joke.
(For not perceiving loſs of parts, he yet
Graſps at the ſhade of his departed wit.)
"How does your Grace? I hope I ſee you well;
What a prodigious deal of rain has fell!
Will the ſun never let us ſee his face?
But who can want a ſun that ſees your Grace?"

I'm your ſervant, Sir—but ſee what I have got!
Is't it a prodigious, charming *pot?*
And a'n't you vaſtly glad we make them here,
For Dicky got it out of Staffordſhire.
See how the charming vine twines all about!
Lord! what a handle! Jeſus! what a ſpout!
And that old Pagog, and that charming child!
If Lady T—nd ſaw them, ſhe'd be wild!"
To this the Gen'ral anſwer'd, "Who would not?
Lord! where cou'd Mr. Bateman find this *pot?*
Dear Dicky, cou'dn't you get one for me?
I want ſome uſeful china mightily;
Two jars, two beakers, and a *pot pourrie.*
"Oh, Mr. Churchill, where d'ye think I've been?
At Margus's, and there ſuch Fire-Works ſeen,
So very pretty, charming, odd and new;
And, I aſſure you, they're right India too!
I've bought them all, there's not one left in town;
And, if you was to ſee them, you wou'd own
You never ſaw ſuch fire-works any where."
—Oh, madam, I muſt beg your pardon there,
The Gen'ral cry'd, "for 'twas in the year Ten;
No, let me recollect, it was not then;
'Twas then year *Eight*, I think, for then we lay
Encamp'd with all the army near Cambray—
Yes, yes, I'm ſure I'm right by one event,
We ſupp'd together in Cadogan's tent;
Meredith, Lamly, Palmer, and poor Geo. Grove,
And merrily the bumpers round we drove;
To Marlbro's health we drank confounded hard;
For he'd juſt beat the French at Oudenard:
And Lord Cadogan then had got by chance,
The beſt champaign that ever came from France.
And 'twas no wonder that it was ſo good,
For ſome dragoons had ſeiz'd it on the road;
And they were told from thoſe they took it from,
It was deſign'd a preſent for Vendoſme.
So we—But ſee another Charles's face
Cut ſhort the Gen'ral, and relieves her Grace.

So,

So, when one crop-ſick parſon, in a doſe,
Is reading morning ſervice through his noſe,
Another in the pulpit ſtrait appears,
Claiming the tir'd-out congregations ears,
And with a duller ſermon ends their pray'rs.
For this old Charles is full as dull as t'other,
Bavius to Mœvius was not more a brother;
From two defects this talk no joy affords,
From want of matter, and from want of words.
" I hope, ſays he, your Grace is well to-day,
And caught no cold by vent'ring to the play."
" Oh, Sir, I'm mighty well—won't you ſit down?
Pray, Mr. S—, what's the news in town?"
" Madam, I know of none; but I'm juſt come
From ſeeing a curioſity at home:
'Twas ſent to Martin Folkes, as being rare,
And he and Deſaguliers brought it there:
It's call'd a *Polypus*."—" What's that?"—" A creature,
The wonderful'ſt of all the works of nature:
Hither it came from Holland, where 'twas caught,
(I ſhould not ſay it came, for it was brought)
To-morrow we're to have it at Crane-court,
And 'tis a reptile of ſo ſtrange a ſort,
That if 'tis cut in two, it is not dead;
Its head ſhoots out a tail, its tail a head;
Take out its middle, and obſerve its ends,
Here a head riſes, there a tail deſcends;
Or cut off any part that you deſire,
That part extends and makes itſelf entire:
But what it feeds on ſtill remains a doubt,
Or how it generates, is not found out;
But at our board, tomorrow, 'twill appear,
And then 'twill be conſider'd and made clear,
For all the learned body will be there."
" Lord! I muſt ſee it, or I am undone,
The D—s cry'd, pray can't you get me one?

I never hear'd of ſuch a thing before,
I long to cut it and make fifty more;
I'd have a cage made up in taſte for mine,
And, Dicky—you ſhall give me a deſign."
But hear the General to a yawn gave way,
And St——pe had not one more word to ſa
So ſtretch'd on eaſy chairs in apathy they lay
And on each ſide the goddeſs they ador'd,
One Charles ſat ſpeechleſs, and the other ſno
When chaſte Suſanna's all-ſubduing charms
Made two old lovers languiſh for her arms,
Soon as her eyes had thaw'd the froſt of age,
Their paſſions mounted into luſtful rage;
With brutal violence they attack'd their prey
And almoſt bore the wiſh'd-for prize away.
Hail, happy D—s! 'twixt two elders plac
Whoſe paſſions brutal luſt has ne'er diſgrac'd
No warm expreſſions make your bluſhes riſe,
No raviſh'd kiſs ſhoots light'ning from your e
Let them but viſit you, they aſk no more,
Guiltleſs they'll gaze, and innocent adore.
But hark! a louder knock than all before,
"Lord! ſays her Grace, they'll thunder dow
door!"
Into the room ſee ſweating L—l break,
(The D—s riſes, and the elders wake):
L—l,—the oddeſt character in town;
A lover, ſtateſman, connoiſſeur, buffoon:
Extract him well, this is his quinteſſence,
Much folly, but more cunning, and ſome ſe
To neither party in his heart inclin'd,
He ſteer'd through both, with politics refin'd
Voted with Walpole, and with Pultney din'd.
His Lordſhip makes a bow, and takes his ſe
Then opens with preliminary chat;
"I'm glad to ſee your Grace—the Gen'ral toc
"Old Charles, how is it? Dicky! how d'ye d
"Madam, I hear that you was at the play,
"You did not ſay one word on't yeſterday;

"I v

" I went, who'd no engagement, any ſhare,
" To th' opera."—" Were there many people there?"
The Dutcheſs cry'd:—" Yes, madam, a great many,
Says Lovel"—" There was Ch——d and Fanny.
In that eternal whiſper, which begun
Ten years ago, and never will be done;
For tho' you know he ſees her ev'ry day,
Still he has ever ſomething new to ſay;
There's nothing upon earth ſo hard to me,
As keeping up diſcourſe eternally;
He never lets the converſation fall,
And I'm ſure Fanny can't keep up the ball;
I ſaw that her replies were never long,
And with her eyes, ſhe anſwered for her tongue.
Poor I! am forc'd to keep my diſtance now,
She won't ev'n curt'ſy if I make a bow."
" Why, things are ſtrangely chang'd, the Gen'ral cry'd;
Ay, *fortune de la guerre*," my Lord reply'd:
" But you and I, Charles, hardly find things ſo,
As we both did ſome twenty years ago."
". And take off twenty years, reply'd her Grace,
'Twould do no harm to Lady Fanny's face;
My Lord, you never ſee her but at night,
By th' advantageous help of candle-light:
Dreſt out with every aid that is adorning,
Oh, if your Lordſhip ſaw her in a morning!
It is no more than Fanny once ſo fair;
No roſes bloom, no lillies flouriſh there:
But hollow eyes, and pale and faded cheek,
Repentance, love and diſappointment ſpeak."
The General found a lucky minute now
To ſpeak—" Ah, ma'am, you did not know Miſs How.
I'll tell you all her hiſtory, he cry'd—
At this Charles S——e gap'd extreamly wide;
Poor Dicky ſat on thorns; her Grace turn'd pale,

And L——l trembled at th' impending tale.
" Poor girl! faith ſhe was once extreamly fair,
Till worn by love, and tortur'd by deſpair:
Her pining cheek betray'd her inward ſmart;
Her breaking looks foretold her breaking heart.
At Leiceſter-houſe her paſſion firſt began
And Nanty L——er was a pretty man;
But when the P——eſs did to K—w remove,
She could not bear the abſence of her love;
Away ſhe flew."—But here the clock ſtruck three;
So did ſome pitying deity decree;
The D——ſs rings to dreſs—and ſee her maid
With all the aparatus for her head,
Th' adorning circle can no longer ſtay,
Each riſes, bows, and goes his different way.
To antient Boothby's antient C——ill's flown;
Home to his dinner S——pe goes alone:
Dicky to faſt with her, her Grace invites,
And L——l's coachman drives unbid to White's.

Price of Wheat at Bear-Key.

Years.	*Loweſt.*		*Higheſt.*	
1731	from 20 *s.*	to	32 *s.*	per quarter.
1732	—— 19	—	27	——
1733	—— 20	—	31	——
1734	—— 22	—	34	——
1735	—— 26	—	40	——
1736	—— 19	—	36	——
1737	—— 26	—	34	——
1738	—— 26	—	32	——
1739	—— 27	—	27	——
1740	—— 27	—	54	——
1741	—— 26	—	48	——
1742	—— 20	—	29	——
1743	—— 18	—	23	——
1744	—— 17	—	23	——
1745	—— 16	—	27	——
1746	—— 16	—	32	——

Price

Price of Wheat at Bear-Key.

Years.	*Loweſt.*	*Higheſt.*	
1747	26*s.*	32*s.*	per quarter.
1748	26	35	———
1749	25	32	———
1750	24	32	———
1751	24	35	———
1752	30	34	———
1753	22	39	———
1754	22	33	———
1755	20	28	———
1756	22	40	———
1757	44	63	———
1758	26	50	———
1759	23	30	———
1760	23	30	———
1761	20	30	———
1762	20	35	———
1763	29	35	———
1764	30	35	———

[*Upon Mr. Pitt's acceptance of a place, and a peerage in July* 1766, *the public papers teemed with ſevere reflections on his conduct: From them we have ſelected the following, which perhaps are ſufficient to ſhew the vein and tendency of the whole.*]

A worthy friend of mine, among ſome other manuſcripts of the late Earl of Orford, has found the following copy of a letter to his late M——, and has been ſo kind as to permit me to tranſcribe it to ſend to your paper, in which I doubt not but it will be pleaſing to many of your readers. G. O.

SIR, *Wedneſday noon.*

THE violence of the fit of the ſtone, which has tormented me for ſome days, is now ſo far abated, that although it will not permit me to have

have the honour of waiting on your Majeſty, is yet kind enough to enable me ſo far to obey your orders, as to write my ſentiments concerning that troubleſome man Mr. Pulteney; and to point out (what I conceive to be) the moſt effectual method to make him perfectly quiet.

Your Majeſty well knows how, by the dint of his eloquence, he has ſo captivated the mob, and attained an unbounded popularity, that the moſt manifeſt wrong appears right, when adopted and urged by him. Hence it is, that he is become not only troubleſome, but even dangerous. The unthinking multitude believe he has no one object but the public good, although, if they would reflect a little, they would ſoon perceive, that ſpleen againſt thoſe your Majeſty has honoured with your confidence has greater weight with him than real patriotiſm; ſince, let any meaſure be propoſed, however ſalutary, if he thinks it comes from me, it is ſufficient for him to oppoſe it. Thus, Sir, you ſee that affairs of the moſt momentous concern are ſubject to the caprice of that popular man, and he has nothing to do but to declare it a miniſterial project, and bellow out the word *favourite*, to have an hundred pens drawn againſt it, and a thouſand mouths open to contradict it. Under theſe circumſtances he bears up againſt the miniſtry, (and let me add againſt your Majeſty yourſelf) and every uſeful ſcheme muſt be either abandoned, or, if it is carried in either houſe, the public is made to believe it is done by a corrupt majority.

Since then things are thus circumſtanced, it is become abſolutely neceſſary for the public tranquillity that he ſhould be made quiet, and the only method to do that effectually, is to deſtroy his popularity, and ruin the good belief the people have in him. In order to do this he muſt be invited to court; your Majeſty muſt condeſcend to ſpeak to

him

him in the moſt favourable and diſtinguiſhing manner; you muſt make him believe that he is the only perſon upon whoſe opinion you can rely, and to whom your people look up for uſeful meaſures. As he has already ſeveral times refuſed to take the lead in the adminiſtration, unleſs it was totally modelled to his fancy, your Majeſty ſhould cloſe in with his advice, and give him leave to arrange the adminiſtration as he pleaſes, and put whom he chuſes in office (there can be no danger in that, as you can diſmiſs him then when you think fit.) When he is got thus far, (to which his extreme ſelf love, and the high opinion he entertains of his own importance will eaſily conduce,) it will be neceſſary that your Majeſty ſhould ſeem to have a great regard for his health; ſignify to him that your affairs will be ruined if he ſhould die; that you want to have him conſtantly near you, to have his ſage advice; and that, therefore, as he is much diſordered in body, and ſomething infirm, it will be neceſſary for his preſervation, for him to quit the Houſe of Commons (where malevolent tempers will be continually fretting him, and where indeed his preſence will be needleſs, as no ſtep will be taken but according to his advice) and that he will let you give him a diſtinguiſhing mark of your approbation, by creating him a peer. This he may be brought to; for, if I know any thing of mankind, he has a love for honours and money, and notwithſtanding his great haughtineſs, and ſeeming contempt of honour, he may be won, if it is done with dexterity; for, as the poet Fenton ſaid,

Flattery's an oil, ſoftens the toughest fool.

If your Majeſty can once bring him to accept of a *coronet*, all will be over with him; the changing multitude will ceaſe to have any confidence in him; and when you ſee that, your Majeſty may turn your back on him, diſmiſs him from his poſt, turn out

his

his meddling partizans, and reſtore things to quiet. For then, if he complains, it can be of no avail; the bee will have loſt his ſting, and become a drone, whoſe buzzing nobody heeds.

Your Majeſty will pardon me for the freedom with which I have given my ſentiments and advice; which I ſhould not have done, had you not commanded it; and had I not been certain, that your peace is much diſturbed by the contrivances of this turbulent man. I ſhall only add, that I will diſpoſe ſeveral, whom I know to wiſh him well, to ſollicit for his eſtabliſhment in power, that you may ſeem to yield to their entreaties, and the fineſſe be the leſs liable to be diſcovered. I hope to have the honour to attend your Majeſty in a few days, which I will do privately, that my public preſence may give him no umbrage. RT. W.

EPIGRAMS.

IF *George** to prove that *Johnny* did not rule,
Turn'd the proud mortal's brother out of ſchool,
Our rulers *now* admitting them again,
Demonſtratively prove they're *Johnny*'s men.

* George G——ll—e

Sir Bob o'ercame a P—lt—y and a S—ds,
With honours ſtopt their mouths, and tied their hands;
But the great Thane has greater wonders hit,
Having ta'en in the world's late wonder, P—t.

EPITAPH *on the late* W. P.

C——M, no friend to truth, in fraud ſincere,
In act unfaithful, and from honour clear;
Who broke his promiſe, ſerv'd his private ends;
Who gain'd a title and who loſt all friends;
Diſhonour'd by himſelf, by none approv'd;
Curs'd, ſcorn'd, and hated, even by thoſe he lov'd

INTEL-

INTELLIGENCE EXTRAORDINARY.

London July, 30, 1766.

YESTERDAY expired, in a fit of deſperate frenzy, the once blazing *William Pynſent*, Eſq; which name he lately aſſumed upon the ſucceſſion to an eſtate which was left him by a *miſtake*. He has for ſome time laboured under a complication of luſt of power and penſion, treachery, ingratitude, diſappointment, revenge, and miſœconomy: but it is thought the immediate cauſe of his death was a fracture in his head, followed with a delirium, occaſioned by a fall from a precipice, where he was ſcrambling for an higher title, and another penſion. He was led to this rock by a northern GUIDE, in whoſe conduct he placed more confidence than in the experienced affection of a friend whoſe prudence and virtue had often ſaved him. He will ſhortly be *interred*, in the uſual ſtate, in the dormitory of his political predeceſſors, whoſe virtues he equalled, and whoſe examples he has followed. All ranks of people are in deep diſconſolation for an accident ſo fatal to the name of PATRIOTISM, this event bringing to their remembrance the like miſerable end of another W. P. of famous memory, who broke his neck about 25 years ago, and was buried in the ſame grave. What is very remarkable, the deceaſed beſpoke a ſhroud for himſelf, trimmed with ermine, of the ſame pattern uſed upon the former occaſion.

The PITT, a *firſt rate*, being much damaged in the *head*, in a *late cruiſe* on the coaſt of Scotland, is *paid off and laid up at Chatham*, where ſhe is to ſerve as a *ſtoreſhip*. On examination, her timbers, which were ſuppoſed to have been *true Engliſh heart of oak*, turn out to be nothing more than mere ſcantlings of a rotten *Scotch fir*.

It

It is much feared alſo, ſince this unhappy diſcovery, that the timber of the *Britannia*, another firſt rate, will be all found to be unſound, and that moſt of the ſhips in the government's ſervice will turn out to be compoſed of the ſame rotten materials.

It is determined that the *Temple* of *Liberty* at *Stowe*, notwithſtanding the *gawkineſs* of its ſtructure, ſhall be worn out without being *beautified*.

An addreſs to a late Great Commoner—*become a* little Peer.

My Lord,

YOUR Lordſhip having failed in procuring the adulatory addreſſes of the great city to our moſt gracious Sovereign, (though attempted by your north-end friend) which, as uſual, were propoſed to have centered in yourſelf; or which, agreeably to your uſual modeſty, you would have applied to yourſelf; I muſt deſire you to accept of the following from an individual, who has, for 30 years paſt, looked upon you with wonder and aſtoniſhment; at the ſame time I muſt candidly acknowledge I am at a loſs to determine whether your words and deeds, or the infatuation of the multitude, are the greateſt ſubjects for amazement. Your words, your works, my Lord, have been repeatedly ſounded in our ears, and the latter, I am perſuaded, will never be forgot by lateſt poſterity.

It is an arduous taſk to recapitulate our ſorrows and our ſufferings; *infandum renovare dolorem*; but it is, however, at this time neceſſary, and therefore I ſhall attempt it, and ſet before thee the things which thou haſt done, though 'tis pain and grief to me, but in as few words as I am able.

Nature, my Lord, had granted you the powers of ſpeech, or elocution, (not of true, ſound eloquence) by which you were capable of rendering ſervice

ſervice to your country; but you abuſed theſe faculties, and perverted their proper end: inſtead of rendering them ſerviceable, by making them ſubſervient to the intereſt of the kingdom, you employed them as inſtruments of your ambition: inſtead of opening the eyes of the people to their true intereſt, you have thrown duſt in them to their confuſion: You have blinded them by vain ſpeeches, and ſtipulated them to conſent to, and approve of meaſures which led ſtrait to ruin.

You ſat out, my Lord, with oppoſing and abuſing one of the ableſt miniſters this kingdom ever had; in which you ſtigmatized the monarch with weakneſs, or wickedneſs; in fact, you inſulted the Prince in perſon. You diſtreſſed government, and ruined the miniſter, and you immediately afterwards joined in protecting the man; by which, whether Sir Robert Walpole was guilty or innocent, you were guilty of the higheſt injuſtice to the Prince, the people, and the miniſter. You accepted, and held a large legacy, when you knew that, *in foro conſcientiæ*, you had no equitable right or pretence to it.

You were the principal, if not the ſole cauſe of raiſing a ferment in the nation, which rendered the utmoſt ſeverity of puniſhment neceſſary, precluded mercy, and procured the——of A——B—. You inſulted the monarch, you wounded the heart of the good old K—— by your barborous and inſolent invectives againſt his paternal territories. You raiſed an inveterate and diſhonourable abhorrence among the people to all foreign countries on the continent. You vowed, you ſwore, that no Engliſh ſoldier, or guinea, ſhould ever be tranſported thither; you ſtormed your monarch's cloſet, forced yourſelf into power, broke all your vows, and o—s, broke the convention by which we were releaſed from a continental war, and poured an inundation

of

of Engliſh troops and Engliſh riches into that gulf. Was this ignorance, weakneſs, or wickedneſs?—We all know experimentally, and woefully feel that it was ruinous.

Did the ſucceſs we met with in the conqueſts made during your abſolute adminiſtration, ariſe from your capacity, knowledge, or underſtanding? Was every ſucceſsful plan your's, and did not almoſt every one of them fail at firſt (one entirely, viz. Rochfort) from ignorance? Were your letters fraught with language fit to inſpire men with a ſpirit to aſcend the ſteep and craggy rocks, and ſtorm a breach; would *ſpreading the warm alarm* do this?

Was your plan of ſacrificing the brave Britiſh blood, and treaſure; in lopping off the branches one by one, when the axe ſhould have been laid at firſt to the root of the tree; the work of an able or a weak head? Was your leaving the French iſlands, (the ſource of their riches, the ſinews of war) unconquered till the laſt, a proof of your abilities? But where was your great merit in conducting a war with conqueſt, at an expence which might have purchaſed the fee ſimple of the whole? Where was your merit in conducting a war, when, through the blindneſs of the people, infatuated by your paſſions, ſupplies were granted without oppoſition, which were as much the aſtoniſhment of mankind, as they are now become the lamentation of every thinking and feeling individual of this miſerable country? The greateſt difficulties which ever diſtreſſed any miniſtry from carrying on a war, proceeded from enemies at home: You had none of theſe to complain of: don't miſtake my meaning, my Lord, enemies you ſurely had, and many;—every ſober, honeſt, undeluded man in the kingdom was ſuch; but you had no oppoſers; you reigned Lord Paramount. If your Lordſhip is not acquainted with the reaſon of their non-oppoſition, I

will

will inform you. The madneſs, the blindneſs, the enthuſiaſm of the people was ſo great, (heaven having permitted you to be the inſtrument of their deluſion, in order to their future humiliation, as a puniſhment for their wickedneſs) that any ſuch attempt would have been vain; they loved their country too well to hazard its immediate ruin by any fruitleſs attempt to ſtem the tide of popular fury and madneſs. They knew your incapacity, your inability to *guide*, but they knew alſo, that the people could not be any way made ſenſible of it but by feeling. They would not give you the leaſt room to complain of oppoſition, of want of power, of the means of carrying on the war. They knew, if they gave you line enough, what muſt happen. But any child in politics, with your power, and thoſe means you were maſter of, would have done every thing which was done, that is, acquire, during your guidance, not only better, but at a much leſs expence both of blood and treaſure.

But the great, the ſole end of war is to acquire peace: There they knew you were ſtill more impotent: you, yourſelf, my Lord, were not ſo weak as not to be ſenſible of it. You had, indeed, rendered that taſk infinitely more difficult from your own imprudence. You had raiſed the paſſions of the people to a pitch of deſire and expectation, which it was impoſſible, in the nature of things, ever to gratify or content. You had transformed them from merchants to conquerors. Your Gazettes extraordinary; your vain, idle proceſſions; your Tower guns, bonfires, and illuminations, had heated and turned their brains; conqueſt, not commerce, became their darling paſſion; and, like your ambition, was not to be ſatisfied till they had graſped every thing which remained. To palliate the ſlaughter in North-America, you proclaimed that all Canada muſt be ours, to

be ever retained by us; but you might, you ought to have known, that the retaining that country, and wholly driving out the French, would be impolitic, and a real millſtone to England; that a riſing and flouriſhing people, as our colonies were, would infallibly aſpire at independency, and be productive of troubles in time. A miniſter fit for guiding, ſhould not be a ſhort-ſighted politician: you ſhould not have impreſſed the people with a paſſion for any particular conqueſt, till you were ſure it could be retained with prudence, ſafety, and ſound policy. At length you became ſenſible that the nation was tottering under the load of your dear bought conqueſt; that we were exhauſted both of men and money: unable to recruit our armies, or to man our fleets, without taking almoſt every huſbandman, labourer, and artificer from their employments, eſſential to our very exiſtence: That our ſhips wanted repair, our navy to be encreaſed, being inſufficient to defend and protect our commerce and conqueſts already made in every part of the globe, and to maintain even a defenſive war: That the neceſſary ſupplies for theſe purpoſes could not be raiſed but with difficulty and great diſtreſs, (notwithſtanding the large ſums in the hands of particulars) as none would lend without ſufficient ſecurity, and higher intereſt, proportionable to the wants of government; and the taxes were then encreaſed to that enormous height, which, from their natural conſequence, the riſe of the neceſſaries of life and of labour, would diſable and preclude us from any foreign trade. You ſaw the other powers of Europe, alarmed with the apparent, though mad attempt of our graſping at a univerſal monarchy of the ſeas and of trade, preparing to ſtop this rage for ſlaughter and conqueſts which you had inſpired, and a new and freſh enemy entering the liſts againſt you, in order to ſtop this madneſs; at the ſame

time

time that a feeble friend muſt be protected; that your continental array could neither be recruited or drawn home. Theſe things, I ſay, you probably ſaw; if you did not, you were the blindeſt of mankind: you therefore wiſhed for peace; but you were become ſenſible your talents were not equal to that arduous, but moſt virtuous taſk. You ſweated for that vain, empty ſound of popularity, to which you had ever offered incenſe; for which you had ſacrificed an honeſt, brave, but credulous people, whom you firſt deceived under the maſk of patriotiſm, and then brought to the brink of deſtruction. You dreaded their awaking from thoſe golden dreams into which you had lulled them; you dreaded their juſt reſentment, perhaps, not without reaſon; you were ſenſible, that ſuch a peace, as reaſon, founded on our exhauſted condition, would point out to be truly ſafe and ſtrictly honourable, would be execrated by thoſe whom you had ſcrewed up to the higheſt pitch of Quixotiſm, and who would meaſure the goodneſs of any peace to be obtained, by the expence of the war, and by thoſe ſufferings which they muſt, as they now do, feel from the conſequences of your extravagance. You were ſenſible how open you had laid yourſelf during your uſurpation, how many blots there were to hit in your guidance, and you had neither courage to ſubmit to your fate, or virtue enough to make atonement. Thoſe poiſonous ſeeds in human nature, pride, ambition, and revenge, barred the door to every noble virtue. To ſecure your tottering popularity, to extricate yourſelf from thoſe dangers into which your pride had drawn you, and your ignorance involved the public, you arrogantly propoſed a ſtep to be taken, equally diſhonourable as hazardous, and which you well knew would be as ſhocking to thoſe, who had the ſafety, honour, and welfare of their country at heart, as

it would be pleaſing to the giddy, heated and deluded multitude, whom you had been *guiding* to the brink of deſtruction.

By your haughty and immediate reſignation, while you recovered your drooping popularity, and eaſed your ſhoulders from a burthen you wanted ability and courage to ſupport, you laid a plan to ruin any ſucceſſors. But Providence, ever a friend to wiſdom and honeſty, ſecured their ſucceſs. The meaſures purſued, procured honour in conqueſt, and your ſucceſſors then boldly, bravely, and virtuouſly put a ſtop to ruinous ſlaughter, and ſaved this kingdom from immediate deſtruction. The moment was ſeized before our enemies had recovered from their panic, or diſcovered the deplorable ſtate we were in, or our inability to carry on even a defenſive war two years longer, without falling into an abſolute and total bankruptcy and perdition. Peace was made, to which ſober-thinking, honeſt men and true patriots had but one objection, viz. that of our retaining too much, yet this was founded on neceſſity, a neceſſity into which you had thrown us. It was viſible to every unprejudiced perſon, that we ſhould quickly want ſecurity for the dependance of the colonies on the mother-country, in order to their aiding and aſſiſting her to heal thoſe wounds they had been the primary cauſe of making. The reſtraining the French within proper bounds, would have anſwered every juſt, equitable, and ſalutary purpoſe, and the leaving them within thoſe bounds, would have proved the beſt pledge and ſecurity to the equitable and neceſſary dependance of the colonies on the mother-country. But this you had rendered impracticable.—Your perſeverance in keeping up animoſities and diviſions in the kingdoms, and in fomenting feuds, diſabled the miniſtry from proſecuting with ſafety ſuch other meaſures, as might have ballanced that unfortunate, though

though neceſſary ſtep; and as popularity will of courſe ſink, unleſs frequently ſtimulated by ſome freſh efforts, you roſe up the public champion of ——, and proclaimed yourſelf the friend of thoſe, who were riſing (againſt their own true intereſts) on the diſtreſſes of their parents and patrons, and ſetting up for total independency. To theſe diviſions of your ſowing and cheriſhing we owe the preſent licentiouſneſs, from which we already ſuffer ſo much, and from whence we have ſtill greater dangers to apprehend. To theſe we owe the non payment of Canada bills, Manilla ranſom, and other diſagreeable cauſes of complaint, from our enemies, who, awakened from their ſtupor, are able to diſcover our real weakneſs, and learn, that a kingdom divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand.

And now, my Lord, having ſum'd up, in as few words as the ſubject would permit, not all, but ſome of the moſt material acts of the late Great Commoner, as he was (injuriouſly to the epithet) ſtiled, of accurſed memory, I ſhall draw this extraordinary addreſs to its concluſion. Your late tranſactions, in regard to your peerage and place, are yet too dark and myſterious for me to be quite clear in their motives; my notions, however, I ſhall give you: All mankind acknowledged your pride and ambition were inſatiable, and that thoſe paſſions being ſo outrageouſly ſtrong, were the aſſemblage of all others which human nature is big with; that all your paſſions were united in that one ſingle luſt of guiding, dictating, and governing your Prince, your fellow ſubjects, and all mankind. I was once inclined to be of that opinion, but the firſt legacy raiſed a doubt in me: However, your penſion, your P—— eſtate, your treatment of the heir at law, your want of generoſity, and your new ſinecure place, have convinced me, that to the luſt after tyranny of power, was added and joined that execrable vice, avarice,

a luſt after riches. Theſe two vices, ambition and avarice united, in a ruler, are ſure to be ruinous to the ſtate. By obtaining the peerage and the place, you have in ſome degree gratified your two predominant paſſions; poſſibly your ſelf-opinion may prompt you to flatter yourſelf with yet ſaving or recovering your former popularity, but you may depend upon it, ſuch hopes are as vain as they are haughty; you are now ſunk for ever in the eſteem even of thoſe who were moſt blinded, moſt deluded, and deceived by you. Think not on practiſing any more your former low arts and cunning—double the length of your words, triple your long-winded orations, encircle yourſelf in ells of flannel, weep, ſigh, ſing, or totter ſtill more on your crutches—it will not do—the farce is now over, the curtain is dropt: change ſides again, abuſe the Scot, drop your new connections, endeavour to acquire newer; abuſe the miniſtry, inſult the M——; huff, bluſter, bully, and reſign——it will avail you not; the enchantment is broke, and at an end; the ſeat you degrade, by being lifted into it, will not ſupport you; your quondam behaviour will not quadrate with the ſacred place you are unworthily exalted to; your rants will not there procure a *bear him*; you will now meet with your ſuperiors in every quality; and, believe me, the peoples' eyes are now ſo thoroughly opened, that none of your baneful arts will ever blind them again.

For my part, I muſt own, that if you ever did an act worthy the approbation and thanks of your country, 'tis this laſt; accept, therefore, my Lord, of my addreſs of thanks to you on this occaſion, which meets with my entire approbation. From this act you, in ſome degree, merit my forgiveneſs of the manifold ſufferings you have brought on the preſent race, and entailed on their poſterity. Great vices ſeldom fail of bringing on their own puniſhment.

ment. Pride and ambition create the ſtrongeſt mortifications, and theſe are the ſufferings of the d—d. To theſe I muſt reſign you, as you are *felo de ſe*.

I now conclude ſo far in charity with you, as to declare, as a human being, that I feel ſo much for your wretched ſtate, that if pity was not a-kin to love, I ſhould have ſome compaſſion for you.

From the Country. A. B.

P. S. Would you in any degree atone for the ſufferings you have brought on your country, throw up your penſion and your place; ſettle an honourable annuity on Sir R—— P——; ſhake hands with your much injured brothers, Lord —— and Mr. ——, and retire into the country for ever; and, that you may not be void of all conſolation, you may reflect, that (however different from your intentions) you are nevertheleſs the means of producing concord; that you have proved a monitor to the people, and taught and convinced them, how weak their judgments are in the choice of a friend, a patron, a patriot; how inadequate they are to judge of the merits of man, how unfit to chuſe, to force a miniſter on their monarch; more eſpecially on the Prince now ſitting on the throne, endowed with every quality by nature, ſtudy and inclination, to make his ſubjects truly great and really happy. Thus *in* your fall, and *from* your fall, other vain pretenders to an intimation of your preſumption will be warned from daſhing on the rock on which at length you have ſplit; and the people, by turning a deaf ear to loquacious inſolence, become wiſe, prudent, and loyal ſubjects to the beſt of Kings. Thus, my Lord, you may have one ſingle meritorious act to dwell upon and conſole yourſelf with.

On the frequent Changes, and new Measures.

THE variety of persons, who, within a very short compass of years, have been produced to the public in the first employments of the state, hath diverted our attention from a more important object; from the measures they have pursued or meant to pursue. Amused and deluded by a succession of illustrious names, we have hardly had time or inclination to consider their different systems of administration, and have been more anxious to know by whom employments were filled, than how they were executed. It is an unavoidable and mischievous consequence of a frequent change of ministers, that the nation is kept in a feverish fermentation heightened by these disturbed visions of half-formed ministers and broken measures, which glide before our eyes, and seem to exist and perish without either cause or effect. If, indeed, there were any truth in an idea, which seems to have been adopted for some years past, that the greatest offices are but places of profit, or, taken in the most serious view, that the business of them is a suitable education for youth, or amusement for age, we then should only have to admire, or perhaps envy their good fortune, who had escaped the toil of deserving such spontaneous marks of Royal favour. But if it be still a prevailing opinion, notwithstanding any late endeavours to prove the contrary, that even the lowest routine of office may require some degree of experience;—that the ordinary conduct of business may demand a species of activity somewhat different from the heat and petulance of youth, or the tremulous restlessness of age; and that the nicer circumstances and dispositions of government of themselves call for superior abilities, it becomes of public moment to enquire, and of private duty to point out the consequences of a succession of ministerial changes, wherein

wherein neither experience, nor activity, nor abilities appeared to have been regarded. But ſince the modern policies of the preſs are uſually no more than the accuſation or defence of party, and for that reaſon are but ill calculated either to inſtruct or perſuade, we ſhall proceed upon a different principle, abſtracted from the praiſe or cenſure of perſons or of parties. We dutifully rely upon his Majeſty's gracious intentions for the good of his people. Every change of his ſervants is a proof of his anxiety to place his affairs in ſuch hands, as might, if poſſible, ſatisfy his ſubjects; but every ſuch change is alſo an acknowledgment that the greateſt and beſt of Princes may be repeatedly deceived. Excluſive of the improbability of finding many different ſets of men well qualified for the conduct of national buſineſs, the very article of changing miniſters is an evil of the firſt magnitude. Perplexed with forms of office, whereof they find themſelves wholly ignorant; and oppreſſed with a weight of buſineſs, not only new to them, but probably left in diſorder by their predeceſſors, the firſt months of their adminiſtration are neceſſarily ſacrificed to ignorance and confuſion. Their plea of newneſs in office, and their demand of ſome reaſonable time to execute plans, which, perhaps, were never formed, muſt of courſe be admitted; but before the period arrives at which a well-founded judgment might be formed of their conduct, we ſee them ſuddenly diſcarded, and the nation again expoſed to the ſame inconvenience and diſtreſs from their ſucceſſors.

It is needleſs to obſerve that, under a mode of adminiſtration ſo weak and ſo unſteady, neither the honour of the nation can be ſupported with firmneſs and dignity, nor public buſineſs carried on with regularity and diſpatch. But in a view leſs obvious the danger will be found more alarming. Yet it may be thought almoſt a paradox to aſſert, that

frequent

frequent changes in the King's miniſterial ſervants violate the ſpirit of our conſtitution. In every other form of government, a ſucceſſion of different perſons in the great offices of ſtate is a part of their conſtitution; an evil inherent in it, but neceſſary to its exiſtence. The republic trembles for her liberty; the tyrant for his power. But it is in vain that our wiſe conſtitution hath comprehended all the virtues and excluded the defects of every other form of government; in vain have our laws provided for the uniform and permanent action of the executive power, if the hands that are to exert and carry into effect the authority of the firſt magiſtrate, have neither ſteadineſs nor ſtrength. It were nugatory to ſay that our laws give firmneſs and ſtability to that magiſtracy, in which the executive power reſides, yet that the miniſtry, to whom that power is delegated, and who, in all views of government and of reſponſibility, do really poſſeſs the power and repreſent the perſon of the Sovereign, may be appointed and diſcarded by a leſs than annual rotation. The deſign of the conſtitution in providing for the regular and ſteady government of the people, at the ſame time that it has ſecured their liberty by a conſtant fluctuation in the other parts of the legiſlative and judicial powers, is utterly defeated; and if ſuch a mode of adminiſtration be preferable to that of Turkey or Morocco, it is only ſo to the miniſters themſelves, who are not liable to be ſtrangled upon their diſmiſſion from employment, and who, indeed, are hardly allowed time to deſerve it. I would not be thought to mean that the places of miniſters ſhould be for life. No greater calamity could happen to a nation. But the next to it in degree is to have them frequently and arbitrarily removed.

If there be a poſſible remedy for theſe diſorders, it is high time to have it applied. If a whole nation

tion can be contented with a ſyſtem of government ſo looſe and ſo depraved (for a change of hands and uncertainty of meaſures ſeem now reduced to a ſyſtem) much more if they can applaud the levity and weakneſs that only varies their diſtreſs, the proſpect before us will be almoſt deſperate. If they can be habituated to ſee with indifference their moſt eſſential intereſts made the ſport of ignorance, of vanity, and avarice, without any ſteady direction from the crown, what hope will remain of ever recovering from anarchy and confuſion. To ſay the truth, ſuch baſe ſupineneſs will neither deſerve compaſſion nor relief. Sir, no man can feel more intimately than I do for the afflictions with which the beſt of ſovereigns is ſurrounded and oppreſſed. Anxious as he is for the happineſs of his people, what muſt he ſuffer at being involved in the diſtractions of a worthleſs tribe, who only contend with one another in what manner they can moſt torment their maſter and ruin his ſubjects. It is no violation of duty and affection to him to declare loudly, what his gracious heart is but too ſenſible of—WE ARE ILL GOVERNED. A good Engliſhman may and will be attached to the perſon of a good Prince, while he beholds the conduct of his ſervants with abhorrence. He will lament the misfortune of his Sovereign, and conſider it as a part of his own.

But let me haſten to the great object, which I had in view in writing this paper. It is in vain for us to diſſemble any longer, or to conceal our ſituation from ourſelves. We have hitherto voluntarily ſhut our eyes to the accumulated ruin that has been gathering round us. A debt, of which few men can form an exact conception, although we eaſily repeat the words that deſcribe it;—the whole laborious part of our people driven by penury to deſpair, and ready with a ſtrong hand to violate, perhaps, wholly to ſubvert the laws;—our foreign commerce

underſold

underfold and perishing in every market in Europe; —one most considerable branch of it (formerly the great support of our interior currency) upon the point of final dissolution;—the crown of Great Britain insulted, and the most solemn treaties with us arbitrarily violated by the most abject court in Europe, notwithstanding that their very existence depends upon the protection of this country;—a total loss of weight and dignity in our transactions with foreign powers.

Evils so numerous, and of such magnitude, require but one addition to make the state of this kingdom completely calamitous. If we had a hope of ever being extricated from them, this weak, unsteady, miserable administration of affairs at home would deprive us of it. How shall a monstrous debt be diminished?—How shall the distresses of the bulk of the people be relieved, or the fatal consequences of their despair prevented?—How shall interior industry or foreign commerce be revived, if the whole government of the nation be relaxed, which *must* be the case as long as it is committed to men new to business, disunited among themselves, incapable of forming any fixed general plan, or of pursuing any determined system of measures; and whose abilities, if they had any, could never, under such circumstances of weakness and distraction, operate with success. These reflections, are not the exaggerations of a heated fancy. Every man, who will permit himself to examine them for a moment, will be satisfied that they are but too well founded. What then *must* be done? What defence can be opposed to such complicated ruin? A crisis like this demands that the two great bodies of the legislature should assume the exercise of the most honourable and most important duty of their office. They are not called together merely to present addresses of humble thanks for benefits not

received

received, or to grant money for ſervices not accounted for, or to paſs acts of indemnity for unwarrantable ſtretches of prerogative. Theſe, however uſeful, are not the only objects of their duty. No, by their inſtitution they are aſſembled to adviſe their Sovereign, if, indeed, there be yet room for advice. When every thing that can concern a great nation is at ſtake, they are not to be overſcrupulous of pointing out to ſo good a Prince in what manner his prerogative in the choice of his ſervants, might have been better exerciſed. It is not to be doubted but that a firm and dutiful remonſtrance upon the ſtate of the nation, from the two Houſes of Parliament, would be attended with a ſalutary effect; nor is it difficult to imagine, what the terms and purport of it might be.

But if the legiſlative body ſhould neglect to take a ſtep ſo neceſſary and ſo conſtitutional, what alternative will remain? The caſe has happened, and our conſtitution ſuppoſes it may happen again. When the government is become totally weak or oppreſſive;—when protection, refuſed on one ſide, has looſened the compact on the other;—and when, in ſo alarming a conjuncture, the legiſlative powers are ſilent and inactive; the collective body of the people will re-aſſume their natural rights; and, ſince the caſe can neither be ſuppoſed nor provided for by any written law, they will be directed by the great original law of ſelf-preſervation. Much will be hazarded; but like their glorious anceſtors, they will redreſs the conſtitution. May this ſtruggle, or rather may the indiſpenſable neceſſity of it, be far removed. VINDEX.

The ſubject continued.

VINDEX's letter was filled with melancholy apprehenſions for the public ſafety, drawn from the apparent weakneſs and diſtraction of the councils

councils by which we were then governed: but, ſince that letter was publiſhed, the ſtate of things has been conſiderably altered. A change * has happened, which, but a few days ago, we had little reaſon to expect. The noble——himſelf, to whoſe prudence and patriotiſm we are indebted for it, either had, or meant that we ſhould believe he had, a very different plan under conſideration: it was impoſſible he could foreſee the event which has now taken place, unleſs he was always ſecretly determined to reſerve this for his laſt reſource. There was lately no proſpect of harmony among his ———'s principal ſervants, or of any ſteady direction in government. We had every thing to fear from a weak, divided adminiſtration. If theſe were evils ſo alarming as we have ſeen repreſented, we have now ſufficient reaſon to rejoice, and to congratulate ourſelves upon ſeeing the cauſe of them removed. A compact of private friendſhip, and a ſtrict union of political intereſts, lately declared, though perhaps, not lately formed, between the ——of —— and the —— of ——, gives us all poſſible reaſon to believe that the management of public affairs is now ſettled upon a firm and ſolid foundation. If we have at this time any dangers to apprehend, they are certainly of a very different nature from thoſe with which the former diviſions of the two great men have threatened us. I doubt not they are cloſely united, and will remain ſo in ſpite of all the oppoſition of a numerous faction, or the vain jealouſies of a ſuſpicious people. The——of —— cannot be too much admired for his prudence, in widening the bottom of his adminiſtration. He has taken in the whole kingdom of Scotland, and for the ſake of public good, has glorioufly ſacrificed

* This change was the turning out Lord Edgcumbe, and others, at the beginning of December 1766.

all

all his reſentments, real or ſuppoſed, to the reſpectable chief of that antient nation. Nor, indeed, is this the only ſacrifice he has made with the ſame laudable view. The principle of public neceſſity, on which he hazarded *a violation of the laws of the land*, has ſufficiently juſtified him, at leaſt in his own mind, in the accidental *violation of many other laws*. Every candid man will, I think, readily agree with him, that neither conſiſtency of conduct, nor repeated declarations, nor public decency, nor the vain opinion of the world, are to be regarded, when the firſt of all objects, the *ſalus populi* is in queſtion. But of this hereafter. We may now rejoice in the well-founded hope that, for the future, we ſhall be uniformly governed. The two —— having but one intereſt, will, undoubtedly, agree in one plan of adminiſtration, as well as in a total excluſion of thoſe factious noblemen, who, from their rank and fortune, might think themſelves entitled to ſome ſhare of power as well as place; and whoſe ungovernable ambition might, perhaps, interrupt the uniformity with which the two —— intend to govern this country. Under their direction the other departments of the ſtate may be ſafely committed to natives of Ireland and Scotland, who, beſides their pliancy in the tranſaction of buſineſs, have acquired an intereſt, almoſt equal to a natural one in this country, and a ſort of preſcriptive right to be employed in governing it. As to the families of Cavendiſh, Ruſſel, Bentinck and Grenville, it is plain that their principles ſavour too much of revolutions, to be truſted with any ſhare in a fixed and ſteady adminiſtration; and, indeed, one would think that the care of their overgrown eſtates would furniſh them with ſufficient employment, and prevent their meddling in matters they have ſo little concern in. The——of——'s plan, taken in this view, is full of ſpirit and patriotiſm.

There

There breathes through it a noble diſregard of the empty forms, which are ſuppoſed to influence the weaker part of mankind, and an invariable adherence to one great object, which, through the whole courſe of his life, he has had in contemplation; though, like a traveller through a winding road, he had it not always in his immediate view. The regularity of his conduct demonſtrates, that he always conſidered his own intereſt and that of the public as one and the ſame, and that he never purſued the latter without the ſincereſt conviction that he thereby promoted the former. In my humble opinion it was not poſſible for him to have acted upon more enlarged principles.

Yet, notwithſtanding all theſe favourable appearances, there will be people malicious enough to attempt to give a different turn to his late conduct, and to ſuſpect that the articles of his union with the——of—are little favourable to this country. The ſame people may, perhaps, endeavour to trace him through his whole political life, with a degree of exactneſs that may favour of aſperity. They may repreſent him as a man, who, at his firſt outſet, engaged in oppoſition without one grain of principle, and renounced it without one ſpark of ſhame; who, while in office, earned the wages of a lucrative employment, by ſubmitting to every loweſt drudgery, impoſed on him by the very people he had moſt abuſed and reviled. Who, on the approach of a critical conjuncture, withdrew himſelf from danger, abandoned the patrons he had laſt defended, and returned to oppoſition with redoubled acrimony and hypocriſy, which could only be paralleled in former paſſages of his own life—Who, favoured by extraordinary circumſtances of national deſpondence and diſtreſs, and in the very article on which he founds the leaſt equivocal part of his reputation, played the part of a deſperate gameſter,

meſter, committed all to fortune, at every caſt of the die hazarded the happineſs, nay the exiſtence of his country, and who, in the end, luckily won a greater number of ſtakes than he loſt—Who eagerly ſeized the firſt plauſible pretence for quitting the direction of a war, which he was convinced he could never conclude to the ſatisfaction of the people—Who from that hour exerted all his arts to embarraſs, impede, and perplex the meaſures of government, and to blacken the character of the Scotchman, whom he induſtriouſly repreſented as the author of his quitting the miniſtry—Who has ſtaked his own reputation upon the never uniting with that Scotchman, or ſerving with him or under him—Who has at length wheedled himſelf into a power which he had affected to decline for the reſt of his life; and who, in the laſt inſtance, finding himſelf unable by any honourable means to ſupport that power, and in conſummation of all his former conduct, has ſhaken hands with that Scotchman, made common cauſe with him, and entered into articles of agreement with him to divide the power which he could not appropriate entirely to himſelf. Theſe, Sir, are the inſinuations which ſome people may throw out with rather too much ſeverity.

The friends of the —— of ——, who have had the happineſs of knowing him in private life, may, perhaps, be induced to add ſome ſtrokes to his panegyric. They may talk of an imperious maſter, an inſolent, over-bearing companion, an unfeeling, inſidious relation:—one man there is who, I fear, has too much reaſon to remember an ungrateful brother. But, excluſive of theſe perſonal imputations, there are men who will be unreaſonable enough to make him anſwerable even for the faults and inconſiſtencies of his friends and dependants. If they ſee a great —— in one place the moſt zealous

and animated advocate for the liberty of the ſubject, and the inviolable ſanctity of the laws; in another the ſupporter of prerogative, and deſerter of the profeſſion he roſe by; in one place declaring that the conſtitution was at an end, if the meaneſt ſubject, impriſoned falſely but for an hour, could not obtain the fulleſt redreſs; in another, treating a t———y of forty days, by which the whole nation was affected, with indifference and ridicule; if they ſee him induſtriouſly taking advantage of a favourable conjuncture to eſtabliſh a precedent that may ſap the———, and afterwards meanly employing his friends to recant for him;—if they obſerve ſuch conduct in ſo diſtinguiſhing a perſonage, what will they ſay?—they will not ſcruple to aſſert, that his connection with another great man has contaminated his mind; that he could never have become ſo wilfully miſtaken, if his judgment had not been warped by that man's authority and example. Another of the ——'s boſom friends had almoſt ruined his lungs with bellowing forth Liberty and Property and Magna Charta: He was ſuppoſed to be in earneſt, and that circumſtance induced his hearers to ſupport, with patience, the abſurdity of his underſtanding, and the barbarous ſoliciſms of his language; but how will he be heard for the future! In vain will he endeavour to explain nonſenſe into meaning, or treaſon into patriotiſm. His words and his explanation ſtand upon record againſt him, and (if ſuch a man can be remembered) will deliver down his name, with his newly adopted ſyſtem of prerogative and diſpenſing powers, to the *contempt of poſterity*.

But to return to the great Archetype himſelf. The ſame uncandid turn may incline ſome people to aſk, with an air of ſneer and ſarcaſm, who are his new friends, who are his moſt confidential intimates?—are they men united with him by the natural

tural ties of blood or affection? or, is it their conduct in public affairs, their uniform ſupport of his meaſures while in adminiſtration, or their notorious reverence for his character that has recommended them to his eſteem? if none of theſe cauſes can be alledged for his extraordinary predilection in favour of one ſet of men, his friends will be obliged to ſeek the motive of it leſs in their virtues than his own. They will undoubtedly place it to the credit of his charity, his moderation, and that ſuperior fortitude which can ſubmit to the groſſeſt inſults without reſentment, and return them with nothing but confidence and affection. For ſuch friends, and upon ſuch motives, can there be a doubt about the propriety of deſerting a generous brother, whoſe ſimple heart, whoſe thoughtleſs virtue ſurrendered all his ambition, employed all his fame, his intereſt and his fortune, for the excluſive ſervice of the man he loved.

Language like this, however uncandid, however unjuſt, will be held oftener, perhaps, than it will be anſwered. With regard to public appearances, it might, indeed, be of ſome little uſe to his L———p to have it effectually anſwered. As to his own private repoſe, I am ſatisfied it is not to be interrupted by the malignant diſcourſes or idle ſpeculations of the world: he has wiſely built his interior tranquility upon a ſolid ſtone, which is lodged in his own breaſt. With the heart-felt ſatisfaction of having invariably done his duty, he can fear nothing from the ſtings of conſcience. Few men can boaſt of what I doubt not this noble——may affirm with great truth, that the dreadful inward monitor, which puniſhes crimes that have eſcaped the law, has either acquitted him intirely, or at leaſt given him no ſort of diſturbance.

The Favourite and the miniſter have made an equal contribution to the joint ſtock for their mu-

tual eſtabliſhment and preſervation; the one by his ſecret and undiminiſhed influence, the other by his popularity. After diſtracting this unhappy country for a number of years with their mutual animoſities and ſeperate ambition, they have at laſt reſolved to play a ſurer game, amicably to divide the power between them. VERITAS.

Attack upon Mr. G. G.

AS the good-natured public is always ready to be the dupes of whoever pretends to act in their behalf, and as the Gentle Shepherd and J— of B———y are forced to take up with one another again, by the failure of J——'s exorbitant demands, it may be proper, before the public again accepts theſe honeſt gentlemen as patriots, to make ſome conditions with them.

The Gentle Shepherd, originally a Republican, then a Tory, then a deputy of the Scotch Favourite, and then a High Prerogative Miniſter, is once more ſetting up for a Revolution Whig, being whatever ſuits his views for the time. But it is time too that he ſhould make his laſt choice, and adhere to ſome principles. If he means any thing beſides his own intereſt and ambition, let him declare himſelf fully, and before he accuſes others of arbitrary deſigns, let us know what his own are. If he intends to defend the liberties of the people, let him with due contrition and repentance diſavow his own arbitrary government; let him diſclaim General Warrants, and not only condemn them in others, but confeſs how wicked he was in ſupporting them; let him bewail with tears the arbitrary fines ſet on Printers, let him diſavow that tool of power P. W. let him acknowledge his own blundering ſtamp-act, his inſolent treatment of the merchants, and, above all things, deplore his bloody and violent attempts to enſlave North America;

let

let him acknowledge his ſervility to France and Spain, in the compoſition he made for the entertainment of the French priſoners, and in neglecting to obtain the payment of the Canada bills and the Manilla ranſom; and as he is ſo rich, let him aſſiſt the poor, inſtead of being generous at the expence of the public, by propoſing to iſſue money out of the Treaſury for their relief; and let him ſhew his diſlike of penſions and reverſions by giving up his ſon's reverſion, and by not holding a light-houſe under a borrowed name.

J—— of B———y and his adherents muſt diſclaim their peace with France; and the next time they think of ſelling Lord Gawkee and the Gentle Shepherd, they will do well to have ſome modeſty, and not aſk for more places, penſions and reverſions, than they have friends in the oppoſition. As the whole number united amounts but to forty-eight, twenty ſix thouſand pounds a year would be a dear bargain—unleſs they can engage to make the Gentle Shepherd not ſpeak above three hours every day.

As both the Gentle Shepherd and J—— throw out inſinuations againſt the Favourite, will they promiſe never to court him again? Will they give aſſurances that they will never turn out his brother, and then aſk pardon of the Favourite at a certain Scotch Lord's houſe? Will they promiſe not to be cringing and inſolent by turns? And till they can wipe out the ſtains, which they have contracted by all their former behaviour, can they hope that the public will not laugh in their faces, when ſuch men have the confidence to act patriots? They are left to themſelves, and no man can act with them who has the leaſt regard to his character: they may diſgrace others, but can never whitewaſh themſelves.

REPLY.

YOUR anonymous correſpondent, who has ſo liberally and ſo falſely reflected on the character of a late Miniſter, has, however, in the front of his eſſay, by way of vehicle to his poiſon, inſerted a very commendable propoſition; I mean, an endeavour to ſhew the public by whom they are duped and abuſed. The execution of this plan is miſerable indeed, and the more ſo becauſe he has wilfully ſhut his eyes againſt a glaring example of his theſis, and attempted, by the groſſeſt calumnies, to divert the attention of the public from the impoſitions which are daily and hourly practiſing. It is not the meer calling a man a *Republican*, *a Tory*, *a Prerogative* man that *proves* him to be ſo! My aſſertion is as good as his, and the propereſt anſwer to all this is, that the gentleman alluded to is deſcended of a family remarkable for their zeal in defence of the revolution, and of the principles upon which that revolution was grounded; that he has in the courſe of a long political life, conſtantly adhered to theſe principles; and the appeal for the truth of this is to the memory and judgment of every candid and honeſt man. The charge of his ſupporting General Warrants is totally falſe, and has been ſo often denied in public aſſemblies, uncontradicted, that no ſmall degree of proof is to be derived from it. It is likewiſe falſe that any office whatever, either belonging to, or raiſing from any light-houſe duties, or from any branch of revenue, is held for the gentleman in queſtion by any one. And with regard to the reverſion for his ſon, the objection to it ariſes with peculiar propriety from thoſe whoſe patrons have, in the three firſt months of their power, ſaddled the public and their S——n with penſions and additional fine cures to the amount of the intereſt of

ONE

ONE MILLION! Leaving your correſpondents to reflect on the unworthineſs of ſuch falſe accuſations, I recur to a queſtion of much greater conſequence than the altercation of individuals; I mean, by whom it is that the public have been, and are duped and deceived? The anſwer is a ſhort and a plain one. By thoſe who have out of power promiſed them ſignal advantages, and who have in power more ſignally injured and oppreſſed them. Who is it that has ſung the ſweet ſtrain of union and harmony? And who is it, I would aſk, that has banded with, divided, courted, inſulted, applied to, and betrayed every ſet of men amongſt us? Who is it that has profeſſed conſiſtency? and who is it that has adopted meaſures directly the reverſe of, and deſtructive to each other.

But, away with generals, come to particulars: Who is it that talked of public œconomy? and who is it that has made the moſt extenſive, exhorbitant, grants? Who did in July declare L——d G—— a very unfit man to be employed in government? and who applied to the above nobleman in Auguſt, September, October, and November, offering him his own terms, and particularly offering to burthen the civil L——t with 1200l. per annum additionally upon his account.

Let your correſpondent aſk his patron, what are become of the prodigious ſchemes with which the public have been amuſed? Where are thoſe proviſions for the ſecurity of the ſubject ſo liberally promiſed? Where are thoſe amputations of the unſound parts of the conſtitution, which were declared to be ſo indiſpenſable? What is become of the Manilla ranſom, which the deluded populace were taught to expect from their doughty champion? All that has been heard of is *buying*, *ſelling*, *offering to any man, any thing*. Theſe are not aſſertions at random. The B——d party and Mr. B—— are

inſtances of this. Let the public judge then who has made them promiſes, and how well they have been kept; and let the anonymous reviler of others take care how he accuſes for the future, leaſt the charges ſhould remind the public of applying them where they are ſo juſtly due.

A TRUE BRITON.

FURTHER REPLY.

THOUGH I was fully ſatisfied with the anſwer which I read in a paper of the 11th inſt. to the anonymous reflexions on a late Miniſter, yet as more than one paper has had candour enough to repeat the ſcandal, and ingenuity enough to omit the reply, I ſhall not delay the communication of ſuch remarks as I made with my pencil in the peruſal of it, having no private materials, and indeed none are requiſite, but appealing to notorious facts for the truth of my obſervations. The words in italics are the charge, the reſt is to be conſidered as the anſwer. The gentleman in queſtion (ſays the accuſer) *was originally a republican*, i. e. he is known to be deſcended from an old whig family, remarkable for their zeal in defence of the revolution, and for a ſtrict adherence to the principles upon which that revolution is grounded. *Then a Tory*, anſwered in the preceding article, *then a Deputy of the Scotch Favourite*: He was diſmiſſed, and univerſally known to be ſo, becauſe he was not the Deputy of the Earl of ——, and for the part ſaid to have been taken by him in the diſmiſſion of the Earl's brother, *then a high prerogative Miniſter*. During his Miniſtry, the word prerogative was never uſed by him. It ſeems reſerved for the truly Whig, and patriotic a——n of the Earl of C——, to defend the liberty of the ſubject, by aſſerting the high prerogative doctrines of ſtate neceſſity, and a diſpenſing power beyond even the

the deſperate days of James the Second. *Let him diſavow his own arbitrary government.* The late miniſter will not probably diſavow his government, and, among other reaſons, becauſe it was not in any inſtance arbitrary. *Let him diſclaim general warrants, and confeſs how wicked he was in ſupporting them.* He never ſupported general warrants, nor aſſerted that they were legal, but contended, that while the determination of them was pending in the courts of law, it was unfit for one Houſe of Parliament to come to any reſolution concerning them. *Let him bewail with tears the arbitrary fines ſet on printers.* He never was acceſſary in the ſmalleſt degree to any fine being impoſed on printers, on the contrary it is well known, that when the cenſure of a certain Houſe was propoſed to be inflicted on a printer, who had very groſsly abuſed and traduced him, he ſtood up in his place to beg the printer off, and prevailed with the Houſe to take no notice of the matter. *Let him diſavow that tool of power P. W.* He has nothing to do either to avow or diſavow P. W. having never had any intercourſe with him but what was merely official. *Let him acknowledge his own blundering ſtamp act.* It is not probable that he will diſown an act (in which there were no blunders) which was founded in principles of the ſtricteſt juſtice both to Great-Britain and the colonies. It will be well for thoſe, who from perſonal reſentments and jealouſy forced on the repeal of that act, if they do not wiſh to diſavow the part they took in that repeal. Let any man read *The Conduct of the late Adminiſtration examined*, where every *fact* is fully diſcloſed. *His inſolent treatment of the merchants:* Aſk the merchants, and they will unanimouſly give the lye to this aſſertion. *And, above all things, deplore his bloody and violent attempts to enſlave North America.* He certainly need not deplore having contributed

to

to ſurrender the legiſlative rights of this country over ſo extenſive a part of its dominions. *Let him acknowledge his ſervility to France and Spain in the compoſition he made for the entertainment of the French priſoners, and in neglecting to obtain the payment of the Canada Bills and the Manilla Ranſom.* The proceedings on the buſineſs of Turk's Iſland, and the Muſqueto Shore, demonſtrate undeniably his ſervility to France and Spain; the money obtained for the maintenance of priſoners had this ſingular circumſtance attending it, that it was the only ſum ever acquired to the Britiſh Exchequer upon that account, and the meaſure received the unanimous approbation of the Commons of England. The Canada Bills have ſince been compromiſed upon terms inferior to thoſe which, during the late A——n, were repeatedly refuſed, as being an inſult on the honour of the nation to accept. It is hoped, that as many inſtances have been made of late for the payment of the Manilla Ranſom, as he continually repeated during his adminiſtration; However this may be, the ſucceſs of the later applications has been exactly the ſame with that of the former, and no degree of merit is therefore to be aſſumed, or of blame to be charged, in the one caſe any more than in the other. To the propoſition of iſſuing money from the Treaſury for the relief of the poor, had I the honour of adviſing him, he would moſt certainly (capital as the offence is) plead guilty: and let it be remembered, that when that a——n, which had encouraged and connived at colonial tumults, and which had even rewarded thoſe tumults with the relief ſo outrageouſly extorted, refuſed to the poor ſtarving natives of Great Britain a ſum of money to alleviate their diſtreſs: The encouragement they were to expect was condign puniſhment, and ſpeedy juſtice. With regard to the light-houſe ſaid to be held for

him

him under a borrowed name, the charge is totally and entirely falſe; no ſuch light-houſe has been granted or holden by himſelf, or any one elſe in his name. Had any of thoſe grants expired, or been near the term of expiration, I cannot ſee any reaſon why he might not have availed himſelf of it; and for the truth and juſtice of this I will appeal to his ſucceſſor in office, who, notwithſtanding there were twenty-eight years unexpired of a former grant, gave the reverſion of a light-houſe after that remote period, and which his predeceſſor probably conſidered as too remote to make uſe of.—The ſeveral articles of the anonymous charge have now been gone through, and have been anſwered from no private information, but from public and notorious facts; and as the falſity of every one of them has been evidently ſhewn, it is not intended to go farther. If perſonal altercation and invective were aimed at, how eaſy were it to contraſt the five months of the preſent a———n with the twenty-ſix months above alluded to. If the doctrines held, the meaſures adopted, the penſions, titles, grants offered and given during the reſpective periods were compared together, the gentleman who has been ſo ſhamefully traduced would not, I am confident, ſuffer upon the compariſon.

VERAX.

On Lord Chatham's Return to Power.

Lombard-ſtreet, Dec. 22, 1766.

THAT there never was ſo unaccountable a race of men, as the good people of England, will be readily granted by every one, who has conſidered their temper and conduct for ſome time paſt.

I appeal to the whole world, whether ever a child longed for a play-thing with a more eager impatience,

tience, than this ſame good people of England longed for the illuſtrious patriot William Pitt;—the whole world is now witneſs with what ſhameleſs inconſtancy they deſire to get rid of him.

In what has Lord Chatham belied the expectations which the public had from Mr. Pitt? Let us examine what theſe expectations were; and theſe being determined, we ſhall be the better able to judge whether he has fulfilled them or not.

Amongſt the thouſands and tens of thouſands who called out ſo loudly for Lord Chatham to take the *whole* adminiſtration into his own hands, I do not remember that any one perſon had any one ſpecific hope of any one great national purpoſe which he was to effect. The hope formed of him was, like his genius, great, large, extenſive, unconfined, general, indeterminate, vaſt, and boundleſs.

No one flattered himſelf that under him we ſhould ſee a revival or extenſion of commerce; no one thought ſo meanly of him as to imagine that he would attend to the improvement or encouragement of manufactures: plans for the internal police and good government of the country were not expected from his exalted genius: the improvement or well ordering of the finances was a drudgery that no perſon, however fooliſh, ever dreamed he would condeſcend to: indeed he had ſo often declared his ignorance of, and contempt for all theſe trifling objects, that whoever had entertained ſuch hopes, muſt have been actually mad; but ſuch a madman was not, I confeſs, found in this country.

What then was expected? It is a captious and invidious queſtion, and hardly deſerves an anſwer; but I will give it the ſame anſwer, which all his true admirers gave it—Every thing.

If that does not content people, I know not how to content them: I can add nothing to it, except I were

were to ſay, that perhaps one, and one only expectation, which came any thing near to preciſion, was entertained, and that was—A WAR.—Whether that expectation will be fulfilled, I am not wiſe enough to gueſs. We may be bleſſed with it, when we leaſt expect it, eſpecially if this great man ſhould condeſcend to aſſure us, that the *pence*, which he formerly called only an *armed truce*, was eſtabliſhed upon the moſt immoveable foundations. If a ſolemn panegyric upon that happy event ſhould be publicly delivered by a perſon diſtinguiſhed by conſiderable marks of his favour; and if every perſon is ſo diſtinguiſhed by him, juſt in the proportion in which he has ſhewn his zeal and abilities in defending that glorious meaſure. This is the irregular and daring manner by which great genius is characteriſed.

The hopes of the people then were, within a trifle, ſimply and ſolely this,—that Lord Chatham ſhould be miniſter, *ſole, abſolute, and uncontroulable* miniſter. Be ſatisfied, then, you perpetual grumblers; the miniſter you wiſhed for is given to you, and in the manner you wiſhed for him, is he given to you. You wiſhed that he ſhould be abſolute; and merely to pleaſe you, though in direct contradiction to the known meekneſs and humility of his nature, he reſolved to be abſolute.

It is unhappy for us, that (whether from age and a complication of diſorders, or from mere human infirmity) he is not able to fill all the offices of the ſtate himſelf; but ſince, unfortunately for poor old England, he is not able to diffuſe himſelf as extenſively as we wiſh, it became then indiſpenſably neceſſary, that all offices ſhould be filled by men of pliant, tractable, ſubmiſſive minds and manners.

Virtue, honour, opinion, and attachment to an honourable connection, are all mortal enemies to paſſive obedience, and an implicit faith; men, therefore,

therefore, poſſeſſed of any of theſe qualities, were utterly unfit for, and entirely incompatible with the ſcheme which he had formed, at your earneſt deſire, for being the *ſole* miniſter.

But if he has been ſo lucky as to find men, who have ſhewn a proper docility and diligence, by having gone through all the rough work of Lord B—e's and G——e G——e's patriotic adminiſtrations, we ſhall want very little then to render us a contented, happy people. We ſhall then have buſineſs (it is not our part to care what that buſineſs is) carried on with regularity. We ſhall have *energy* reſtored to government (why ſhould we enquire what ſort of government it is?) and without minding upon what principles connections are made, we ſhall ſee an end put to all proud connections.

If this great perſonage ſhould, in compliance with the deſires of the public, to which he owes ſo much, confer the office of Receiver of the Land-tax on the Chamberlain of London, we ſhall have nothing to wiſh; but every one to ſit down under his vine and fig-tree, and enjoy his ſhare of the national felicity. TRANQUILLUS.

The ſubject continued.

IN my laſt letter I mentioned the neceſſity which Lord C——m was under, from the unhappy impoſſibility of his holding all the offices of the ſtate himſelf, to appoint ſuch men in the ſeveral departments of government as were of practicable diſpoſitions, eaſy morals, pliant and tractable tempers; who had no opinions of their own, or at leaſt without obſtinacy to maintain, or even urge their opinions; men ready to receive orders, and obey command, without that impertinence which leads to examine the juſtice or wiſdom of ſuch orders and commands; men ready and able for all work; to plant or to root up; to build or to pull down; to make

make and to unmake; able to run, and willing to ſtand ſtill; to ſpeak or to be ſilent; to encourage licentiouſneſs or extend prerogative;—in ſhort, a band of ſuch well diſciplined ſoldiers as acknowledge no principle but obedience, no duty but executing orders; pretty indifferent whilſt they obey and act, whether it is againſt their adverſaries, or againſt their friends, whether they ſpoil the enemy, or pillage their country.

Such, with very little exception, is our preſent political corps, ſelected with care, for this purpoſe, from all the others in the kingdom.

With this well-diſciplined, and let me add (no trifling conſideration) this well-paid army, our General has taken the field; he has opened the campaign, and the ſucceſs already promiſes to be equal to our moſt ſanguine expectations.

But, to drop this allegory, and to reſume things by their right names. Our great miniſter has begun to act, and one of his wiſe, deep, and well-digeſted ſchemes for ſaving this nation from deſtruction, and for raiſing her to a pitch of wealth and glory unknown to former, and inimitable by future times, has been committed into their hands to be carried into execution.

Get money from the E—t I—d—a C—p—y was the command; the how, the where, the wherefore, were far below him; theſe minutiæ of politics, this little dirty mechanical detail of buſineſs, was unworthy of his great ſoul. The great outline was his; they are paid for the drudgery.

You will here recollect, that my only purpoſe is to prove the neceſſity and propriety of the choice he has made, whenever it was quite in his power to chuſe, of men to fill the ſeveral offices; I do not intend, (at leaſt not at preſent) to enter upon a defence of his ſchemes; God knows they ſpeak loudly enough for themſelves, I ſhall therefore proceed to

ſhew,

ſhew, how impoſſible it muſt be to carry on the preſent ſcheme of getting money from the E. I. C——y, if he ſhould have men under him of any other indiſpoſitions than thoſe I have already deſcribed.

We have already ſeen ſome miſchievous, and almoſt fatal conſequences, from ſuffering the ſyſtem to be ſometimes broke in upon, by the humours of one very whimſical man, who happens to be amongſt us; and though very odious to us, ſeems to be neceſſary for the moment. If this man ſhould continue his habits of liſtening to reaſon, of enforcing it unſeaſonably, and of contradicting even in law-matters, the opinion of our lawyers (thoſe opinions for which we have paid ſo ſmart a price) I ſubmit to all good judgments, whether any fooliſh credit of having this man in our corps, can outweigh the fatal conſequences of the leaſt relaxation of diſcipline. He ought to be puniſhed in my opinion, with the ſame juſt ſeverity which he felt under a former manly adminiſtration. But I ſay the leſs on this head, becauſe I know how hateful he is to us all, and that we only keep him, from a principle (though I think we are miſtaken in the application of it) of our favourite State Neceſſity.

But ſuppoſe this diſpoſition had been any way general: ſuppoſe, then, for a moment (the moſt untrue ſuppoſition is allowed in argument) that the ſeveral offices were filled by men of honour, ſenſe, ſpirit and integrity; then ſuppoſe the order iſſued—get money from the E— I—— C———; what would the conſequence be? One would remonſtrate upon the poſſible injuſtice, with which ſuch an act might be attended; that to take away another man's property without his conſent was little leſs than robbery.

A ſecond would talk of the impropriety of beginning at the wrong end; of expoſing the accounts

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and correſpondence of ſo important a Company to the whole world, before any complaint was made, or charge brought againſt them: would propoſe it as a better method to treat with the Company firſt, and when finiſhed, bring that treaty where it ought to be brought, to be approved and ratified.

A third would pretend to ſay, that this method promoted ſtock-jobbing, by feeding the hopes and alarming the fears of the proprietors alternately; that it would have a very bad effect upon the credit of the nation, and tend to lower the value of all her funds, by ſuggeſting the thought to thoſe intereſted in her other funds, that though the I—d—a was the firſt ſtocked attached, yet that in which they were concerned might be the next.

A fourth (ſuppoſe a C———r of the E—q—r) would deſire a review of the whole ſcheme; would enquire into the end propoſed, and the means intended to attain it; would inſiſt upon time to weigh the greatneſs of one, and to examine the wiſdom and equity of the other; and if theſe were denied him, might conſider himſelf as affronted, the duty and rights of his office invaded, and might refuſe to be concerned, and perhaps reſign his office.

Good Lord! under ſuch circumſtances, how could public buſineſs go on? I appeal to all rational people, whether with ſuch men as I have deſcribed there be a poſſibility of acting? Whether with ſuch men at the helm, we ſhould have had ſome of the greateſt bleſſings which any nation ever enjoyed? With ſuch could the American ſtamp-act have paſſed, or could general warrants have iſſued? Could the exciſe have entered private houſes, or the laſt glorious and *adequate* peace have been made? Could we have been witneſſes to the noble attempt lately made (though unhappily by ſome curſed remains of connection, it proved abortive) for making State Neceſſity the law of the land, and for giving

us a privilege never enjoyed, or indeed thought of in any other country, of being *ſlaves for forty days, and freemen the reſt of the year?* Could any of theſe, or a thouſand other good things, have happened, or might we ever hope to ſee the ſame again, if *opinion*, which, by its proper name, is *obſtinacy*; *virtue*, which is *timidity*; *ſpirit* and *honour*, which are *pride* and *inſolence*; *knowledge*, which is *pedantry*; and *integrity*, which is *weakneſs*; ſhould ever again enter into any of the offices of the ſtate? How differently, how glorioufly and triumphantly the national buſineſs goes on, under the preſent patriotic miniſter, who employs none but men fit for their offices, may perhaps be the ſubject of another letter.

Dec. 24, 1766. TRANQUILLUS.

[*In January*, 1767, *it began to be rumoured, that another Change of Miniſters was to take place. Some paragraphs in the papers concerning this report occaſioned the following letter.*]

The new arrangement is ſettled; *the Earl of Northington retires*; *the Earl of Chatham*, as Miniſter, *takes the Preſidentſhip of the Council, which will reſtore that Board to its* conſtitutional *importance.*

I AM diverted from my intention of diſplaying to the public the noble manner in which the national buſineſs goes on, under our wiſe, ſpirited, and upright miniſter, by an article of news, which I lately read in your paper, and which I have taken for my motto. It filled my heart, as it muſt the heart of every real friend to the *true* and *antient* conſtitution of this country, with joy and exultation.

You inform us, that, amongſt other changes and removes, which are ſoon to take place, in the preſent fixed, ſteady, and conſiſtent adminiſtration, our illuſtrious miniſter is to be Preſident of the Council, in the room of the grave, virtuous, and decent

decent nobleman, who has ſo long (now more than five months) and ſo worthily preſided at that moſt honourable board. Whilſt he retires to what he has long ſighed for, a calm philoſophic retreat, in which he may enjoy the retroſpect of a long, pure, and well-ſpent life; the preſent poſſeſſion of a large penſion, and the pleaſing proſpect of many lucrative reverſions; whilſt he thus, a real philoſopher, enjoys the preſent, looks back with pleaſure on the paſt, and with well-grounded hope, awaits the time to come; our great miniſter, *as Miniſter*, aſſumes his ſeat, and by preſiding at, reſtores that Board to its *juſt* and *conſtitutional* importance.

By reſtoring that Board to its antient, juſt, and conſtitutional authority, the Earl of Chatham will have performed every thing which reaſonable and thinking men expected from Mr. Pitt. He will then be, what all good men have long wiſhed him to be, the real, ſole, and abſolute miniſter of this country; he will then ſingly, and without controul, *guide* all meaſures, and be reſponſible to himſelf alone; indeed, who elſe can be a competent judge of his actions? No one ought to preſume to determine on his actions, who has not a ſoul like his, great, capacious, daring and irregular.

But as every one who enjoys with rapture this approaching revival of our *antient conſtitution*, may not have a clear and diſtinct view of all the bleſſings which muſt naturally and inevitably attend it, fancy that I ſhall perform a ſervice not ungrateful to our miniſter, and highly uſeful to the public, by explaining in a few words, what the *antient rights* and *powers* of that Board were; and by giving a few inſtances, how the application of theſe powers may now tend to render us, as they formerly did our anceſtors, a free, happy, and contented people.

This Board, then, had formerly a *legiſlative authority*, and governed the nation by ſeveral wiſe,

wholeſome and gentle laws, known by the name of *proclamations*. Theſe were conciſe, clear, and poſitive; free from the jargon which encumbers and perplexes our acts of parliament; the meaneſt capacity might underſtand them; full and efficacious for their purpoſes; the ſubtleſt lawyer could not evade them. With this *conſtitutional power* (ſometimes ſtrongly, ſometimes weakly exerted) the Council continued until an *innovation* was effected in the conſtitution; firſt, by a thing called the Declaration of Rights, and afterwards by an event (of which, out of tenderneſs to the prejudices of ſome well-meaning, but very weak and abſurd men, I forbear to ſpeak my mind) generally called the Revolution.

Convinced of the beauty and wiſdom of this ſyſtem, our great miniſter lately made an effort to revive and eſtabliſh it. The fullneſs of time not being then come, he unhappily failed in the attempt. Convinced and ſatisfied of the wiſdom of the deſign, the preſent legiſlative power (Kings, Lords and Commons) pardoned the crime of attempting it, and thereby ſaved his precious life, to compleat and accompliſh the great and generous plan.

This Board was alſo formerly a great court of juſtice; wiſe and equitable in its conſtitution; full and deciſive in its authority, and in its juriſdiction ample and extenſive; in it was alſo veſted the executive power. This great court was known by the name of the STAR CHAMBER. It continued in full and *conſtitutional* power and vigour, eſpecially under the auſpicious reigns of ſome of the *Stuarts*, until, advantage being taken of the diſtreſſes of one of thoſe Kings, it was aboliſhed by the uſurped and arbitrary power of an act of parliament.

It is very fortunate for us, that though our forefathers, envious of the happineſs of their children, deprived us of this glorious inheritance; yet it is too frequently

frequently mentioned in our hiſtory; the equity of its proceedings too minutely deſcribed; the juſtice of its ſentences too often applauded; the efficacy of its puniſhments is ſo ſtriking and remarkable, that our patriot miniſter cannot have any difficulty in reſtoring it to the full powers and authorities which it exerted, and eſtabliſhing it on the exact plan on which it flouriſhed in the reign of Charles the Firſt.

Having thus ſhortly, but faithfully explained what is meant by Lord C———m being Preſident of, and thereby reſtoring the Privy Council to its *conſtitutional importance*, it remains that I ſhould demonſtrate its utility and ſuperiority to the preſent modes, by a few ſuppoſed, but very probable, caſes.

Suppoſe, then, that the ſpirit of licentiouſneſs ſhould, already daring, become ſo general, that the whole nation ſhould cry out, as it were with one voice, that they were deceived in the opinion they had formed, and the hopes they had entertained of their once idol, our great miniſter; that he attends to nothing but changing and ſhuffling men from place to place; that he has turned thoſe who were (until he was pleaſed to renounce them) his own, and always have been the friends of their country, out of employment, in order to make room for the tools and dependents of the Favourite; that his patriotiſm was a maſk, and his love of liberty a diſguiſe, to cover his ambition and propenſity to deſpotiſm; that he is ignorant of, and therefore unable to purſue the true intereſts of this country; that he is too proud to aſk advice, and too preſumptuous to receive aſſiſtance; that he is inſolent and ungrateful to his old, and mean and ſervile to his new connection:—ſuppoſe this horrid outrage to be committed, and then tell me, if our law, as it ſtands at preſent, preſcribes, or our courts of juſtice, in

their preſent weak and inſufficient condition, can inflict any puniſhment adequate to ſuch an heinous offence? It ought to be, and no doubt it will, in due time, be declared *high treaſon*.

How is this to be done by the tedious forms of an act of parliament paſſing through both Houſes, ſubject to the debate and cavil of factious men, enemies to good order and good government, and moſt notoriouſly diſaffected to the power of our moſt excellent miniſter. Nay, poſſibly, ſo juſt and neceſſary a meaſure might totally miſcarry, by the force of ſome yet unbroken and proud connection.

But when the new conſtitution is ſettled, or I ſhould rather ſay, when the old one is reſtored, the Preſident gives the order to the Council, the Council to the Clerks, the Clerks to the Printer; out comes a proclamation, declaring it to be high treaſon, to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of L—d C———m; and there at once you have an end of murmuring, repining, and diſcontent, throughout the kingdom for ever; all will be mirth, jollity, and good humour.

Another inſtance: Suppoſe our miniſter, out of his great reſpect for, and known attachment to the Royal Houſe of Pruſſia, ſhould think fit to ſettle on that great and terrible monarch, a ſubſidy of a million, or thereabouts; ſuppoſe, then, that the E. I. C———y had no more left to be ſqueezed out of, how is the money to be had? From parliament—This is worſe than the other caſe; they have had enough of that already: No, no—the Council meet; the proclamation iſſues; the money is levied, as *ſhip money* was; it is paid into the hands of the Pruſſian miniſter, without deducting the pay-maſter's fees; and there you have ſecured the protection of a powerful Prince for this poor, weak, and defenceleſs kingdom.

I ſhould

I ſhould tire my readers, were I to go on, with all the inſtances which occur to me, by which the preference due to this mode of legiſlation might be made clear and plain. Why ſhould I mention the readineſs with which embargoes might be laid, and taken off again upon reaſonable compoſition; the expedition with which a proclamation, for enlarging the power of the crown, might be publiſhed; how eaſily ſtate neceſſity might be declared the law of the land, or the nation ordered to obſerve a political Lent of forty days ſtrict abſtinence from liberty? The thing ſpeaks for itſelf; and I dare ſay, that there is not a man in the kingdom who reads this, but is already convinced. You muſt obſerve though, that I would not adviſe the total diſuſe of parliaments. Septennial drunkenneſs may keep the people in good humour, and the parliament may be kept on, as the convocation is, to vote a dutiful addreſs every ſeventh year, and then be prorogued.

The excellence of this Board, as a Court of Juſtice, or Star Chamber, and its ſuperiority over all other courts, is ſo ſelf-evident, that I ſhall give you but one inſtance to prove it.

You, Sir, print a paper, which, to the miniſter and his admirers, appears to reflect on his wiſdom, integrity, and ability. According to the preſent vexatious modes, you are taken before a Juſtice of Peace, and there examined; then you are put to the trouble of getting bail for your appearance; you then employ an attorney, and with him comes a long bill of coſt; you retain lawyers, and to them you muſt pay large fees; a bill muſt, after all this, be found by a grand jury, before you can be tried by a petit jury; theſe perceiving your innocence, acquit you, after ſuch a train of plague, torment, delay, and expence. How will this be, when the Council Board is reſtored to its *conſtitutional power*

as a Court of Juſtice, or Star Chamber?—Thus it is —the miniſter is offended, you are taken up, the affair is over in a trice, you are fined, impriſoned, whipped, pillored, noſe-ſlit, tongue-bored, and branded in the forehead, in a ſummary way, without loſs of time or hindrance of buſineſs. I congratulate you heartily on your approaching happineſs.

TRANQUILLUS.

Anſwer to the preceeding letter.

HAVING lately had a tete-a-tete converſation with a member of the P——— C———, he was pleaſed to inform me, with great concern, that a new regulation was taking place in all the departments of government. That his M——— was ſo attached to Lord C——— for his vigorous endeavours to promote the meaſures of Lord B——, that he was determined to make him P———t of the C———l and Prime Miniſter, with an authority ſo abſolute, as to give directions in every point, though all beſides himſelf and Lord B—— ſhould diſſent; and farther, it is concluded, that this nation cannot be properly governed without a Star-Chamber Court as formerly, whereinm oney is to be raiſed, puniſhments inflicted on every writer in the oppoſition; and all things needful to ſupport the honour, authority and emolument of Lord B—— and Lord C——— are to be determined in a ſummary way. The king of P——— is to have a penſion of one million, and all whom Lord B—— and Lord C——— approve of are to be rewarded with penſions, places, or other advantages, and none others. O what times are coming! what dreadful ſcenes are upon the carpet! who will live in old England when this great monſter is made abſolute monarch?—Much more might be ſaid on this occaſion, but I forbear, and comfort myſelf with the hopes, that the nation will take the alarm, and

give

give the S——n no reſt till he hath caſt Lord C—— for ever out of his preſence.

Thus a writer, who makes no ſcruple of advancing the moſt abſolute falſhoods, may ring the changes from week to week, by only taking care that one of them exceed the other in magnitude, juſt to ſuch a degree as will make a tolerable harmony. I appeal to the public, whether Lord C—'s enemies do not write as poſitively of his abominable conduct, as if they had it from a member of the P—— C——? And let any ſenſible man declare to me whether he can find any ſolid conviction from arguments ſupported by no chimerical a baſis? Men may affirm without truth, reaſon without conſcience, and throw dirt enough without remorſe; yet an honeſt man will be an honeſt man in the ſight of God and common ſenſe, till by ſome FACT, he PROVES HIMSELF a v——!

By the above fiction, I hope it will appear, that I could invent a plauſible lie to be-praiſe or diſpraiſe any man I ſhould think proper; but what a world muſt we live in, if truth ſhould be entirely baniſhed? And I appeal to conſcience, that whoever tells, and argues from, a deliberate falſhood to aſperſe his greateſt enemy, is as much aſhamed of his conduct in the ſight of God, as he would be in the ſight of man, was he publicly known. That unhappy maſter of fiction, *Anti-Sejanus*, has too baſely lead the way for ingenuity, without conſcience, to diſplay itſelf for ſome ſiniſter end. Beware, my country, of theſe artful enemies to virtue; and till they can poſitively point out a fact, directed immediately by Lord C——, that is infamous in itſelf, and a diſgrace to morality, let us pay no credit to their malevolence, however elegantly expreſſed. In ſhort, from the whole conduct of Mr. P——, I think no man was ever more worthy of our eſteem and veneration; and I muſt believe him to be the

ſame

ſame man in Lord C———, till by ſome notorious alteration of principles and conduct, he is guilty of ſuch tranſactions as muſt convince me to the contrary. TRANQUILIUS.

Ironical Defence of the Earl of Ch—m.

ALTHOUGH I am engaged in the cauſe of our great miniſter, yet hope that the public does me the juſtice to perceive how little I am ſwayed by partiality, how entirely I am free from prejudice. I have already very openly, and with a becoming boldneſs, pointed out one groſs defect in the conſtruction of the preſent political fabric. I have avowed my diſlike of one man, who formerly made a part of that proud connection, which it is the glory of our great miniſter to have broken, or at leaſt to have done his beſt to break in pieces. It is in vain that we are aſſured that there is no power delegated to him, and no confidence repoſed in him. He is an eye-ſore to all our friends, and until he is removed I ſhall not ceaſe to complain, and to acknowledge to the whole world, that all is not right.

I ſuppoſe that my reputation for candour, (a reputation very ſeldom the lot of a political writer) will be eſtabliſhed beyond the power of envy or malice, when I confeſs to the public, that there is *one* fault more, and that of a very alarming nature, which muſt alſo be corrected, before we can arrive at that perfection which is our aim, and which the nation expects from us. It is want of concert amongſt ourſelves.

To this it will be anſwered, and with no ſmall appearance of plauſibility, that concert amongſt us is not neceſſary; that it is ſufficient that each individual ſhould obey the orders he receives, without looking to the right or left, to ſee what his fellow-ſervants are about—that the very intention of acting in concert, is apt to beget reaſoning, and breed debate,

debate, two of the worſt qualities ever known in ſervants, and ſufficient to confound the ſchemes, and defeat the intentions, of the wiſeſt and moſt abſolute maſter that ever lived.

If this reaſoning be confined to the inferior executive parts—to the mere office-clerks of adminiſtration—ſuch as firſt L——d of the T———y, S——t——s of S——t, and C———r of the E———r, I allow its force and validity. Indeed every day's experience abundantly juſtifies it; for if concert among ſuch as theſe were neceſſary, how could the national buſineſs go on, in the orderly, decent, conſiſtent, and effectual manner in which it has proceeded, ever ſince L——d Ch———m has had the reins (and the *whip* too) of goverment committed into his hands. If concert were neceſſary, we ſhould find ſome two of thoſe, who ſit on a certain bench, of the ſame diſpoſition, character, and deſign. They would not then appear like lawyers *feed* in a hurry in court, without briefs, and truſting for the defence of their client to what ſcraps of knowledge they may chance to pick up from their adverſaries arguments. What can diſplay at once their abilities and their obedience more fully, than a judicious defence of a ſyſtem, which they do not even pretend to underſtand?

Want of communication and concert, would, in theſe caſes, I confeſs, afford no matter of complaint. The want of concert, of which I complain, is of a more alarming nature: A want of concert amongſt us political writers, whoſe buſineſs it is to ſatisfy the nation of the wiſdom, integrity, and ability of the miniſter. If we do not *write* in concert, all is loſt.

You muſt perceive, Sir, that I am induced to make theſe reflections, by ſome late productions of my fellow labourer, and almoſt nameſake, who ſigns himſelf *Tranquilius*. This worthy gentleman, not being acquainted with the taſk aſſigned me, nor inſtructed

inſtructed in the manner in which I have been ordered to perform it, miſtakes me for an enemy, and, as ſuch, endeavours to leſſen my credit with the public. Now, I am equally ignorant of the particular walk aſſigned to him, and yet I can plainly ſee, by his ſtyle and manner, that wit, humour and raillery, are the weapons which he is ordered to uſe for the annoyance of our foes. Ought not he, in like manner to perceive, that the ſhield of ſolid and impenetrable argument, cloſe reaſoning, and ſtrong judgment, is lifted high upon my arm for the common defence?

I did not wonder that he ſhould aſſure the public, much leſs did I blame him for it, that he and I were not the ſame perſon. The rights of authors are not, in general, very valuable. Their liberty is but precarious, their property (God knows) far from *ineſtimable*. But every author has certainly a right to his own *identity*. This I would have ſacred in all common caſes of ſtate neceſſity: no *proclamation* ſhould affect it—no *enquiry* ſhake it. It will, I dare ſay, be inviolable until the E. I. C——y, the B——k, and other funds, the landed and trading intereſt are ſqueezed until they can yield no more. And this will, I hope, make *Tranquilius* eaſy on this head.

Now I muſt beg of my friend *Tranquilius* to conſider what incredible miſchief he may do, though with the beſt intentions in the world, ſhould he miſtake the meaning of other gentlemen, as he has done mine. The writer who is charged with the care of inſerting proper articles of intelligence, and apprizing the public in due time of L—d Ch——m's great and extenſive ſchemes, has lately told us, "that orders are iſſued by that great miniſter, for improving America to its utmoſt value." A deſign worthy of him who formed it, and of too great conſequence to leave the means, as he does in

in other caſes, to his underlings and drudges. He has condeſcended to point them out himſelf, and they too are worthy of him, and of him alone; as I will be bold to affirm, that they would not have entered the head of any other ſtateſman who lived before him, who now lives, or who ſhall live hereafter. They are ſhort, clear, effectual, plauſible in theory, and eaſy in practice.

He has reſolved that America ſhall be improved to its full value; that is the deſign; the *quomodo* follows. " He has *ordered* both the *Floridas* and the mild region of *Labrador* to be cleared, cultivated, and (as our panegyriſt has well expreſſed it) *fully* peopled."

——*Nimium vobis romana propago*
Viſa potens ſuperiſ!——

What a miniſter! who can at once exterminate gloomy foreſts, and cover a country with ſmiling harveſts—who can make the howling deſart bloſſom like a roſe—who can cultivate, plant, build, and even people—all by his *creative fiat*, without the uncertain, ſlow, progreſſive methods of vulgar ſtateſmen and lawgivers!

But whilſt we are, from the higheſt to the loweſt, exulting in the wiſdom and abilities of our glorious miniſter—whilſt L——d C——m is ſecuring reverſions in that happy country, and weaving, for their uſe, his favourite web of linſey-woolſey goverment (three threads of licentiouſneſs and one of ſervitude)—whilſt L——d N—— is buried (in his hours of ſobriety) in deviſing ſchemes for fixing the morals of, and promoting piety and virtue in that infant and yet mature colony—whilſt C—— T—— is flouriſhing a ſpeech upon that wiſdom which took away *ſterility* from *barrenneſs* and gave *population* to *deſolation*—whilſt our great miniſter himſelf is meditating a conſiſtent *talk*, to prove to the H—— of L—— that the peace

which

which gave us that amazing country, was *great* was *glorious*, was *adequate*; and will be *firm*, *ſecure*, and *permanent*—If, in the midſt of theſe delightful reveries, *Tranquilius* ſhould interfere, and with his accuſtomed humour and pleaſantry, *gravely* aſſure us that it was all an irony, intended to aſperſe the miniſter and ridicule his ſchemes, to interrupt his deſigns, and bring his adminiſtration into contempt—This harlequin, witty indeed, but miſchievous, would thus, by a ſlap of his wooden ſword, conver tthis beautiful Paradice into an hideous deſart, and leave nothing to our offended eyes, but a dreary turf-bog, and perhaps—a wicked magician.

TRANQUILLUS.

To the Earl of Ch——m, &c. &c. &c.

My LORD,

WHILE the firſt of the Nobility and the greateſt officers of the ſtate find it matter of favour and difficulty to be permitted to approach your perſon, it may be thought preſumptuous in a man of my humble ſtation to hope for the honour of one moment of your attention. But I am encouraged to addreſs myſelf to you by that partial condeſcention, with which you have always inclined your ear to the honourable applauſe, and earneſt good wiſhes of our collective body. My Lord, we are ſenſible of your partiality to us, and, in return, you may depend upon our unſhaken loyalty and adherence. My friends have ſo long been unanimous in aſſuring me that I am the laſt of the human ſpecies, that I begin to ſubſcribe to their opinion; and the more willingly, ſince I ſtill have the merit of belonging to a rank of people, who have upon all occaſions expreſſed a ſingular veneration for your Lordſhip's eminent virtues. Beſides this, I forſee with exultation, that when nothing

thing ſhall be left of you and me but the odour of our memories, the title of *ultimus Romanorum* will be applied in common to us both. Poſterity may even have their doubts which of us beſt deſerves it. Your Lordſhip may be ſatisfied that we heard with rapture of your return to power, when we ſaw who the people were to whom you imparted all your confidence, and whom you thought qualified for the firſt employments of the ſtate; there was not one of us who did not feel himſelf fired with the laudable ambition of ſerving our country, and your Lordſhip upon the ſame terms. We plainly perceived that it was indifferent to you by whom the buſineſs of the nation was performed —that you required no talent but implicit ſubmiſſion—and that you had equitably thrown the gates of preferment wide open to the meaneſt of mankind. We do not pretend to form an adequate judgment of thoſe great, important projects, by which you were expected to reſtore vigour to government, and union to the people. But, as far as we are capable of any opinion concerning the meaſures you have already taken, I may venture to aſſert there is not one of us, who would not have acted preciſely as you have done. The firſt leading meaſure of your adminiſtration, as I am informed, was a direct attack upon the laws of the land, and on the liberty of the ſubject; your ſecond, a no leſs direct invaſion of their property. Now my Lord, I really know as little of the law as you do, and only wiſh that you had entirely omitted that idle plea of neceſſity. It would have ſuited your purpoſes, and have become your character much better, if, in concurrence with your two learned friends, you had reſted the proclamation upon that great fundamental law of the conſtitution (as tranſmitted to us by the Normans) that it is the King's prerogative to ſubvert the whole

whole body of the laws, whenever he ſhall think it for the good of his people, and that the Privy Council are the only proper judges of the occaſion. As to my liberty, it is worth ſo little, that I have frequently riſqued it for the value of a ſilk handkerchief; and for my property, if I were to make you excluſive heir to it to-morrow, it would hardly pay the expence of letters of adminiſtration. With regard to charters, I entirely agree with your Lordſhip, that they are of no other uſe in this country, than ſo far as they furniſh great Miniſters with a pretence of extorting money from the proprietors. But there are other charters equally entitled to your patriotic care and inſpection. Proceed, my Lord, as you have begun, and you need not deſpair of ſeeing the Great Charter itſelf fall before you. You have the whole unrepreſented part of the nation of your ſide, and if you ſhould want money, you cannot apply to a ſet of people more ready than we are, to put our hands into the pockets of other folks, eſpecially ſince your generous patronage of North America has ſecured us from repriſals.

Conſidering the ſhortneſs of your adminiſtration, it muſt be confeſſed that you have done more than even your enemies expected from you: but we, who are your friends, expect a great deal more. We take for granted, that in this long receſs of parliament, you are employed in forming ſome farther projects for the good of your country, of a nature conformable to what you have already done. We would not, however, debar you from the innocent relaxation of Chriſtmas gambols; for, if I am well informed, you had once a remarkable turn for croſs purpoſes, and are now no mean proficient in queſtions and commands.

At the meeting of parliament it is not to be doubted that you will have ſomething very conſiderable

derable to propoſe. The eternal ſuſpenſion of the *Habeas Corpus* act, would make a noble addition to your fame, and we are ready to give it up without reluctance. To ſay the truth, I cannot recollect that I, or any of our friends, ever derived the ſmalleſt benefit from it; owing to ſome unaccountable difficulties which we always met with in procuring bail. I would not recommend a ſpunge to you, for that might raiſe the value of land, which it is your intereſt, as a Miniſter, as it has always been your ſtudy, to lower as much as poſſible; but then a perpetual parliament might anſwer all your purpoſe: By introducing a majority of us, your friends, into it, we ſhould, in a ſhort time, repreſent nobody but ourſelves—tax every body but ourſelves—and make your Lordſhip's will and pleaſure the only law not to be diſpenſed with by the Crown. In this view, the firſt ſtep which will be neceſſary for you to take, is to advance ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters among us to conſiderable employments. Such a choice will give you credit in the eyes of the world, and bind the party to you for ever. At the Board of Trade, for inſtance, I think I could preſide with equal reputation to myſelf, and benefit to the public. I know ſomething in the way of traffic, having more than once bartered my honeſty for ſomething above its value; and a few years ago I was very near keeping an alehouſe at Briſtol, which convinced me of the neceſſity of a general Exciſe. But, perhaps, you may think me rather better qualified for a Chancellor of the Exchequer; I confeſs I have frequently raiſed money by ways and means, which the preſent Chancellor probably never thought of until he received ſome new rays of light from your Lordſhip; and as it is your paſſion to ſeek for merit in the dirt, I flatter myſelf you will not ſuffer talents ſuch as mine to be buried in obſcurity.

After all, my dear friend, I will confeſs to you the weakneſs of my heart; I have a taſte for retirement, which I had rather indulge in than enjoy the higheſt office in your gift, provided you would furniſh me with a ſufficient excuſe for doing ſo. A Vice-Treaſurerſhip of Ireland would ſuit me exactly. My features are not very diſtant from human, and I have no doubt that in a few months I ſhould acquire the airs and manners of a gentleman. You would find me far from a uſeleſs Member in a Great Aſſembly, for I may ſay without vanity, that even our friend the Alderman cannot bear a drubbing better than I can.

As I have now ſettled a correſpondence with you, you may now depend upon hearing from me frequently. I remain your honour's truſty

BUCKHORSE.

Prorſus diſſolutum offendi navigium, vel pitius diſſipatum, nihil conſilio, nihil ratione, nihil ordine.

Cicero ad Atticum 15. 13.

To the Earl of Ch——m, &c. &c.

My LORD,

AM ſatisfied that nothing but the gout in both hands could have prevented your anſwering my laſt letter, for you certainly were not inſenſible of the advantage of cultivating a friendſhip ſo honourable as mine. *Laudari a laudato viro* conveys a pleaſure which, I believe, you have not been much acquainted with, and which you ſhould not appear to undervalue. This gout, my Lord, is really a very convenient diſorder; according as you find yourſelf diſpoſed, it either encreaſes the merit of taking a ſhare in public buſineſs, or gives you a very reaſonable excuſe for declining it. Thus, whether you think proper to let others ruin the nation, or to ſave it yourſelf, you may, without oſtentation,

oſtentation, be indolent with leſs reproach, or active with more credit, than any other man in the nation.

——— " *The ſkilful mind*
" *Turns all occurrence to its own advantage.*"

Your diſeaſes have been your beſt advocates; nor hath all your pliancy of tongue been of half ſo much real ſervice to you, as the ſilent eloquence of a crutch and flannels. But, my Lord, it is poſſible you may not be duly informed of the ſtate of things in this part of the world. Your government is all in confuſion; and it ſeems that, like other monarchs, you have not a ſingle friend honeſt and bold enough to hazard telling you an unpleaſing truth. This is the common fate of greatneſs. It is the misfortune or privilege of high office to deſert or be deſerted; and you have had your experience both ways. In theſe calamitous circumſtances, I look upon it as the duty of a ſincere, diſintereſted friendſhip like mine, to endeavour to open your eyes, to let you know what paſſes, and to haſten your return to your adminiſtration; which, without your immediate preſence, will inevitably fall to ruin. I conſider your Lordſhip as an eminent maſter builder, who hath voluntarily undertaken to repair on old ſhattered houſe, but who, inſtead of waiting to overſee the work, hath contented himſelf with employing a parcel of day labourers, to whom he has left certain directions to be obſerved, while he enjoys himſelf in the country. The moment he turns his back, they of courſe begin to quarrel. The maſon calls for bricks and mortar, the labourer brings him ſand and ſtraw. One man repairs, while another pulls down; they revile each other; all diſcipline and obedience is at an end; or if any two agree, it is only to quit the work and retire to an alehouſe, where they drink confuſion to the

proprietor, to the undertaker, and to the whole buſineſs. No longer awed by the perſonal terror of their maſter's preſence, the very fellows, who never preſumed to have an opinion before, now ſet up for judges of right and wrong; pretend that they do not value their wages, unleſs the work be carried on to their mind, and ſome of them already begin to think of ſecuring a better ſtipend elſewhere. This, my Lord, is but too faithful a picture of your adminiſtration. The very men from whom, conſidering their former ſervility, you had a right to expect implicit ſubmiſſion, now preſume to ſet your doctrines and commands at defiance. They advance their own, and interpret your's as they think proper.

This I—— buſineſs, I fear, will not be concluded to your ſatisfaction. The —y, but a few days ago, had nearly been d———d. One ſaid he did not know; another confeſſed he could not tell; a third acknowledged he knew ſomething, but could not tell at that time; and what is worſt of all, your *homme d'affaires* had an aſſurance to declare, that all your American doctrines were falſe and abſurd; and ſwore, that he was determined to tax that country in ſpite of your teeth, and that they muſt and ſhould ſubmit.—If you have no regard for Great-Britain, at leaſt return in time to ſave your adopted America. If, at ſo critical a moment, you ſhould neglect the intereſt of your new ſubjects, it is poſſible they may forget their vowed allegiance to you. They may, perhaps, be able to find among themſelves, ſome leader of abilities and integrity equal to their own, who will adopt your principles, and carry them to the point they naturally tend to, an independant dominion for himſelf; nay, if the lateſt advices may be depended on, ſuch a project is already in agitation, and, perhaps, the execution of it may be at no great

great diſtance; and, I doubt, whether your Lordſhip will be either able or willing to ſend over ſuch an additional force, as hath been demanded by a great officer, in his laſt letters, as the only poſſible method of preventing the total defection of that empire.

You ſee, my Lord, that, by your abſence, you are hazarding the fruits of all your virtues and all your patriotiſm: your declared enemies acquire new ſpirits and vigour, while your ſecret enemies, who have enliſted under your ſtandard, diſagree with one another, deſert your cauſe, and turn your perſon and your meaſures into ridicule. But theſe are diſorders which your preſence would infallibly remove: it would reſtore as much union among your vaſſals, as can be effected by the common bond of fear; and that I believe is as much as you would ever deſire to ſee among them. The —— Company, who are encouraged by the heſitation and diffidence of your manager [for the poor man has his doubts] would never dare to diſpute your abſolute commands.—Some idea, however diſtant, of the number and diſpoſition of the forces would be communicated to the commander in chief;—and as to America, if you found it abſolutely neceſſary to relinquiſh your influence there, in order to maintain it here, you might ſend over a reinforcement of troops under the command of that ſincere and candid young Nobleman, with whom you have formed a laſting friendſhip, upon principles that do equal honour to you both. This youth has been converſant in military achievements, as well as in political intrigue, and I doubt not but you agree with himſelf in thinking, that he is at leaſt as well qualified for the field as for the cabinet.

But if you ſhould defer your return, the conſequence may be fatal. Your gracious ——— will

ſuſpect that you are betraying him; your vaſſals will deſert to the enemy; your loyal America will be in declared r——; and I, my Lord, ſhall be obliged to conſult my reputation, and leave you to your own guidance. BUCKHORSE.

To ISAAC BUCKHORSE, *Eſq;*

Intantis noſtris peccatis, tantiſque noſtrorum injuriis, nihil eſt quod aut facere dignum nobis, aut ſimulare poſſim.

MY DEAR SIR,

YOU do me but juſtice in believing that I am proud of your friendſhip, and value your correſpondence as I ought. I am the more ſenſible of the expreſſions of your regard, as they have an appearance of warmth and ſincerity, to which I have not been much accuſtomed of late. There is no man, to whoſe opinion, in matters of government, I pay a greater difference than to your's, nor any ſet of people whoſe approbation I am more ambitious of than of you and your friends. I think it but juſt that the multitude of good ſubjects, who have nobody to ſpeak for them, ſhould be allowed to ſpeak for themſelves; and I have always faithfully collected their opinions from the number of voices in the different ſtreets of the metropolis. In return, your attachment to my ſervice has been uniformly maintained, while people, who pretended to a greater ſhare of diſcernment, were wavering in their opinions about me, or deſerted my cauſe. The voice of the multitude, like a ſwelling ſtream, covered all my actions, concealed the falſe, unequal bottom of the channel it flowed in, and rapidly carried away all reaſon and argument before it. Your aſſiſtance was of conſiderable uſe to me in times of greater proſperity, but at this ſeaſon it is become eſſential. My neareſt relations are my bittereſt enemies, though I would gladly have prevented their enmity

enmity by the force of blood. My new-made friends could never have become ſo without ſuch treachery to a former patron, as makes it impoſſible for me to confide in their ſincerity;—my influence is weakened in the Cabinet; the tools of my power rebel againſt it; the colonies are in arms; and the public is evidently diſſatisfied with my whole government. If you, my dear Buckhorſe, and your adherents, ſhould deſert me, it would be in vain for me to return to town. I ſhould ſoon be obliged to quit it with diſgrace. The truth is, the ferment was beginning before I left London. I found I had undertaken too much, and carried things with too high a hand. I determined, therefore, to withdraw myſelf from the ſcene of confuſion, and wait either until I might be recalled with ſupplications, or until things were got into ſuch perplexity and diſtreſs as might juſtify my not returning at all.

But ſince I find myſelf diſappointed in the hope of being ſent for, and cannot yet determine to relinguiſh all pretenſions to power and profit, I have but one choice left—to return and trample upon the reptiles who have given themſelves airs in my abſence; for I am convinced there is not one of them who has courage enough to oppoſe me in perſon. Even the miſerable drudge, who has dared to indulge the licentiouſneſs of his tongue [for I know he meant nothing] about my loyal Americans, will tremble when he ſees me. It is not for a ſoul like his to meet the countenance of offended majeſty. This is a fellow, whom I intend to rule with a coercive rod of iron. Whatever he may think, I ſhall *rob him of his inconſtancy, and give uniformity to his politics*, whether he will or no; *nec vincet amentia leviſſimi hominis noſtram prudentiam.* As to the reſt of the pack, you muſt be ſenſible I never could expect any thing from them, except ſubmiſſion. I knew they wanted every other qua-

lification; if I obſerve them fail in that article, you may depend upon my diſcharging them immediately.

Since I have now begun to write to you, I ſhall take this opportunity to explain ſome parts of my conduct, in which you have not been well informed. Firſt then, with regard to the proclamation, I am to tell you that, in whatever manner I might have expreſſed myſelf, I always knew it was illegal and unconſtitutional, and ſhould have been contented to keep that point undecided, in order to leave the precedent open to me, for future purpoſes. But I had unfortunately employed two bull-dogs, who, the moment they heard me halloo, ſhut their eyes, ran on fiercely, without care or diſcretion, and daſhed their heads againſt a ſolid wall. This circumſtance, however, does not diſpleaſe me; for the more theſe tools make themſelves odious and contemptible, the more dependent they muſt be of courſe upon my favour, and the leſs ſcrupulous in obeying me. As to the India buſineſs, I will confeſs to you truly, if not honeſtly, that when that ſcheme came into my mind, it was never attended with any ideas of difficulty, or even a queſtion about right or wrong, law or equity. I meant no more than to gratify the landed, by laying a tax upon the mercantile intereſt, no matter how partial or how unjuſt. But as in reality I care as little for one as the other, if the merchants will be patient but for a year or two, they may depend upon having their revenge. In the mean time, as I find that my agent has trifled, in his uſual ſtile, in the execution of my poſitive orders, as ſoon as I arrive in town, I ſhall order the Court of Directors to attend me, and ſettle this affair at once in a ſummary way, by proclamation, perhaps, or an order of council.

With regard to America, whatever my doctrines may ſeem to import, you may be aſſured that I have

no

no thoughts of acquiring an independent dominion for the reſt of my life in that country;—my age alone ſecures me from a ſuſpicion of that nature, beſides that I have a much better chance for abſolute power at home. No, my dear friend, if ever I ſee the colonies, it will be an involuntary viſit, and I hope but for a limited time. As to the poor boy, whom you recommend to command the reinforcement for North America, I really think he would be full as well employed as he is at preſent.

You have undoubtedly heard of the unparalleled inſolence of the Britiſh factories in Portugal. Theſe merchants think that their dirty intereſts are of national importance, and would fain embroil me with a powerful and reſpectable Court in ſupport of them. But there is a law againſt ſturdy beggars, which I am determined not to ſuſpend. Beſides, that Sarvallio is my friend. I admire his principles, and ſhall ſteadily imitate his conduct. Such men as we are, appear but ſeldom. Providence evidently intended us for extraordinary purpoſes, the execution of which whole nations will remember.

I confeſs I was a little low-ſpirited when I began this letter: the accounts I continually received of the inſolent and profligate behaviour of my ſervants in London had given me the vapours; but writing as well as talking revives my ſpirits; and I can now even laugh at the terror and confuſion, with which theſe fellows will receive their liege Lord. Already they look up, and ſee me deſcending like a bird of prey among them. Such they ſhall find me, and woe be to the firſt of them that cackles in my preſence. As to you, my dear friend, if it be poſſible for me to form a diſintereſted friendſhip, it ſhall be with you. There is an uncommon ſympathy between us, which convinces me, that in ſimilar ſituations our conduct would have been the ſame. Your occupation has been a link, mine a firebrand.

Blows

Blows have but little effect upon your countenance; ſhame never embarraſſed mine. I will not carry the compariſon farther; but, to tell you the truth, my mind miſgives me that our exits will not be very unlike. Accept my thanks for all your kind friendſhip, and believe me, dear Iſaac, faithfully your's, C———.

To the EARL *of* CH——M, *&c. &c.*

Nunc contrà plerique ad honores a dipiſcendos et ad rempublicam gerendam nudi veniunt atque inermes, nullâ cognitione rerum nullâ ſcientiâ ornati.

MY DEAR LORD,

I SHOULD not have failed to acknowledge the great honour done me by your ——'s letter, if I had not expected, before this, to have ſeen you in town: but ſince, for reaſons beſt known to yourſelf, you have made ——— the ſeat of empire, I think I cannot in decency avoid adding one courier to the number that have already waited at the levee.—*Donec Bythyno libeat vigilare* TYRANNO. It is the more incumbent upon me to write to you, becauſe I really have not the confidence, I mean a ſecurity of face ſufficient to ſpeak in your defence. Friends and Foes, Miniſtry and Oppoſition, ſeem to agree in one point at leaſt;—to treat you and all your political principles with contempt and deriſion. The torrent is ſo ſtrong, that I dare not ſet even a face ſuch as mine againſt it. I ſquint and ſtand aghaſt at what I hear; but when I attempt to ſpeak, find myſelf jaw-locked. This is the caſe with many others, who have not half my natural modeſty, and who are at leaſt as much obliged to you as I am. They affect to admire your abilities in groſs, but cannot prevail upon themſelves to allow you a ſingle good quality, or even a rational way of thinking, when they come to particulars.

You

You have been long enough the idol of their proſtration, and, like other falſe Gods, muſt expect to be worſhipped or deſerted, to receive incenſe or malediction, according as the hopes or fears of your votaries ſhall lead them to abide by their preſent, or to wander after a new ſuperſtition. But whereas other idolaters are themſelves the makers of the images they worſhip, you had a better title to adoration. You had a right to expect gratitude from the c———s of your hand, if indeed any thing like a virtue had entered into the compoſition of ſuch c———s. There lay your great original miſtake; and truly I bluſh for your want of ſagacity. To be candid, my dear ——, what were your hopes, either in view to the public or yourſelf, when you filled the firſt offices of the —— with their preſent poſſeſſors? Omitting all idea of abilities, which I preſume you never had in contemplation, where was the neceſſity of running into the other extreme? To employ men of overbearing talents, or to give them any ſhare of power, might indeed be liable to jealouſy and apprehenſion; but I believe your ——— is the firſt politician who ever preferred youth and ignorance for its own ſake, or who thought that boys ſhould be advanced according to their own preſumption, or that elderly gentlemen ſhould be truſted in proportion to their want of capacity and experience: But if in reality you meant no more than ſo much wood and wire, at leaſt come near enough to the ſcene to make your figures perform their parts with ſome degree of decency, and not entirely diſgrace the hand by which they are ſuppoſed to be ſet in motion—What an army of —— have you collected together! excepting one ſingle man, whom you were obliged to preſs into the ſervice (and who accordingly does his buſineſs with negligence and ill-humour) is it not entirely made up of raw recruits, of deſerters from another party,

party, or of ——— who have been flogged out of different corps for ——— or petty larceny. I know them well, my ——, they are for the moſt part people who enliſt under any ſtandard, receive the bounty from any hand that offers, and deſert with it in their pockets. That ſuch ſhould be their conduct and principles is by no means wonderful; but that they ſhould have the aſſurance to make public declarations of a determined defection from your cauſe, while they receive your ſtipend, argues a total neglect of order and diſcipline. It makes ſome people ſupect, that you have neither talents to command, nor power to puniſh, at leaſt at a diſtance; and if things go on as they have done, you need not doubt but that even the meaneſt of your ſlaves will hold themſelves emancipated from your ſervice, and act for themſelves. The Saturnalia are revived, and Emancipation is the word, which they eccho from one to the other for their mutual encouragement, as the moſt expreſſive of the bondage they were lately ſubject to. Inſtead of attending to the buſineſs of their maſter, theſe worthy gentlemen talk of nothing but themſelves, and the independance of their ſituation. One man ſays, he has an opinion of his own; another ſays, he has *no opinion* at all; but the great pride of them all ſeem to be, that they are not afraid of being flogged by your ———. You may, perhaps, imagine, that, like the clocks of Monſieur Comus, the ſympathetic hand of government will, at any diſtance, follow the direction you ſhall think proper to give it; but I ſuſpect that, if you continue at ———, you will find this machine to be out of the reach of your attraction; and that if your body be not ſoon depoſited nearer to us, your hand will have loſt its magnetic virtue. Let me warn you againſt another danger, which I believe you dread more than any other in this world or the next. The man

you

you hate, the man you fear, is ſtill indefatigable, and but too ſucceſsful, in counteracting your tricks, and expoſing them to the world. Between friends, he has already made a multitude of converts, and ſatisfied many, who were once your greateſt admirers, that you are no better than a common j——r. Whether it be matter of account, or of trade, or of revenue, I am aſhamed to tell you, that there is not one of us dares contradict him; now and then, indeed, a young cur will bark, but to ſuch as thoſe he does not even deign to reply. To ſay the truth, the turn of affairs in America, ſo different from what might reaſonably have been expected, has furniſhed him with too much matter of triumph, eſpecially as the people, whom you moſt relied upon for the defence of your doctrines, have entirely given up the point to him; and, I believe in my conſcience, that if you do not exert yourſelf in time to oppoſe it, he and his aſſociate, the ———r of the ———r, will at laſt reduce your friends, the Americans, to obedience. This at leaſt ſeems to be their deſign; but I flatter myſelf you will be able to throw impediments enough in their way, as you muſt be ſenſible that the ſucceſs of ſuch a project might be fatal to your own power, which is the true palladium of the independance and ſovereignty of Great Britain. At all events you may depend upon your faithful rabble. We have as little ſhare in making the laws, and as little inclination to ſubmit to them, as your Americans.

I forgot to mention to you, that the infirmity, which I have been ſubject to from my birth, is now become an epidemical diſorder. From a certain diſtraction, or duplicity of viſion, there is not one of us, who does not ſquint moſt obliquely; ſo that while our faces ſeem turned towards your ——— our real views have a very different direction.

Whatever

Whatever your exit may be, I ſhall be proud to ſhare it with you. BUCKHORSE.

To ISAAC BUCKHORSE, *Eſq;*

MY DEAR BUCKHORSE,

THOUGH I now labour under every infirmity that can ſhatter the human frame, and am engaged in buſineſs which calls for all my time and attention, I cannot forbear acknowledging the receipt of your letters, as they manifeſt the warmeſt affection for my perſon, and the moſt friendly anxiety for the ſucceſs of my meaſures.

It gives me no uneaſineſs to find that my conduct is the univerſal ſubject of converſation, and, with numbers, matter of the utmoſt aſtoniſhment. I have not accuſtomed myſelf to tread in the beaten paths through which moſt of my predeceſſors have travelled without deviation; every thing that bears the air of ſyſtem and uniformity, I look upon with contempt and reject with indignation.

My aim has ever been, to render my plans and purſuits beyond the underſtanding, and therefore ſecure from the attacks of thoſe who otherwiſe might be led by inclination to diſprove, and qualified with ability to oppoſe my meaſures. The man who is ever incomprehenſible, will, in general, be thought inimitable. The multitude know little of my diſpoſition; they are for the moſt part utter ſtrangers to thoſe motives which have been the ſource of my actions, and blind to thoſe cauſes which have produced my ſucceſs. By the moſt diſcerning part of the nation I have been looked upon as one fraught with an haughty, indignant ſpirit; obſtinate in reſiſtance to thoſe who were above me; abſolute and deſpotic in my commands over thoſe beneath me.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding this notion of me prevailed, whilſt my conduct appeared to be diſintereſted, my character ſtood highly exalted: and though turbulent in oppoſition, and tyrannical in adminiſtration, I was regarded as a demigod in politics. My powers of oratory, moſt bountifully beſtowed upon me by nature, and moſt induſtriouſly improved by art, gained me numerous friends, and enabled me to overthrow powerful enemies. Actuated by ambition, and invited by opportunity, I ſet out in life with the bittereſt invectives againſt, and the warmeſt oppoſition to, an unpopular, though an able miniſter; and notwithſtanding the ſlight he put upon me was neither great nor uncommon, it furniſhed me with an excuſe for commencing his ſtrenuous opponent, and continuing his unrelenting enemy.

And here, my dear friend, the general opinions of mankind concerning my behaviour, were entirely erroneous—one ſet of men fancied, that ſtimulated with the true, unfeigned ſpirit of patriotiſm, a ſincere love of my country was the ſole ſpring of my conduct—others ſuppoſed, that galled with the affront I had received from the miniſter, all my attacks upon him were dictated by vexation and diſappointment—Alas! both were egregiouſly miſtaken. My conſcience was not alarmed by his iniquitous proceedings, nor my pride ſhocked at the repulſe it had ſuſtained—Ambition alone, animated my whole frame, and gave energy and activity to all my attempts. This one paſſion begot, nouriſhed, and brought to perfection, every plan that I adopted, every meaſure that I purſued.

Docuit magnumque loqui, nitique, ſenatu.

This it was that engroſſed every wiſh of my ſoul, and called forth all the thunder of my tongue. Hence flowed all thoſe declamations, which, like the lightning of Heaven, ſmote my ſtouteſt antagoniſts with horror and conſternation. Men of all ranks

ranks and denominations, experienced miniſters, deſperate adventurers, crafty ſtateſmen, and hardened lawyers, trembled at the ſtorm, and ſhrunk, affrighted, from the blaſt.

My powers were no ſooner known, than my wiſhes were gratified, and mankind were at once convinced of, and ſubmitted to my ſuperiority, which ſtood univerſally acknowedged and admired.

Private donations, public appointments, univerſal applauſe, fed my pride without ſatisfying my ambition. And here, conſcious of my own foible, but confident of your friendſhip, I will unboſom myſelf to you without the leaſt reſerve—power, alone, is not the object of my wiſh; that I had attained; that I might have preſerved, could I have brought myſelf to exerciſe it with any degree of diſcretion or moderation. But to proceed, uncontrouled, in a calm, inſipid round of perfect tranquility, is not within the compaſs of my deſires. It is not ſufficient for me to be obeyed—I require to be worſhipped. I expect the world not only to ſpeak and act, but to *think*, as I pleaſe. Not only to devote their hands and hearts, but their ſenſes to my pleaſure—in a word, I not only look for applauſe and obedience, but adoration. Such is the end I have all along propoſed; and hitherto I have uſed fit means to attain it. In oppoſition, I have found that reſolution has overcome reaſon, and aſſurance been more admired than eloquence. The moſt violent ſpeeches have been more effectual than ſolid arguments—flights of imagination, extravagant figures, and numerous claſſical quotations, have captivated the attention, delighted the ears, and warped the judgments of the audience, when the ſoundeſt ſenſe, the ſhrewdeſt arguments, and the cloſeſt reaſoning, have paſſed unobſerved and neglected, as enervate, inanimate matter, more fit for converſation at a tea-table, than a debate in the S——H——.

H——. In adminiſtration, my practice has been to reject all treaty with enemies, and in the moſt peremptory ſtile to inſiſt upon every article that I propoſed. I have never ſuffered my brethren in office to ſhare my power or be privy to my deſigns; they have ever been the tools of my ambition, but never the partners of my glory. Battles have been fought, victories obtained, and countries ſubdued, to aggrandize my name, and confirm my popularity; and, whilſt the victors have pined for want of proviſions, or fainted in ſcorching climates, the Park and Tower guns have echoed, in thunder, my praiſes over the metropolis, and bonefires and illuminations have been exhibited as the brighteſt emblems of my genius and ſucceſs. Had I lived in other countries and in earlier times, the world would have acknowledged me the offspring of a deity, and all the nations would have kneeled to hail the ſon of Jupitar Ammon. But when reaſon has taken its turn to rule, when the united endeavours of induſtrious, indefatigable men have ſtaggered me in my ſtation, and when a ſcene has opened itſelf before me, ilſuited to my diſpoſition, becauſe more circumſcribed in buſineſs, and leſs ſplendid in its conſequence, I have retired with ſulky dignity, and withdrawn myſelf from the view and converſation of mankind. This retirement has always had its wiſhed for effect. Prayers and ſolicitations to return have dragged me from my ſolitude, and I have made my appearance juſt time enough to prevent the miſchievous effects of an impolitic meaſure, and again to convince the world, that without me nothing wiſe or ſucceſsful can ever be tranſacted. Thus, though my conduct has been myſterious, and my deſigns unſearchable, yet few of my endeavours have been defeated in the end. Let me, therefore, thou beſt of men, exhort thee not to be alarmed at the diſturbances which have enſued in a

quarter of the world, to which it was expected I ſhould reſtore tranquility. My genius, active and enterpriſing, cannot content itſelf with dull ſerenity and peace. If there are no broils abroad, we muſt excite feuds at home; and if ſtrife is at an end with our natural enemies, we muſt cheriſh diſputes with our neareſt friends.

Don't be ſurprized, if in a ſhort time to come, I make war upon thoſe for whom, a few years ago, I expoſed all the force, and exhauſted the whole treaſure of this kingdom. In my annals you will find meaſures as oppoſite, and contradictions as irreconcileable; and be aſſured the effect produced will be the end propoſed. Multitudes, who are too proud to ſubmit to the laws of their country, will be mean enough to proſtrate themſelves before my image; and thoſe who have been moſt inſolent in their reſiſtance of government, will be the moſt abject in their ſubmiſſion to my will. When I ſhake my trident, and pronounce the awful "quos ego," the ſtorm will inſtantly ſubſide. The nations will hear, admire and obey.

Give yourſelf no concern about any ſeeming defection, any faint dawning of independance, that you may fancy you have diſcovered amongſt that ſet of men, who are called my friends. For the moſt part I hold them in great contempt; few of them have had courage either to oppoſe or obey me. There is ſuch an eternal war between their hopes and fears, their duty and their judgments, that their whole conduct is a ſtrange, wild ſcene of diffidence and diſmay, anarchy and confuſion. The only diſtinction I make between my friends and my enemies is no other than this; the former I regard as my ſervants, the latter as my prey. The former are miniſters to my convenience, the latter food for my paſſions. By being called my ſervants, they may gain ſome degree of reſpect, but they muſt re-

ſign

ſign all pretenſions to independance. I may now and then indulge one or two of them in the uſe of ſcraps of Magna Charta, or ſend a portrait to keep company with the goggle-ey'd giants at Guildhall. This is the utmoſt extent of my kindneſs to the beſt of them; and, if any deluded individual amongſt them ſhould dare to think for himſelf, I diſmiſs him with as little ceremony as I ſhould diſcharge my poſtilion. Theſe friends (as they are called) are like the centers of an arch, neceſſary to its being raiſed, but not requiſite to its ſupport. I have nothing further to add, ſave that I recommend it to you, to lay aſide your fears, to cheat our friends, and ſupport our cauſe. Perſevere in your laudable plan of life; I will inflexibly purſue mine; inculcate a veneration of my perſon and meaſures in the minds of your intimates and adherents, the black Myrmidons of Bow-ſtreet, and the ſooty ſons of St. Giles's. The connection will render both our characters more illuſtrious. You will be complimented with the appellation of my friend, I ſhall be honoured as your patron. You will have the praiſe of having ſupported a great man, and I the applauſe of calling forth obſcure merit.

Believe me with thanks for your paſt ſervices, and a reſpect for your morals and manners.

C——

Againſt the Liberty of the Preſs.

TO recapitulate the notorious evils that the liberty of the preſs hath involved us in, are paſt enumeration.

It is the beaten path that gradually and gently leads us to deſtruction. It hath ſwollen us with arrogance, and made us big in ſelf-conceitedneſs. And by theſe means we are privately contemned, deſpiſed and hated by good and ſenſible people in every country, where letters are known. It hath

not only inſulted, but hath almoſt rooted out religion from among us, by ſubſtituting licentiouſneſs for liberty; and now habit hath made us thoughtleſs of the conſequence, and hath inſenſibly hardened our hearts againſt conſcious virtue; juſt as much as habit hath inſenſibly hardened the heart of a Whitechapel butcher, who can ſkin a living lamb, for ſport and diverſion;—this is habit; for the innate ideas of the incorrigible, unfeeling wretch, were not inferior to a philoſopher's, no! nor to a noble peer's—which Mr. Locke has abundantly proved.

The liberty of the preſs ſubverts juſtice, by the firſt impreſſion made on the minds of juries, and may be judges. It deprives us of right reaſon, by the ſubtility of ſophiſm. It provokes malice, and cauſes diſcontent. It invents ways and means to throw forth invectives and ſcandal on our friends, our neighbours, and ourſelves, as well as on our enemies. It was the principal and ſole cauſe of raiſing a ferment in the nation, which rendered the utmoſt ſeverity of puniſhment neceſſary; it precluded clemency.—Mercy is an eſſential attribute in the God-head; but was by the Stoicks reckoned baſeneſs in man, becauſe it regardeth not the cauſe, but the condition.

The liberty of the preſs keeps us in continual fear, and makes us tenacious and opiniative: but the abettors of licentiouſneſs, the admirers of anarchy, and our republicans, will argue otherwiſe; though you may perceive melancholy in their aſpect; they now begin to be ſenſible of their folly, and are afraid that they cannot reſume their element; but muſt act and think like men who muſt anſwer for the deeds done in the body.

Sober thinking men are afraid that the liberty of the preſs will be continued till it terminates in the total forfeiture of our liberties, civil and religious,

as a juſt puniſhment from heaven for our impudence, in exalting ourſelves above the degree of ſhort-lived rational animals.

The ſituation of England, together with her other numerous gifts of nature, hath rendered her at all times more conſpicuous in improvements than her neighbouring nations; which we modeſtly impute to our own natural pre-eminence and ſuperiority above others; and for theſe good reaſons, we adopt but the vanities of other nations, and deſpiſe an example of good order and ſound policy from them, who are mere fools and ſlaves, but not in themſelves, but in our eyes. Theſe are our notions, and we owe them to the liberty of the preſs. We wallow in wealth, nay, in ſuperfluity; we are rich in all that nature can beſtow, or that art hath brought to perfection; yet we are the moſt unhappy and diſſatisfied people under the canopy of heaven, and conſequently guilty of the enormous ſin, ingratitude. Theſe great truths bring a heavy charge againſt our rulers, and are ſerious ſubjects for their contemplation.

SERIOUS.

The printer's anſwer.

Thus far our correſpondent—who here avails himſelf of that very liberty which he ſo vehemently condemns, and which the moſt ſenſible men of this nation eſteem as one of the palladiums of Britiſh liberty.—We have ſeldom preſumed to enter the liſts with any of our correſpondents; but this general attack on the liberty of the preſs (which, if it is degenerated into abſolute licentiouſneſs, makes us parties therein) is an accuſation to which, we think, the duty we owe to ourſelves, our readers, and our country, obliges us to give ſome anſwer; and we hope this correſpondent and our readers will permit us to defend ourſelves.—To argue againſt the uſe of any thing from its being ſometimes abuſed,

is mere ſophiſtry: the ſame parity of reaſoning would interdict the uſe of food, becauſe there are gluttons; and the uſe of drink, becauſe there are drunkards. It is well known that every thing may be abuſed; religion may be perverted into bigotry and ſuperſtition; government into tyranny and oppreſſion; law into chicanery, and freedom into anarchy; but the man who would reaſon from thence that there ſhould be no religion, government, law, or freedom, becauſe they have been ſometimes, and may again be uſed, would act ſo very abſurdly as ſcarce to deſerve an anſwer. If the liberty of the preſs ever becomes licentiouſneſs, there are ſufficient laws in being to curb and puniſh it; but the whole houſe need not be deſtroyed, becauſe a chimney ſmoakes ſometimes:—though indeed it is much to be wiſhed that a proper line was fixed to divide the one from the other, and aſcertain what is, and what is not the legal and conſtitutional liberty of the preſs. For want of this criterion, men are frequently drawn into great inconveniences, and have *ignorantly*, nay, we may ſay, *innocently* incurred the diſpleaſure of their ſuperiors, whom they have not had the moſt diſtant intention to offend. To the liberty of the preſs we owe the moſt valuable bleſſings we enjoy, both in church and ſtate. To it we owe the reformation and the revolution. To it, we owe, that we are not the ſpiritleſs ſlaves which we ſee ſome of other nations are. To it, the Prince and the miniſter owe that neceſſary information of the wants, hopes, and fears of a people. Without it, the ſovereign may be told *all is well*, when his ſubjects are oppreſſed in the moſt grievous degree. Without it, we ſhould be tortured on the rack, and forbidden to utter one groan. Without it, we ſhould be ſubject to every wrong, every oppreſſion; and not being able to vent or utter our griefs, they would rankle in the breaſt

till

till they burſt out into flames. The gentleman ſays, "our liberty of the preſs has made us deſpiſed and hated by the good and ſenſible people in every country where letters are known." That gentleman ſurely is miſtaken in his phraſe, and means that we are *envied* by them. In other countries, where news-papers cannot be printed without being firſt peruſed by a miniſter, can we expect truth in them? Are not the people lulled into a ſecurity by ſuch opiates? For we have known when bonfires have been made and Te Deum ſung in Paris, as for a victory, though they have been defeated. In other countries, where not even a ſhop bill or advertiſement can be printed without an *imprimatur*, can we ſuppoſe they *deſpiſe* us for the liberty we enjoy, or that they do not *envy* it. This gentleman ſays, "the liberty of the preſs ſubverts juſtice, by prejudicing the minds of Juries, &c."—They muſt be very weak men indeed, who are thus prejudiced, and totally unfit to decide between man and man. Does not every juryman ſwear to try according to the *evidence* produced? How then can any honeſt thinking man dare to judge from *any thing elſe?* This liberty, he ſays, "was the *principal* and *ſole* cauſe of the late riots." How can this be? Can a *principal* cauſe be the *ſole* cauſe? Whatever is called *principal*, we conceive to mean the chief or moſt prevailing of any other; and there muſt be *other* cauſes in the train to make *any one* the principal: ſo he confounds terms together; and we cannot think the liberty of the preſs was either the *ſole* or the *principal* cauſe of them. The firſt cauſe was certainly *diſtreſs*, that produced *diſcontent*; and we much doubt, whether one in ten of theſe rioters was able to read. It has been remarked by ſome judicious writers, that none have been ever ſo ſtrenuous againſt the liberty of the preſs, as thoſe who have been afraid that their vices, their follies, their

injuſtice, miſdeeds and oppreſſions, would be thereby laid open; and that obſervation holds good in the general. Thoſe who would correct the *licentiouſneſs* of the preſs, may be *good* men; but thoſe who would entirely deſtroy its *liberty*, and ſubject it to a licenſer, are demonſtrably *bad* men. We plead only for the liberty, not the abuſe of it. We have frequently entreated our correſpondents, in their diſcuſſion of any point, to avoid perſonal reflections, and we have frequently diſmiſſed letters of that tendency. If any ſuch have been admitted, it was unwittingly, and entirely owing to that fallibility of judgment inherent in man; for we can truly ſay, that though we may have ſometimes given offence, that offence was not intentional; as we could not imagine that diſcuſſing *meaſures*, in which every individual was concerned, could be *blameable*, while *the private characters of thoſe who planned them, as* men, *were unattacked.*

Extract from Biſhop Hayter's Eſſay on the Liberty of the Preſs.

HIS Lordſhip's firſt, and main propoſition is, "That the Liberty of the Preſs is inviolably connected with the liberty of the ſubject." Which he thus proves:

"The uſe of ſpeech is a natural right, which muſt have been reſerved, when men gave up their natural rights for the benefit of ſociety.

"*Printing is a more extenſive and improved kind of ſpeech:* as ſuch, it cannot, without a violation of the natural rights ſo reſerved, be ſubjected to any reſtraints but ſuch as are fitly laid upon ſpeech.

"Blaſphemy, perjury, treaſon, and perſonal ſlander, are the principal offences which demand a reſtraint. The three firſt are offences againſt the whole community." [Let the offender be puniſhed,

ed, whoever he be; but let not a whole nation, on account of the miſdemeanors of one or more, be deprived of this excellent gift of ſpeech and public improvement.]

" The laſt [perſonal ſlander] being only an offence againſt individuals, if the puniſhment of it be carried beyond the damage ſuſtained by the perſons aggrieved, the Liberty of the Preſs may be violated in ſome inſtances, in which that Liberty is of the utmoſt conſequence to the intereſts of the family on the Throne, and to the Liberty of this country in general.

" The exerciſe of this Liberty of the Preſs (ſays this worthy Prelate, under the ſame head) amidſt all the perſecutions it laboured under, had the good effect of putting the nation upon their guard, in the reign of King Charles II. It was by the exerciſe of the ſame Liberty, that every motion of the deſperate enemy was proclaimed and oppoſed, in the reign of King James II. It was by means of the Truths conveyed by the Preſs, that the Miniſtry of the four laſt years of Queen Anne became odious to the public, and that his late Majeſty [George I.] eſcaped falling into the hands of the deſperate enemy, of perſons who would have deprived that Prince of the ſervice of his moſt faithful friends, and by degrees have betrayed him and the conſtitution, to an enemy more terrible to Great-Britain and Ireland, than ſword or peſtilence."

A WILLIAMITE.

Some Reflections on the preſent high Price of Proviſions, and hints of ſome probable Remedies.

SO much has been ſaid on this ſubject, that the public probably may begin to grow weary of it—And yet it does not appear that any ſcheme is yet fixed upon for a remedy. The wound lies deep,

deep, and muſt, to be cured, be probed to the bottom. The root of our calamity ſeems to be, that for ſome years paſt we have loſt, as it were, in public affairs, as well as in private, the idea of our being a people or community. Every object is viewed in a particular light only, without ſtretching our view to the great whole of the public. We ſee little, preſent advantages, but do not diſcern the future greater evils ariſing in conſequence—we ſee the ſtate of preſent profit, but are blind to the beam of future ill.

If we examine even our public tranſactions, we ſhall find they have generally a particular and narrow view; not the wide, extended one of the public whole—— that they regard chiefly the preſent imagined good, without reflecting on, or guarding againſt the future ill that may ariſe therefrom. The landed gentleman, that he may have the higher rent for his eſtate, is a warm advocate, at all events, for a bounty on exportation of corn, without regarding how hard the condition of the labouring, which is the bulk of the people, is thereby rendered; and without reflecting, that if by the high price of proviſions our foreign trade is loſt, his land muſt neceſſarily be ſo burdened, as will reduce the value of it very greatly. The L—d, to ſave a little preſent trouble and expence, throws down his tenements, and brings his ſeveral farms into one, without regarding that he is thereby depopulating his country, and robbing it of that ſtrength which may one day be wanting to defend it. The merchant ſhips carry out his corn for foreign parts, though he is even ſenſible that a famine muſt enſue from it at home; and all the neceſſaries of life are made articles of trade among ourſelves; ſo that we do not pay for them merely as the products of the earth, but as articles of trade; or at a much encreaſed price beyond what

the

the value of the lands and the labour of cultivation requires.

Here is the root that muſt be cut off, if we would ſee things amended—In vain will be any temporary importations, or prohibitions of exportation, or fruitful ſeaſons, if this evil is not remedied. The ſuffering the neceſſaries of life to be made articles of trade, without any reſtraint, will always produce the like effects, as we have experienced for ſome years paſt. Every one plainly ſees, notwithſtanding the ſophiſtical arguments of ſome writers to the contrary, that within the circuit of his own obſervation, monopolizers, regrators, and foreſtallers are the cauſe of every advanced price on proviſions. When he ſees a miller, by buying up corn that would otherwiſe be brought into the market by the farmers, and vending it again in flour, grow rich in a very ſhort time, can he doubt whether he does not pay a much higher price in proportion than the farmer would have vended it for in the market. If he ſees a rich, monopolizing farmer's yard, who, perhaps, holds the greateſt part of the corn land, around, full of ricks, and, at the ſame time, a very modicum of corn brought into the markets, does he doubt whether, if this rich farmer's large farms were let to ſeveral, that there would not be a much greater abundance of corn expoſed to ſale? And if theſe are viſibly the operating cauſes of the dearneſs of corn in many places, may it not be reaſonably ſuppoſed they are the operating cauſes throughout the whole kingdom? In ſhort, this is the general ſenſe of the kingdom upon the ſubject, and the general opinion is commonly a true one. How comes it that all orders of men in general, in the various parts of the kingdom join in this opinion, if they are not led into it by their own obſervations? And there can be no way to prevent this but by prohibiting

hibiting the monopolizing of farms; which, if only for the ſake of population, ought to be done. —reſtraining millers and others from jobbing in corn—reducing all the laws relating to monopolizing, regrating and foreſtalling into one plain act, and making the offence eaſy to be convicted in a ſummary way, at a ſmall expence—as much as poſſible preventing the neceſſaries of life going through many hands before they come to the conſumer—and appointing one meaſure, and no other, to be uſed throughout the kingdom. Such regulations would probably have a great effect in keeping down the price of proviſions. But, perhaps, as circumſtances are, nothing will do it effectually but abſolutely fixing the price. This is done in many places in Germany, and other parts, and with good effect; and it does not ſeem impoſſible to do it here, and without any prejudicial conſequences. Suppoſe the bounty, if that, upon examination is found in any wiſe beneficial, be continued as it is; but for home conſumption, let the price of all grain be fixed at a certain rate (above ſuch a certain value, under which it ſhould never be fixed, let the plenty be what it would) in proportion to the favourableneſs of the harveſt. I cannot but think a jury of gentleman-farmers, and tradeſmen, under the obligation of a ſolemn oath, might and would fix a fair price between the grower and conſumer. Let then every grower of corn be obliged to furniſh at the fixed price the next, or ſome other market-town, with a quantity of marketable grain every month in the year, in proportion to the number of acres he grows, only allowing a reaſonable advance every month for his keeping it. Let alſo an advanced price be allowed in proportion to the number of miles it is taken to any diſtant market where it may be wanted. Let alſo ſuch regulations be eſtabliſhed in all markets,

that

that all private perſons may be ſupplied before jobbers.

Some ſuch regulations as theſe, with reſpect to grain, and the other immediate neceſſaries of life, would, in general, keep them at a moderate price, at leaſt in the country, in which moſt of our manufactures are carried on. At the ſame time, ſuch regulations would not tend to depreſs the ſpirit of huſbandry, as the farmer would be left to make the moſt he could of a great part of his products; and it is probable, that in conſideration of a price being fixed for home conſumption, he would raiſe the price ſomething on the jobber employed to buy up for foreign uſe, ſo that there would only be ſome leſſening in the profit to the jobber or merchant, who can beſt bear it; the jobber being a buſineſs attended with the greateſt certainty, and the leaſt incumbrance of any buſineſs; and the merchant's profit is generally conſiderable. As to the remark in a pamphlet lately publiſhed, That obliging a perſon to ſell at any particular price, would be attended with that worſt of all oppreſſions —the *Invaſion of property*—it is, to give it no harſher a title, a moſt weak aſſertion, contrary to the fundamental principle of the compact of ſociety; which is—a ſacrificing, in ſome degree, of private property to the good of the whole. In fact, every tax that is levied, is, in a ſtrict ſenſe, an *Invaſion of Property*; but it is an invaſion allowed of in in the very compact of ſociety, whenever it is judged by the ſociety to be for the good of the whole. And can any caſe require this more, than the ſociety having the neceſſaries of life at ſuch a price that they may be able to ſubſiſt by their labour? Will this writer dare to aver, that ſuppoſing a few perſons had ingroſſed all the neceſſaries of life in any place, that they have a right to put ſuch a high price on them as to render it impoſſible

ble for the people to purchaſe? Have they a right to ſtarve the ſociety they are in compact with, or reduce them to the condition of becoming their ſlaves for the price of food? If he does, whoever he is, he is not worthy of living under the compact of ſociety; and yet, in fact, he does more when he pretends that an act of the whole ſociety for fixing the price of proviſions, would diſſolve any one affected by it from their allegiance to the ſtate.

The reaſons this author alledges for the dearneſs of proviſions, are as futile as his argument againſt fixing the price of proviſions is ſavage. In fact, the ſpirit of trade, with reſpect to the neceſſaries of life, is gone to ſuch a boundleſs length, not only our corn, but our cheeſe, &c. exported in ſuch quantities, that, I believe, experience will ſhew that we muſt abſolutely fix the price for home conſumption, and let the advance fall on the demand from abroad; otherwiſe we are giving away all the bleſſings of our fruitful ſoil to others. As matters go on, and it is likely will go on, unleſs the ſpirit of trade with regard to the articles of life is laid under ſome reſtrictions, it ſeems impoſſible we ſhould continue half a century longer a great trading people; for either the price of our labour muſt be raiſed, or our manufacturers will remove to other kingdoms, or ſo decreaſe here, by penury, that we ſhall not have hands ſufficient. One recent inſtance ſeems to coroborate what I have been arguing, that a reſtriction of the ſpirit of trade, with regard to the neceſſaries of life, is the very remedy.

Did not the whole nation think the allowing the importation of Iriſh tallow would have reduced the price of candles? It did ſo, as well as I can remember, for a ſhort time—but as ſoon as the great dealers had had time to ſettle their contracts for

for engroſſing the greateſt part, tallow roſe again, and candles has continued to riſe ever ſince, and are ſtill riſing.

It is, I think, the duty of every member of ſociety to communicate ſuch hints as he thinks may be beneficial: they may, poſſibly, though not altogether right, give ſome light, and be of uſe. I cannot conclude without obſerving, that as the prohibition of uſing any other than one meaſure throughout the kingdom, it is univerſally known, would be productive of very beneficial effects to the public, it is ſurpriſing that this prohibition ſhould not be effectually laid, as it could occaſion no inconveniency but to the diſhoneſt. S. M.

Anſwer to an Objection commonly made to the Taxation of America.

IT has been affirmed, that the Americans in the Britiſh manufactures they purchaſe, pay all the taxes that are paid by us. But as far as I can learn from hiſtory, faction never ſet up a more falſe pretence. When an Engliſhman living in England, buys linen, woollen, or Engliſh-made toys, he aſſuredly pays his proportion of the taxes charged on the manufacturer while he was working up the needed commodity. But this trifle is nothing to the various taxes each of us pay on our own conſumption and property, according to our ſituation in life. *Ex. gra.* The landed man pays for his own land a land-tax, beſides the proportion of that tax paid in purchaſed commodities. Every man that uſes candles pays the exciſe on candles conſumed in his own houſe, beſides his proportion of that exciſe paid in the various commodities he purchaſes. The American bears no burden ſimilar to either of theſe taxes. Every man in England that uſes malt beer or Britiſh made ſpirits, pays

taxes

taxes on theſe quite different from and independant of his proportion of taxes paid in purchaſing ſuch things as both he and Americans purchaſe. The ſame reaſoning holds in many other inſtances, and perſuades us that the Americans in purchaſing Britiſh-made manufactures, pay nothing to the ſupport of government equivalent to what we pay, although they receive from it the ſame protection with us.

To purſue this argument a little further, an American, in purchaſing Britiſh commodities, pays no more to the ſupport of the Britiſh government than a Spaniard or Portugueſe does when he buys of us, and of conſequence, an American, in making theſe purchaſes, is not contributory in his quality of a Britiſh ſubject to the ſupport of our government.

Beſides, there are many thouſands in America who never wore either Britiſh-made cloth or linen, or hats from this country, and ſome of theſe ſubſtantial farmers too, as every perſon, who ever lived in America for the ſpace of a year, muſt have obſerved. Pray what do theſe perſons pay to the ſupport of the Britiſh government? I wiſh Britannicus would inform us or defend the propriety of taxing, unequally, ſubjects that receive an equal protection in proportion to their property.

ANGLUS.

On the Reduction of the Land-Tax to Three Shillings in the Pound.

THE late triumph of independency over influence, has afforded conſolation to every well-wiſher to the conſtitution and permanent liberty of the ſubject. The *Favourite* and his aſſociate E—l had taken up an opinion, that whatever Miniſter was in office, he might rely upon a determined Majority. To make this the more certain,

certain, all family and other connections among the great men of the nation was diſſolved as far as influence could effect it. None were protected in their employments upon a change but thoſe who profeſſed to depend on the ——— himſelf. What this led to is of too high a nature to be inveſtigated in a news-paper; but this may ſafely be ſaid, that ſhould P———s once be found at the beck of *every Miniſter*, they would preſently loſe the regard and confidence of the people; and when that was the caſe, their diſſuſe would not be deemed a calamity. Thank God, our R———s have ſhewn they do not want ſpirit to aſſert their right of judging for themſelves and us, and controlling the meaſures of A———n. I heartily congratulate them and my country upon it, and I truſt they will meet with the moſt unqueſtionable proofs of general approbation when a renewal of their truſt becomes neceſſary. The carrying a point of finance againſt an A———n may, in moſt inſtances, be conſidered as a declaration of want of confidence in thoſe who have the direction of the K—'s affairs; but in this caſe, the implication ſtrikes much deeper. For the money ſaved, is ſaved in the pockets of the landed Gentlemen, and it is retained from the C——l L———t, and this upon the eve of a G——l E———n. Our great M———r, it is ſhrewdly ſuſpected, was brought in to repleniſh the C——l L——t, and he was applied to becauſe none elſe would do it. This he was to have done in the preſent year, and in the next made a reduction of the L——d T—x, for the ſake of popularity, at the inſtant of the E———n. The landed gentlemen have, however, been beforehand with him, and now his whole hopes of repleniſhing the C——l L——t hangs upon ſqueezing the E. I. C.

Should the Landed Gentleman *poſtpone that* till next year, when, perhaps, a better bargain for the

public may be made, they will disable A——n from contesting their E——n's with them, or obtruding Clerks in Office or 'Change-alley Jobbers upon their B——s. We may then hope to see that once and *new* again respectable character in this land of liberty, a country gentleman support his independancy in his country, and, upon his own bottom, come up to P——t. Measures will then be permanent, though M——rs be changed, for those who have a right to determine upon measures will be men who have no interest but in common with their country. Such may be the consequences of what has been done if followed by another blow. A poor C——l L——t, and a disburthened landed man is the most happy concurrence for the liberty, safety and prosperity of this country, when a new P——t is chosen.

A Landed Man.

To the Earl of B——, on his Embassy to Ireland.

My Lord,

A JUST and upright Government of that kingdom over which your E——y presides, has ever been regarded as a matter of the highest consequence to the interests of this country. I make no doubt your Lordship was nominated to that important post, in consequence of an unblemished character, and of abilities equal to the undertaking. False, though universal, is the opinion which fixes your Lordship's present power to your attachment to the Deputy Favourite; the present guide would never have produced your Lordship to the public eye, nor introduced you among a set of men, whose abilities, as well as actions, are incomprehensible, had he not, from a long acquaintance, found your Lordship at least as incomprehensible as any of them.

The Governors of the neighbouring island have often, I hope unjustly, been accused of aggrandizing

ing their own families at the expence of the public, of portioning out their daughters with the places of government, and granting reverſions to their third generations. How happy is the ſituation of your Lordſhip, to be enabled by the experience of others, to ſhun thoſe rocks on which your predeceſſors have ſplit. Is there not a noble Earl, who laſt preſided in that country, to apply to, whoſe total neglect of his own intereſts, and ſteady attachment to thoſe of his country, have deſervedly entitled him to boroughs, penſions, and that eminent place he now poſſeſſes? He will enable your Lordſhip to ſteer through the ſtormy ſeas of government; he will lead you through the labyrinth of politics; and as his promiſe has ever been inviolated, will doubtleſs inculcate on your Lordſhip that old adage (though the maxim has ſometimes failed) that honeſty is the beſt policy.

At a time when that unhappy country is ſtruggling under the weight of taxes, her trade circumſcribed, and ſinking with the oppreſſion of unnatural penſions, your Lordſhip cannot wonder that a native ſhould be afflicted: as ſuch I addreſs your Lordſhip; convinced as I am of the fatal conſequences, which muſt inevitably attend every attempt to increaſe the already extenſive power of a L—d L——t.

Your Lordſhip is preparing for Ireland; I muſt congratulate your Lordſhip on that happy event. To a mind and diſpoſition like your's, my Lord, formed for calmneſs and tranquility, how charming the proſpect! Uninterrupted by noiſe, undiſturbed by calumny, ſo cautious will that mild people be of offending your Lordſhip's delicacy, that they will be tender even in acknowledging the benefits they ſhall receive: no loud huzzas, no noiſy acclamations of the populace, will ever, I anſwer for it, affect your Lordſhip's nerves.

It is the right, impertinent as miniſters may think it, of free born ſubjects to complain, when their country is aggrieved; and however naturally diffident and modeſt the Iriſh may appear, I aſſure your Lordſhip they are as tenacious of that right as the Engliſh: I ſhall, therefore (until I have the honour of meeting your Lordſhip in Ireland) trouble you with a few remarks on your preſent ſyſtem of government; and if your Lordſhip moves no faſter than the preſent a———n of this country, I ſhall not find much difficulty in keeping pace with you. IRELAND.

Ironical Strictures on the Conduct of the Earl of Ch———.

IT has been the lot of almoſt all great ſtateſmen, to find their labours for the public good rewarded by envy and calumny; the ungrateful people, unmindful of paſt, and unfeeling for preſent ſervices, inſtead of love, honour, and admiration, have paid them with hatred, diſgrace, and contempt.

It was thus that the Romans ſhewed their gratitude to Marius, to Sylla, to Cataline, to Verres, to Sejanus. All the ſervices which theſe great and good men heaped upon the heads of that furious and ungrateful people, could not preſerve their perſons from perſecution, whilſt living, nor their memories from infamy when dead.

We ſeem reſolved not to be outdone by the antients, in the treatment which we give our great, wiſe, ſpirited, diligent, active, uncorrupt and uncorrupting Miniſter the E— of C———. And yet, can any thing have been more *innocent* than the conduct of this great man, ſince he came into the adminiſtration? Has he been *able* to eſtabliſh a diſpenſing power in the Crown? Has he *ſucceeded* in

in continuing an heavy, unneceſſary burden on the landed intereſt? Has he, after five months endeavours, done any conſiderable miſchief to public credit, or, *as yet*, taken *the benefit of the law* from the greateſt trading property of the kingdom?

Under his *guidance* we enjoy the true bleſſings of peace, undiſturbed by the buſtle of idle negotiations and ſquabbles with foreign Courts. It is ſaid, indeed, and very truly, that our manufacturers are idle, and our commerce ſhrunk, by the interruption of our trade with Portugal, and the vexations which our merchants ſuffer from that Court. But what does this prove againſt the E— of C———? Has not he appointed an ambaſſador, with a very noble ſalary to the Court of Portugal? What could a Miniſter do more? If people will not have patience for a year or two longer, until this ambaſſador ſhall have received his inſtructions, and reaped the reward of his ſervices, which he *will* certainly do *there*, by enjoying the emoluments of his office for a few years *here*— if they will not be patient, it is their own faults, the E— of C——— neither *can* nor *will* do more for them.

It is alſo urged againſt him, that we are trifled with by the Court of Spain, in the buſineſs of the Manilla ranſom, which had been left to him by his predeceſſors in a fair way of a ſpeedy and honourable concluſion. The fact I admit, but I deny that any blame can fall on the E— of C———, becauſe he has *nominated an Ambaſſador* to this Court alſo, and *fortified* the embaſſy with a Secretary! No *expence* has been ſpared in giving very honourable appointments on this occaſion, and as ſoon as the ambaſſador and his ſecretary have enjoyed theſe appointments for a reaſonable time, I have no doubt but that they too will receive their inſtructions, when it is convenient to *him*, and ſet

out when it ſhall be convenient to *them*, and proceed with as much expedition as is ſuitable to the gravity and ſlowneſs of the court to demand a categorical anſwer from the Spaniſh Miniſtry. If our brave officers and men who riſked their lives for the reduction of the Manillas, have not patience to wait for an anſwer, what is that to the E— of C———? He neither *can* nor *will* do more for them.

It has been alſo ſaid againſt him, that ſuch is his total diſregard to commerce, that he removed Sir G—— M———, who is our Envoy at Peterſburgh, on the very day that a commercial treaty, concluded by that gentleman (the moſt advantageous ever concluded with that court) arrived in London. But in this inſtance the fact is not true. He did not remove Sir G———; he *only* appointed an ambaſſador extraordinary in the perſon of Mr. H— S——. The purpoſe of this embaſſy is, I ſuppoſe, to return that court thanks for the favour ſhewn to Sir G———, and the buſineſs compleated by him. The honour of the nation was here alſo properly ſuſtained, by *large, honourable, and expenſive appointments*; but as this buſineſs does not require much diſpatch, the aforeſaid ambaſſador has, at the requeſt of the E— of C———, been induced to remain at home, and the ſaid E—l has given him the valuable place of Cofferer, the better to enable him to ſupport here *in London*, the dignity of Ambaſſador Extraordinary to the Court of *Ruſſia*. Under this evil, I mean that of Sir G—— M——— remaining to tranſact our buſineſs in Ruſſia, and Mr. H— S—— remaining to ſpend his appointments of Ambaſſador and Cofferer in London—under this, our merchants are, I confeſs, tolerably patient, and therefore the E— of C———, neither *need*, *can*, or *will* do more for them.

It is complained, and certainly with truth, that from the exceſſive dearneſs of all kinds of proviſions, our poor are either periſhing with hunger, or fitting themſelves for tranſportation or the gallows, by riot or robbery. Though the fact be true, what is that to the E— of C———? Have not theſe people been told twenty times over, in all the news-papers, that the great ſtateſman has *certainly formed a plan* for reducing the price of proviſions. If, after this, a ſet of unthinking men will be riotous, if they will not wait with patience for a few years, perhaps not above eight or ten, in which time they may probably have the additional relief of ſome good harveſts, is he to blame? He has done his part, let them do theirs, or take the conſequence, for the E— of C———, neither *can* or *will* do more for them.

The complaint is almoſt univerſal, that our Government is *weak*, *irreſolute*, *fluctuating* and *ineffectual*. What then? true as it is, does that reflect any diſhonour upon him? He declared in the ſtrongeſt and moſt ſolemn manner, that he would *reſtore Energy* to Government. If, after this noble and ſpirited effort, Energy ſhould be obſtinate, and refuſe to be *reſtored* to government, what is that to the E— of C———? he neither *can* or *will* do more for its reſtoration.

The ſober and thinking part of mankind are alarmed to ſee the nation torn to pieces by faction and intrigue, to ſee ſtrong parties formed of the moſt reſpectable names in the kingdom, and yet theſe parties refuſing to join in the *one thing* expected from them. It is a misfortune, but not to be imputed to the E— of C———. He has *declared* and *affirmed*, both publicly and ſolemnly, that he would deſtroy all *proud connections*. Now, if *connections* ſhould grow more *proud*, and inſolently refuſe to be deſtroyed, what is that to the E— of C———?

C———? He *cannot*, (though in this inſtance, I confeſs he willing *would)* do more to deſtroy *all* proud connections, *one only excepted.*

The cry is loud and univerſal, that moſt public employments are filled by unable, inſufficient, and ignorant men, choſen for their adherence, to the Thane, or for their public or private flattery of, and conſtant ſervile ſubmiſſion to the E— of C———. I confeſs this charge alſo, but I acquit him; for he in conjunction with his Northern ally, declared that he would ſurround the ——— with all the abilities of the nation, and chuſe men for their fitneſs for the office, and not for their adherence to this or that party. If, after this, the——is ſurrounded with f—ls, and offices filled with the tools, creatures and dependants of the Favourite, how can he help it, he has done as much in this as in any other inſtance, and no more *can* or *will* be done by the E— of C———.

If we are divided, confuſed and diſtracted at home, and cheated, deſpiſed, and inſulted abroad —if our manufactures are decaying, and our trade expiring—if our people are tumultuous here, and rebellious in our colonies—if government be weak, and faction ſtrong—if the nation be oppreſſed with debts and taxes, and individuals riot in penſions and places—if our taxes encreaſe and our wealth diminiſhes—if all this (as I grant it is) and more, be true, what is all this to the E— of C———? Is he not immediately *under* the Thane, *prime*, *ſole*, *abſolute*, and *uncontroulable* Miniſter: and ought not that to make us eaſy? Ought we not to wait with patience, until, by a dozen years care of himſelf, he has got the better of the ennumerable infirmities of body, and inveterate diſtempers of mind; under which he labours—till he has ſhaken off old age and renewed his youth—till he has time to learn ſomething of buſineſs and the art of government—

vernment—till he has acquired ſome little knowledge of the country, and ſome ſmall acquaintance with the men, whom he has ſpent his whole life in ſeeking to govern—If we will not *wait* with *patience*, what is that to him? the fault is ours, he neither *can* or *will* do more for us; and we may end in poverty, diſgrace, confuſion, and deſpair, for the E—— of C———.

April 14, 1767. TRANQUILLUS.

The ſubject continued.

THE beſt critics of antiquity, when they laid down the principles of perfect compoſition, never formed their rules on any ſpeculative ideas of their own. They examined how *Homer* conducted himſelf in ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, and they invariably formed *their* theory upon *his* practice.

In theſe little, political ſpeculations, to the beſt of my power, I carefully obſerve the ſame method. I always keep my eye fixed on our true polar ſtar, our ſteady, wiſe, and unerring miniſter. *Horace*, indeed, was obliged to acknowledge, that his great poet ſometimes *nodded*; but one of our late papers very truly affirms, that our great miniſter neither *ſlumbers nor ſleeps*. With much greater propriety, therefore, do I extract from his conduct the ſureſt maxims of policy, and form all my ideas of a patriotic and perfect ſtateſman, wholly from that faultleſs example, *Te ſequor O graiæ gentis decus*, &c.

His virtues, taken in *groſs*, have been univerſally admitted by the good people of this kingdom, who were, even to a proverb, notorious for their *caution* and *incredulity*, and who are the only race of men, of whom it may ſafely be ſaid, that they are never deceived by falſe appearances, nor ever (no, not to this day) have had cauſe to change their love and admiration of a *patriot* into hatred and contempt of a *penſioner*.

That

That the nation at large ſhould be ſatisfied to admire his virtues in *bulk*, is both proper and convenient. But it is much my duty, and ſtill more my inclination, to ſelect from the group of theſe virtues, ſuch as appears to me of moſt value, and to diſplay them like gems in a royal diadem, to the aſtoniſhed gazer, in ſuch a manner as to give them their true and perfect luſtre.

For the ſubject of my preſent paper, I intend to dwell wholly on the firſt and moſt precious of all—*Secrecy*.—Of this I may affirm, what the woman (no ſmall orator) who ſhews the jewels at the Tower, ſays of the ſtone on the top of the crown—*and this pearl is in-eſ-ti-ma-ble.*

Secrecy muſt be acknowledged, of all miniſterial virtues, by far, the moſt important. Wiſdom in planning, ſkill in conducting, and reſolution in executing the greateſt deſigns, are, without this capital virtue of Secrecy, abſolutely uſeleſs and ineffectual. To prove this, a thouſand examples might be brought from antient hiſtory. Every conſpiracy, every treaſon, every intended maſſacre, where this Secrecy has been wanting, has moſt *unfortunately* miſcarried—where this was ſtrictly obſerved, they have *happily* ſucceeded.

When Cromwell (a name never to be forgotten in this country) had formed the *great* and *generous* plan of murdering his ſovereign, and placing the crown upon his own head, he truſted principally to *ſecrecy*, for the completion of that grand deſign. Had he given but the ſmalleſt intimation, had he let the leaſt hint of ſuch a project eſcape him early in life, what a chance would he have had for ſucceſs towards the cloſe of it?

By covering theſe deſigns with a moſt impenetrable *ſecrecy*, by an happy talent of *oratory*, ſuited to the temper of the times, and by a moſt laudable *hypocriſy*, he appeared a moſt diſintereſted and ſpirited lover

lover of liberty; a man whose thoughts were solely bent, and all whose actions tended to break the *proud connections* by which the people were oppressed, and to restore that *energy* to *government*, which it so much wanted. Thus he acquired the love and confidence of the people, and obtained the assistance not only of great, but of good men, who dragged him from his native obscurity, and enabled him to erect that truly *energetic* government in his own person, which was long the *astonishment* of all other nations, and will be for ever the *glory* of this *free* country.

Since the time of this great man, no one has appeared to be perfect master of this most necessary political virtue, except our illustrious statesman, under whose sole guidance we have been for a long period (now near seven months) an happy, united, and flourishing people. When this great man, no more than a simple cornet, by a violent, disinterested, and patriotic opposition to that corrupt, profligate, and unable minister, Sir Robert Walpole, first drew the attention, and acquired the respect of the people; what good could he have possibly done to *himself* by that opposition, had not he kept his *real* opinion of that minister a most profound secret! This opinion (at a proper time) he has since declared publicly: and it is, "that this nation never had a more able, sufficient, enlightened minister than this very Sir Robert."

When, that he might not be *responsible* for measures which he was not allowed to *guide*, he resigned his office of Secretary of State, did not the whole nation resound with his praises? His patriotism, his firmness, his integrity, his disinterestedness, were ecchoed from one end of the kingdom to the other. All men promised themselves all things, from such a noble conduct; and no hope flattered them more than the vigorous opposition which they promised themselves

themſelves from *him* to the baleful influence of a juſtly deteſted favourite, which was then beginning to operate, and whoſe firſt operation was the diſgrace of our patriotic ſtateſman. Alas! Sir, ſhould we have ſung thoſe praiſes, would his name have filled every corner of the kingdom, would his firmneſs have been extolled, and his diſintereſtedneſs have been applauded, if he had not buried his intention of receiving a penſion from that very favourite, in the deepeſt and darkeſt *ſecrecy?*

How much we are indebted for his preſent exaltation, ſo glorious to himſelf, and ſo happy for us all, to his ſtrict ſecrecy, muſt plainly appear from this conſideration, that without doubt, not one of thoſe men who ſupported him, both in and out of parliament, would have lent him the leaſt aſſiſtance, if he had ſuffered his intention of ſubmitting to the Favourite, of doing his jobs, and of confirming and extending his power, to eſcape him. This, his intention, he veiled with ſo thick a *ſecrecy*, that he was raiſed *by thoſe very people who oppoſed the Favourite*, to conſideration ſufficient to induce the Thane to offer him, what he with great readineſs accepted, the unlimited power and ineſtimable privilege of depreſſing his friends, and of rewarding, to the utmoſt of their wiſhes, and far beyond their moſt ſanguine hopes, every enemy he had in the world. Could he have been raiſed by ſuch perſons, for ſuch purpoſes, without the aid of an *impenetrable ſecrecy?*

The E.— of C——— having thus riſen to this honourable ſtate of power, by this ſingle virtue, he ſtill perſeveres in the practice of it, with uncommon, and ſurely moſt laudable ſteadineſs. He knows that the very eſſence of *ſecrecy* is, to have communication with no man; for which reaſon, ever ſince the Favourite has committed the management of all buſineſs into his hands, he has abſolutely

ſhut

ſhut himſelf up from all poſſible intercourſe with the world. He refuſes to ſee (from this principle unqueſtionably) G—— C———, whoſe diſcretion no body can doubt, as well as C—— T———, who, as every one knows, is a blab; L— S—— is a boy; good enough, indeed, for a Secretary of State in ſuch a country as this, but by no means fit to be the confident to the real miniſter. The —— of ——, whoſe *extreme pliancy* ſeemed to include every qualification neceſſary for holding the firſt nominal employment in the country, promiſed nothing of this indiſpenſible talent. He is, therefore, with a juſt and merited contempt, excluded. —— ———, that ſpirited aſſertor of the liberty of the ſubject, that generous defender and enlarger of the prerogative of the crown, that bulwark of the law of the land, that renewer, or rather inventor of the law of the day, that ſtrenuous defender of Magna Charta, that able advocate for State Neceſſity, that warm friend of government by law, that zealous promoter of the diſpenſing power; this ——— has not been able to keep *his own ſecret*, he is now very well known, and for that reaſon is wholly unfit to be truſted; with great wiſdom, therefore, he is excluded from confidence. ——— ——, who obtained from our great miniſter every other favour of place, penſion, and reverſion, could never obtain the favour of being entruſted with his *ſecret*. The ground of this ſuſpicion was, probably, becauſe this venerable old L—— was very willing, on all occaſions, to *ſwear* that he would keep, and *damn himſelf to hell* if he revealed it.

There is another perſon, as different in character from, as he is ſuperior in ſtation to, any of thoſe I have mentioned, whom he has not condeſcended to ſee above two or three times. Why,—I cannot tell,—or, perhaps, this—or, perhaps, t'other—no matter

matter—he will not ſee him, and he is right. So far, indeed, has he, moſt wiſely carried this point of *ſecrecy*, that he dares not *take E—— B——'s pleaſure* with any oſtentation or parade, but receives it with a decent humility in *private*, though he obeys it with becoming ſpirit in *public*. In ſhort, by his exertion of this great talent, he has attained to a perfection which no former miniſter ever aſpired—to conſult without adviſers, and to execute without inſtruments.

So perfect is he in the practice of this ſublime virtue, that I challenge the moſt inveterate of his enemies to point out a ſingle inſtance in which it has failed him. Is not his knowledge of mankind, of chuſing and managing them, a profound ſecret? Is not his ſkill in the commerce and finances of the kingdom a moſt profound ſecret? Are not his ſchemes for our internal government, and for our foreign negotiation, ſecrets not yet violated? Has any man been yet able to gueſs at what he intends to do with that great and important branch of our commerce carried on by the Eaſt India company? Has yet a glimmering of light ſhone upon his intended reformation of our conſtitution? Is any man yet able to form a probable conjecture, by what means America is to be ordered and governed, and her commerce preſerved to Great Britain? Has any one preſumed to divine what meaſures he means to purſue for the diſſolution of the family compact? Does any one, even a mad man, deſire to know how *proud connections* are to be *broken*, the national debt reduced, public credit revived, taxes moderated, proviſions made plenty, trade and manufactures reſtored, and *energy* given to *government*? Theſe are, happily, *impenetrable ſecrets*, and that they may always continue ſo for the honour, dignity, and proſperity of this nation, muſt be the wiſh of every

Engliſhman

Engliſhman well affected to the preſent happy union of L—d B—— and L—d C——.

He (Lord C——) reſolved that the prying curioſity of impertinent people at home, ſhould not find out his ſecrets, admits no man (except Alderman B—ck—d and the E— of B—, which makes no difference) to his preſence. And to prevent foreigners from pumping our Miniſters, he moſt prudently keeps the ambaſſadors, whom he has appointed (and of whoſe diſcretion he is the beſt judge) at home. In ſhort, ſo *deep*, ſo *perfect*, ſo *impenetrable* is his *ſecrecy* in every thing, that all men, foreigners as well as natives, friends as well as foes, cry out with one voice, "*What the devil is L—d C——m about?*"

Lombard-ſtreet, April 27. TRANQUILLUS.

On the Inſanity of ———

Dulce eſt deſipere in loco.

THE oracles delivered by the prieſteſs of Apollo were never ſo much reſpected, as when the lady herſelf appeared to be moſt diſordered in her ſenſes. Common nonſenſe was but little regarded; but if ſhe raved, her anſwers were heard with wonder and ſubmiſſion; and the moment ſhe became ſtark mad, they were infallible. That idiots and madmen had a ſhare of divine inſpiration, has been the belief of the wiſeſt as well as the moſt ignorant nations; and ſome nations have even gone ſo far, as to think that their affairs were never in ſafer hands, than when madneſs had the direction, and folly the execution of government. It is no wonder, then, that, in any age ſo religiouſly given as the preſent, a doctrine ſhould be found to prevail, which implies an entire reliance upon the ſingle care of providence, and an abſolute ſurrender of all the uſes of human reaſon. Upon this foundation

foundation the good people of England have, without diſpute, all poſſible cauſe to be ſatisfied with their condition; for I defy the moſt virulent cynic to point out a ſingle meaſure purſued by our reſpectable governors, which hath not evidently carried the marks of a preternatural impulſe; or to name any one member of the ſociety, who hath not his due ſhare of inſpirition, from lunacy at the top, by a regular anti-climax, to ſorrowful drivelling at the bottom. When the high prieſt himſelf, for inſtance, with a wild diſtracted look and uplifted hands, declared, that the compact between Great-Britain and America was broken, was it not evident to all mankind that the fit was ſtrong upon him? Could any man, not thoroughly poſſeſſed by ſome God or Dæmon, have delivered thoſe ſacred oracles, for which the nation is ſo much indebted to him; which taught us truths beyond the reach of mortal logick; that two ſupreme powers might exiſt in the ſame goverment; and that a ſuſpending power in the crown was perfectly conſiſtent with, if not eſtabliſhed by, the bill of rights? Theſe were myſteries, which neither Greeks nor Romans could ever have been appriſed of without ſending to Delphi; nor perhaps would they have obtained here by any thing leſs than divine authority.

What ſort of reſponces our high prieſt hath lately delivered is not generally known. It ſeems he has withdrawn himſelf to the inmoſt receſs of the Temple, where he communicates with none but the elect. Yet from the convulſions, with which the inferior miniſters appear to be now-and-then agitated, we may flatter ourſelves that the divine favour hath not quite deſerted him. The few, who are permitted to approach his perſon, evidently catch a portion of it from him, which they, in their turn, impart to the ſubalterns neareſt to them. In the courſe of a few gradations, the infection becomes general,

general, and breaks out in a variety of appearances, according to the different conſtitutions it has to work upon.

You ſhall ſee a L——d C——r, who firſt catches the ray of inſpiration, nearly as much diſordered as the high prieſt himſelf. See how he foams, and mark well the inverted doctrines that fall from him:

I'll ſign the proclamation—the law is of our ſide againſt itſelf—or it is but a forty days tyranny at moſt. Now turn to that young ſecretary. It is a cunning lunatic, who aſks you for a pinch of ſnuff and picks your pocket. Would you believe that ſuch a cool blooded boy could ever become delirious? power, alas! and my Lord C—m, have made him ſo.

But what invocations of all the infernal Gods are ringing in my ears! It is the P—t of the C—l; that reſpectable pillar of the law, or rather that prop, ſet up for a time, to be withdrawn as ſoon as the mine was ready to overwhelm the conſtitution.

The Com——r in Ch—— too! Has he been bitten? He ſlavers at the mouth, and abhors the ſight of water. Beware of the S—y at W—, my Lord. He is not half ſo mad as he pretends to be. All characters ſuit him, for he ſuits himſelf to all characters. He can rave with C——m, or drivel with N——e; or, if all fail, he can innoculate for the itch, and ſympathize with the E. of B.

Theſe are ſome of the ſymptoms, by which you may ſee what care Providence has taken of us. But you are not to ſuppoſe, that all the officers of the ſtate poſſeſs the ſame degree of inſpiration. The true original frenzy is confined to a very ſmall number. A gentle ſoporific dulneſs prevails over the reſt. They ſee the God in their dreams, and utter their half-formed conception by broken fits and ſtarts, which, to us uninitiated mortals, convey no trace of meaning. The trade of this country, and the

management of the navy, are too heavy for the occupation of finer parts; nor does it require the ſpirit of prophecy to know what will be the end of them. In this political kettle, the froth is all at top; the ſediment of dulneſs goes to the bottom.

I will not conclude without congratulating you upon the fair proſpect before us. By the moſt authentic accounts, there is no reaſon to fear that our high prieſt ſhould ever be leſs inſpired than he is. The ſtrait waiſtcoat is talked of, and I have the pleaſure of aſſuring you, that Doctor B—tt—e has declared that he will proceed no farther without the aſſiſtance of Dr. M—n—o.

MAD MONTAGUE.

On incloſures.

THE great objection to incloſing is, that it depopulateth the country, in reducing the number of farms, and annihilating the cottages, by which means numbers of the lower claſs of people are not only turned out of doors, but driven to ſeek a living in a way they many times have not been uſed to. This is a moſt abominable practice, ſpreading further and wider every day. Enough cannot be ſaid, nor too much done, to break the neck thereof. Every tongue ſhould decry, and every hand be lifted up againſt it. Though nothing I apprehend ſhort of the interpoſition of the legiſlature will be effectual to the purpoſe. It has been obſerved, and obſerved with much concern, by the conſiderate and diſcerning, that the affair of incloſure has not been carried on in the manner the good of all the individuals required. The tacking houſe to houſe, and field to field, is too much the faſhion of the times. And if not ſhortly put a ſtop to, will inevitably prove the deſtruction of this once flouriſhing and opulent kingdom. Thoſe not to be ſatisfied engroſſers act in open violation of the natural rights

rights of others, their fellow creatures. God certainly intended that this earth ſhould be a maintenance for all his creatures living upon it. A working time for the head and hands is indeed required on man's part to obtain it. How unequal, how unfair the preſent diſtribution? Some are become ſuch mighty profeſſors of that which was dealt out in common to all, by the common father of all, as to exclude multitudes from the leaſt ſhare of it. All monopolies are, in a ſenſe, hurtful to ſociety, but this kind of monopoly is one of the foreſt evils under the ſun, as being the great obſtacle in the way of marriage, which is the principal ſource of the ſtrength of a nation.

I know ſeveral young perſons of both ſexes, ſober, induſtrious, and careful, who, by continued ſavings in a long ſervice, have acquired what one may call, a handſome ſum to begin the world with, and from a mutual liking of each other's perſons and tempers, would gladly come together in marriage, but are kept from it year after year for want of harbour. This is a grievance which calls for immediate redreſs. I hope it will be thought of by thoſe in power before it is too late.

It comes opportunely in here to ſet down the practice of a gentleman of my acquaintance, who I am confident would not go into the above way of heaping farm upon farm, and pulling down his cottage houſes, were he ſure to double his rents thereby. His method of ordering his eſtate, which is worthy of imitation, is this. Small farms of ten, or under ten pounds a year, he converts into twice as many tenements; making of each farm two cottages. To thoſe he aſſigns two cow-gates a-piece, dividing the incloſure about the houſe with what meadow ground belonged to it whilſt a farm equally betwixt them: the arable he throws to ſome of his leſſer farms. By which wiſe diſpoſition he finds

a dwelling for twice the families he had before upon thoſe parts of his eſtate, and both his other farmers and thoſe cottagers live the more comfortably for it. The latter can ſee after a couple of cows without being kept from their daily work; and the other live better by the ſmall addition made to their arable. For the condition of one of thoſe little farmers, is really deplorable, it is worſe than that of a common labourer.

The evils mentioned above, ſo far as they are a conſequence of the preſent mode of incloſing, might be prevented, if on taking in of a field it be parcelled into as many farms as the occupiers with proper huſbandry and frugality may pay their rents regularly, and live decently upon, without hurting the landlord's eſtate. Since by making as many farms as may be with convenience, one man has a chance for living as well as another. Farms ſhould be of different ſizes, anſwering to men's reſpective abilities for cultivating them to the greateſt advantage; better for the man to be a little above his farm than his farm above him: they ſhould be greater and leſs in proportion to the quality of the ſoil, the circumſtances of thoſe who are to be tenants, and the number of perſons in want of them, and applying for them. Care alſo ſhould be taken on laying out the lands of the ſeveral proprietors, that two plots or parcels of ground be ſet out for the cottagers, in content proportioned to the number of them, and to the quality of the ſoil, one for ſummer paſturage, the other for hay to ſubſiſt the cows on in winter. Thoſe two paſtures ſhould lie within ſuch a diſtance from home as that the huſband may fodder before he goes to his daily labour, and the wife milk her cows without keeping a maid, or being obliged to call in another to do it for her. I mention this, becauſe in many places, either through the ignorance, or ſomething worſe, of the commiſſioners,

ſioners, the portions of ground aſſigned for the working poor are thrown upon, or near to, the extreme limits of the lordſhip, by which untoward circumſtance the cattle muſt either be neglected, or in ſhort days the man kept at home from his work, or ſome one hired to give them their meat in proper ſeaſon. But who ſo fit to look after ſuch a modicum of ſtock as the man himſelf!

As the ſame ground when incloſed, whether turned into paſturage or held on in tillage, will require fewer hands to work it, than when lying in common, there will be generally ſome to ſpare which may be employed in any other branch of buſineſs. But thoſe never can be many if the lands are properly divided, and farms made of them ſuitable to the circumſtances of the tenants.

Should the ſame quantity, or nearly ſo, of land be continued for the growing of corn after as before it was incloſed, though not ſo many ſervants or labourers might be wanted to prepare and get it into order for ſowing, yet the produce, acre for acre, being for the moſt part much greater than in common fields, the difference, on the whole, in the article of labour would be very inconſiderable. The exceſs moſt commonly on the ſide of the incloſure.

Another inconvenience, which is ſorely felt by the tradeſman, the mechanick, a common labourer, from incloſure, is the diſcontinuance of the breed of cattle in a degree, as not to anſwer the demand for home conſumption. Such a number of calves and lambs ſhould be reared every year, as may fill up the vacancies yearly made by accidental deaths and ſlaughter. When this proportion is kept up, or nearly ſo, there will be no other difference in the price of butchers meat betwixt one year and another, than what is occaſioned by the fruitfulneſs or unfruitfulneſs of the ſeaſons.

The root of the evil lies here. The rent of incloſed land is generally ſo high, that the tenant cannot wait till he fatteneth the ſtock he ſhould breed. It is too long for beaſts to remain four or five years (and ſometimes it will be more than this before they are fit for feeding) upon his hands, without making any thing of them. The circumſtances he is in, as well as the condition of his farm, require a more ſpeedy diſpoſal of them. In ſome ſeaſons the feeder will make two or three returns in a year from the ſame paſture. If his profits be leſs at a time, they come quicker upon each other; and the frequency of repetition more than makes amends for a deficiency in quantity. More attendance, more care is requiſite in breeding and feeding, than in feeding *only*; and the leſs trouble the better: at leaſt moſt think ſo. And ſome pride themſelves that they are not ſuch ſlaves to buſineſs as many are doomed to be. The not breeding annually a ſufficiency of ſtock is an evil; but an evil for which our legiſlature may in ſome meaſure find a remedy. The remedy is oft in the hand of the landlord, by obliging the tenant at the time of taking his farm to breed ſuch a number of each ſpecies of cattle as is anſwered to his rent, or the acres he occupies; provided the ſituation of the ground, and quality of ſoil, do not forbid it. For thoſe are weighty conſiderations, and not to be overlooked. Some farms are better laid out for breeding than feeding; and others for feeding than breeding. Proper attention and regard ſhould ever be paid to thoſe points. We can indeed in no caſe fix upon a rule ſo comprehenſive, but what ſome exemptions from it will be neceſſary. It is ſo here: the matter muſt therefore be left, as in reaſon it ought, to the diſcretion of the parties concerned. As few reſtraints as poſſible ſhould be impoſed: for freedom is the very life and ſoul of all ingenuity and induſtry.

Yet

Yet ſome, I humbly apprehend, are requiſite in the affair under conſideration.

But the moſt efficacious remedy ariſes out of the evil itſelf, or from what makes it one, and is always, ſooner or later, adminiſtered by it. When fat cattle ſell high, lean ones of courſe will, if not prevented at times by a ſcarcity of fodder, do the ſame. It has been remarked by good judges, that the latter have all this laſt year ſold dearer in proportion than the other. A more prevailing motive for all to breed, who can with any ſort of convenience, need not be ſought for. And ſince young ſtock have been ſo much upon the advance, we have the laſt two years had almoſt twice the number of calves reared in thoſe parts to what were in the two preceding ones. We ſhall, therefore, it is hoped, in a few years have the ſame quantity of horned cattle in the nation as formerly.

LINCOLNIENSIS.

One of the Cauſes of the Dearneſs of Proviſions.

THE exceſſive price of proviſions, ſo univerſally felt, and juſtly complained of, has been the ſubject of many letters; but as I do not remember to have ſeen any one that has truly pointed out the cauſe, and propoſed any reaſonable remedy, in regard to fleſh meat, I ſhall therefore take no notice of the monopolizing of farms, withholding the corn from market, combinations, engroſſings, foreſtallings, &c. all which has been fully proved of pernicious conſequence already, but confine myſelf to fleſh meat only.

I don't doubt but it will appear a little ſurpriſing, when I aſſert that notwithſtanding the great utility of turnpikes in travelling, they have been the primary cauſe of the ſcarcity of horned cattle; in doing this, I ſhall confine myſelf to one county only, which I have a perfect knowledge of, not

in the leaſt doubting, but the very ſame reaſons may be offered for other counties.

The inhabitants of the county of Somerſet, before Shaftſbury turnpike was erected, (which is about twelve years ſince) rarely drew their waggons with leſs than three yoke of oxen, and one horſe to lead; for in their ſtiff clays, horſes were in a manner uſeleſs, by reaſon they could ſcarce draw their feet out of the clay; whereas the oxen, by means of their cloven feet, can draw them out with great facility; but as the roads became better, the number of oxen decreaſed, and thoſe of horſes increaſed; ſo that it is almoſt a rarity now to ſee a waggon with oxen as formerly. Thus it is exceeding plain, how horned cattle have become ſo ſcarce, and horſe corn dear. As to the breeders, it is natural for them to breed what pays them beſt, which, by the great demand for horſes by the farmers, carriers, and poſt-chaiſes, they find moſt profitable, to the almoſt total neglect of horned cattle. This is the real ſtate of the caſe.

I ſhall offer another cauſe which calls aloud to have a ſtop put to it, in doing which I ſhall confine myſelf to one town only, which is Glaſtonbury. I have been very credibly informed, that through the ſeaſon, on an average weekly, there are about two hundred calves brought to that town, great part of which, are what they term heathens, that is, they have not been ſuffered to live to ſee a Sunday. Now let any one judge, whether theſe may be termed wholeſome? purgative they certainly are, but nouriſhing they cannot be: beſides, their being ſo very ſmall, cauſes a greater conſumption of other cattle; whereas, were the owners compelled to keep them until they were a month at leaſt old, it would not only afford good nouriſhment to the conſumers, but prevent the ſlaughtering of at leaſt two thouſand ſheep, and forty or fifty bullocks in a year, which (this

(this calculation being confined to one town) would be an exceſſive number in the whole nation.

I could therefore heartily wiſh, that every farmer that rents fifty or ſixty pounds per annum, was obliged to keep one yoke of oxen for draught; thoſe of one hundred, or upwards, two yoke of oxen; and thoſe of two hundred, three yoke of oxen, and ſo on: by which means we ſhould never want a ſufficient ſupply of horned cattle, without the help of Scotland or Ireland: And as this would cauſe plenty, they would naturally be cheap, and conſequently would be the only means to reduce the price of mutton, pork, &c. in order to which, I apprehend there needs no more than encouraging the growing, or training up of horned cattle, by obliging the breeders to rear up every fifth, ſixth, or ſeventh calf, as ſeems moſt proper, at leaſt for three years, and to diſcourage the breeding of horſes, for an equal time (which are only food for dogs) by laying an embargo on their going abroad. By this means we ſhould have a conſtant ſupply of horned cattle in a little time, and every thing would run in its proper channel as heretofore.

Thus I have offered my opinion on the riſe of meat proviſions, and have humbly hinted the only means requiſite, to redreſs ſo great an evil, which falls ſo cruelly heavy on the people in general, and the poor in particular; and if the reaſons offered ſeem to carry any weight, I ſhould be glad to ſee them put into execution, unleſs ſome other means more conducive to ſo ſalutary an end can be found out.

H. Z.

Life

Life of the celebrated John Hampden. By Mrs. Macaulay.

The following is the brief Hiſtory of a *real* Patriot, not a Patriot *pro tempore*; of a man who honeſtly defied all courtly temptations, and remained to the laſt true to the pre-eminent cauſe he engaged in, that of LIBERTY; of a man who nobly dared to ſupport, even as Clarendon acknowledges, "at his own expence, the liberty and property of this kingdom, and, *as he thought*, reſcue his country from being made a prey to the court," and in fighting for whoſe freedom he bravely died; of a man, in ſhort, the goodneſs of whoſe heart, and ſoundneſs of whoſe judgment, no qualifications can rival, unleſs we except the genius of the female Hiſtorian, who has depicted him in the following manner:

"HAMPDEN * was deſcended from one of the moſt ancient families in Buckinghamſhire; and the death of his parents devolving on him early the poſſeſſion of a large and opulent fortune, this circumſtance concurring with the vivacity of youth, excited him to indulge in thoſe amuſements which confine the excellencies of genius to the narrow compaſs of private gratification. At the age of fifteen he left the Univerſity, and, finiſhing his education at the Inns of Court, made a conſiderable progreſs in the common law. After he had paſſed his thirtieth year, he was choſen to repreſent his country in Parliament; an incident which rouſed to exertion thoſe principles of virtue

* He was born in the Year 1594, and had attained the age of forty-two before he acquired any national notice; nor would then, had not the illegal, tyrannical demands of Charles I. ſtimulated him to the defence of his half-enſlaved country.

and

and affection to the public, which lay latent in his character. He was conſulted by the leading Members of Parliament in all the important points of oppoſition, and joined heartily in the proſecution of the Duke of Buckingham, and other buſineſſes carried againſt the Court. As it was Hampden's peculiar talent to act powerfully when he ſeemed the moſt diſengaged, and as he never put himſelf forward but when forwardneſs was neceſſary, ſo in this Parliament he was not thought an opponent formidable enough to be pricked down for Sheriff to prevent his election in the enſuing one, and eſcaped a commitment to the Tower in 1628, for what was termed a riotous proceeding in Parliament: but his honour not permitting him to comply with the illegal exaction of a loan, he was among thoſe who ſuffered impriſonment on this buſineſs. The trial of ſhip money, in the year 1636, unfoulded to public view thoſe patriotic virtues which modeſty, diffidence, or art, had hitherto in ſome meaſure obſcured; and as the infamous judgment given by the judges on this cauſe, rouſed the nation to a more ſerious attention to the conduct and views of the court, thoſe men of genius and abilities who laid the grounds for the ſucceeding revolution, began to concert meaſures how to improve to an effectual height, the growing diſcontent; whilſt the frantic tyranny of Laud, with his attempt to impoſe his ſuperſtitious ceremonies on the Scots, gave ſuch an advantage to the deſigns of the party, that matters came to a ripeneſs in leſs than four years after this period; a ſpace of time which had been ſo ſedulouſly employed by the active Patriots, who had continual meetings to conſult on the buſineſs of oppoſition, that Mr. Hampden, it is ſaid, had made ſeveral expeditions into Scotland before the commotions in that kingdom broke out. From the time when he engaged in the important

important ſcheme of abridging the power of the court, and reforming the government of the country, he totally diſcarded the levities of his youth, and became remarkable for his ſobriety and ſtrictneſs of manners; which, ſtill retaining his natural vivacity of temper, he embelliſhed with an affable, chearful, and poliſhed behaviour.

" In the Parliament of 1640, an event which had been long impatiently expected by the people, and to which the indefatigable induſtry, activity, and abilities of Hampden had in a great meaſure conduced, he was one of the chief directors of the anti-court party, and ſpecially truſted in the buſineſs of watching the King's conduct in Scotland, and preventing the Scots being ſeduced from the intereſts of Liberty by the cabals and cajolements of the Court; his art of directing the underſtanding and governing the inclinations of men being ſuch, that, in all the tranſactions between the two nations, he was appointed by the Parliament one of the Commiſſioners to treat with that people. When the quarrel between the King and the Parliament came to hoſtilities, he accepted the command of a regiment of foot under the Earl of Eſſex, and was one of the firſt who opened the war, by an action at a place called Brill, in Buckinghamſhire. As the ſagacity and intrepidity of his conduct, in the character of a Senator, had rendered him ſo much the object of the King's indignation, as to be one of the ſix members marked for particular vengeance, ſo his activity and bravery in the field, and his wiſe and ſpirited counſels on the operations of the war, rendered him ſo formidable a rival of Eſſex, that it was thought, had he lived, his party, who were at this time highly incenſed at their General's conduct, would have taken his command from him, and given it to Hampden.

" Clarendon

* Clarendon has pretended to draw the exact portraiture of this eminent perſonage; but though marked with thoſe partial lines which diſtinguiſh the hand of the hiſtorian, it is the teſtimony of an enemy to virtues poſſeſſed only by the foremoſt rank of men. With all the talents and virtues that render private life uſeful, amiable, and reſpectable, were united in Hampden in the higheſt degree, thoſe excellencies which guide the jarring opinions of popular councils to determined points; and, whilſt he penetrated into the moſt ſecret deſigns of other men, he never diſcovered more of his own inclinations than was neceſſary to the purpoſe in hand. In debate he was ſo much a maſter, that, joining the art of Socrates with the graces of Cicero, he fixed his own opinion under the modeſt guiſe of deſiring to improve by that of others; and, contrary to the nature of diſputes, left a pleaſing impreſſion, which prejudiced his antagoniſt in his favour, even when he had not convinced or altered his judgment. His carriage was ſo generally uniformly, and unaffectedly affable; his converſation ſo enlivened by his vivacity, ſo ſeaſoned by his knowledge and underſtanding, and ſo well applied to the genius, humour, and prejudices of thoſe he converſed with, that his talents to gain popularity were abſolute. With qualities of this high nature, he poſſeſſed in council penetration and diſcernment, with a ſagacity on which no one could impoſe, an induſtry and vigilance that were indefatigable, with the entire maſtery of his paſſions and affections; an advantage which gave him infinite ſuperiority over leſs regulated minds. Whilſt there were any hopes that the adminiſtration of the country could be corrected without the entire overthrow of the conſtitution, Hampden choſe before other preferment the ſuperintendency of the prince's mind, aiming to correct

reſt the ſource from whence the happineſs or miſfortunes of the empire, if the government continued monarchical, muſt flow; but the averſion which the King diſcoverd to thoſe regulations which were neceſſary to ſecure the freedom of the conſtitution from any future attempt of the crown; with the ſchemes he had entered on to puniſh the authors of reformation, and reſcind his conceſſions, determined the conduct of Hampden. Convinced that Charles's affections and underſtanding were too corrupt to be truſted with power in any degree, he ſought the abolition of monarchy, as the only cure to national grievances; warmly oppoſing all overtures for treaties as dangerous ſnares, or other expedient than conqueſt for accommodation. It was him the party relied on, to animate the cold counſels of their General; it was his example and influence they truſted to keep him honeſt to the intereſt of the public, and to preſerve to the parliament the affections of the army. Had he been at firſt appointed to the ſupreme military command, the civil war, under all the horrors of which the country languiſhed more than three years, would have been but of ſhort continuance."

F I N I S.

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E. B.

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